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ABBREVIATIONS

A ... Aṅguttara Nikāya I-VI ed. R. Morris.
E. Hardy. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. *PTS.* 1885-1910.

AA ... Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Manorathapūrani), I-V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp. *PTS.* 1924-56.

AAWG ... Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Gottingen

Abhk. ... Abhidharmakoṣa (Nāgari characters), R. Sankrityayana, Banaras, 1930.

AbhKbh. ... Abhidharmakoṣabhāsya ed. Th. Stcherbatsky. *BB.* XX, 1930

AbhKk. ... Abhidharmakoṣakārikā ed. L. de laValle Poussin, Paris, 1931

Abhkvy. ... Abhidharmakoṣavyākhya, ed. U. Ne Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-36

Abhs. ... Abhidhammatthasangaha, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JPTS* 1884- 1-84

Abhsy. ... Abhidharmasamuccaya ed. P. Pradhan, **VBS.** 12, 1950.

Abhvt. ... Abhidhammāvatāra, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta. *BM.* I, 1915

ABIA. .... Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute.

ABORI. ... Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).

Abs Pus. ... Abhisamayālaṃkāraprajnāpāramitā upadesasāstra (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation), ed.Th. Stcherbatsky and F. Obermiller, *BB*, XXIII, 1929

Abs Pvy. ... Abhisamayālamkārālokaprajnāpār amitāvyākhya, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1932-35

AdsP. ... Adhyardhasatikāprajnāpāramitā, ed. H. Leumann, Strassburg, 1912

Akanuma 1 ... Akanuma. C. : Indo-Bukkyo, Koyumeishi-Jiten (Dictionary of Buddhist Indian Proper Names), Nagoya, 1931

Akanuma 2 ... Akanuma, C : Kam-pa Shibu Agon Gosho roku (The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas). Nagoya. 1929.

AKM. ... Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes heraus g. von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

AM. ... Asia Minor

AMG. ... Annales du Musee Guimet

Anagv. ... Anagatavamsa. ed J. Minaeff *JPTS* 1886. 33 ff.

Anesaki. ... Anesaki, M. The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese. 1908-

AO. .. Archiv Orientalni Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute.

Aps. ... Apadāna. I-II. ed. *M.* E Lilley *PTS* 1925-27.

APA. .... Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā (Visuddha janavilāsini . ed. C E. Godakumbura. *PTS* 1954

ArtA ... Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland).

Arvs' ... Arthavinis'caya. ed A. Ferrari. Rome. 1944.

AS. ... Aluvihāra Series (Colombo)

ASCAR. ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report.

ASCI. ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Inscriptions.

ASCMen ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon,

ASIAR. . .. Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report

ASIMen. .... Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir

AsP ... Aṣṭasahas'rikāprajnāpāramitā. ed. R. mitra. Calcutta. 1888.

ASWI. ... Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India

Āṭā. ... Āṭānātiyasūtra, ed. H. Hoffmann (Bruchstucke des Āṭānātiyasūtra), KlTurf. V. 1939.

Avk. ... Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das. *BI* 1888-96

Avs' ... Avadānas'ataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* 19. 1958

BASR ... Bulletin de 1' Academic des Sciences Russie

BB ... Bibilotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)

BBh ... Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930-36

Bc.	... Bodhicaryāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, Calcutta, 1901-14
Bcp.	... Bodhicaryāvatāra pañjikā, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, 1902
BD.	... Buddhist Dictionary, by Nyānatiloka (revised edition), Colombo 1956
Beal	... Beal, S. : The Buddhist Tripitaka, 1876
BEFEO	... Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient (Hanoi)
Bendall	... Bendall, C. Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge 1883
Bhkav.	... Bhadrakalpāvadāna. ed. S. Oldenbourg, 1884
BHS.	.... Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary, F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953
Bksk.	... Bhavasamkrāntisutra (and commentary, reconstructed in Sanskrit from Tibetan translation), ed. N. Ariyswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938.
Bl.	... Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)
BiblB	... Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris)
BIIMEO	... Bulletino dell' instituto Indiano peril, Medio ed Estremo Orients (Rome)
BM.	... Buddhadatta's Manuals, 1-11, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS*. 1915, 1927
BMFJ.	... Bulletin de la Maison Franco Japonaise (Tokyo)
-BniPrat	... Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke des Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa), *KITurf*, III, 1926
BOH.	... Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest)
BPrā.	... Bodhisattvaprātimoksasutra, ed. N. Dutt. *IHQ*. 7, 1931, 259 ff.
BS.	... Buddhistic Studies. ed B. C. Law, Calcutta. 1931
BSOAS.	... Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
BSS.	... Bombay Sanskrit Series
BST.	... Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)
Buc.	... Buddhacarita, ed. E. H. Johnston. Calcutta. 1935
Bup.	... Buddhaghosuppatti (with translation) ed. J. Gray. London. 1892
Buv.	... Buddhavamsa, ed. R. Morris, *PTS* 1882
BuvA.	... Buddhavamsa *Aṭṭhakathā* (Madhuratthavilāsini) ed. I. B. Homer. *PTS. 1946*
Cabaton	... Cabaton, A. : Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pali, Paris, 1907
Catus.	... Catuhs'ataka (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts reconstructed), ed. V. Bhattachārya. Calcutta. 1931
CHJ.	... The Ceylon Historical Journal
CII.	... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CJHSS.	... The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies
CJSc.	... Ceylon Journal of Science – Section G
Ckv.	... Chakesadhātuvamsa, ed. J. Minayeff. *JPTS*. 1885, 5-16
Cordier	... Cordier, P. : Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, 11-111, 1909-15
Cp.	... Cariyāpitaka, ed. B. C. Law, Lahore 1924
CpA.	... Cariyāpiṭaka *Aṭṭhakathā* (Paramatthadipani), ed. D. L. Barua.PTS. 1939
CPD.	... A Critical Pali Dictionary, Copenhagen
Cvisp.	... Cittavis'uddhiprakarana, ed. P. B. Patel, *VBS*. 8, 1949
D.	... Digha Nikāya, I-III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, *PTS*. 1890-1911
DA.	... Dighanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sumangalavilāsini). I-111, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids. J. E. Carpenter, W. Stede *PTS* 1886-1932
Dāthv.	... Dāṭhavamsa, ed. B. C. Law, PTS., 1925
Dbhg.	... Das'abhūmika-sutra (Gatha portion) ed. J. Rahder and S. Susa. Extract from the Eastern Buddhist, Vol. V., No. 4, 1931
Dbhs.	... Das'abhūmika-sutra ed. J. Radher, Louvain, 1926
DCBT.	... Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms. ed, W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, London, 1937

DeS.	...de Silva, W. A.: Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts I *MCM.* series A. No. 4, 1938
DeZ.	...de Soysa, Louis A catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon, Colombo, 1885
Dhk.	... Dhātukathā(with commentary), ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *PTS.* 1892
Dhmpr.	...Dharmottarapradipa, ed. D. Malvania, Patna, 1955
Dhp.	...Dhammapada, ed, S. Sumanagala PTS. 1914
DhpA.	.... Dhammapada Atthakatha, I-V, ed H. Smith, H. C. Norman, L. S.Tailang, *PTS.* 1906-15
Dhpr.	...Dharmapradipikā(va), ed. Dharmakirti Sri Dharmārāma (sixth edition). Vidyalankara Press, Ceylon. 1951
Dhs.	.... Dhammasangani, ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1885
DhsA.	.... Dhammasangani Atthakatha (Atthasalini), ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1897.
Dhscy.	.... Dharmasamuccaya, ed. Lin Li Kouang (first part of Sanskrit text with Tibetan and Chinese versions), Paris, 1946
Dhsmg.	...Dharmasamgraha, ed. F. Max Muller and H. Wenzel, Oxford. 1885
Divy.	...Divyāvādāna, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cabridge, 1886
DPPN.	...Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, 1-11. by G. P. Malalasekera, London, 1960
Dpv.	...Dipavamsa, ed. H. Oldenberg, London. 1879.
Dpv.2.	...The Dipavamsa. ed. B. C. Law. *CHJ.* VIII. Nos. 1-4. Maharagama. Ceylon, 1959.
Dukap.	... Dukapṭṭhāna, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids. *PTS.* 1906
EB.	... The Eastern Buddhist.
EI	... Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, Government Press).
Ency. Bsm.	...Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. ed. G. P. Malalasekera. Ceylon.
ERE	...Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. I-XIII. ed. I. Hastings. Edinburg. 1908-26
EW.	... East and West (Rome).
EWA.	... Encyclopaedia of World Art. I-VIII, McGrawHill
EZ	...Epigraphia Zeylanica (Ceylon Government Press).
Gg.	...Gaṇḍistotragāthā (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese Kien ch'ui-fan-tsan) ed. Stael-Holstein *BB,XV.* 1913
GM.	...Gilgit Manuscripts, I-III, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar and Calcutta. 1939-50.
GOS	...Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda).
Gst.	...Guhyasamājatantra, ed. Bhattacharyya, Baroda. 1931.
Gv.	... Gandhavamsa. ed. J. Minayeff *J PTS.* 1886, 54-80
Gvyu.	.... Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, I-IV, ed. D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi (second edition), Kyoto, 1949
Hattv.	... Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa, ed. C. E. Godakumbura, *PTS.* 1957
Hbg.	... Hobogirin, Dictionnaire Encyclopedique due Boddhisme, ed, P. Demieville, Tokyo, 1929-37
Hetub.	... Hetubinduṭikā (with sub commentary) ed. S. Sanghavi and M. Jinavijayaji. *GOS.* 113, 1949.
HJAS.	... Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
HOS.	.... Harvard Oriental Series.
Hvp.	.... Hastavālaprakarana (reconstructed in Sanskrit from Chinese and Tibetan translations) ed. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1918, 267 ff.
IA .	.... Indian Antiquary (Bombay)
IAL.	.... Indian Art and Letters (London)
IBK..	.... Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu (University of Tokyo, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies).
IC.	... Indian Culture (Calcutta).
IHQ.	... The Indian Historical Quarterly.
It.	.... Itivuttaka ed. E. Windisch, *PTS.* 1889
ItA.	.... Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani, I-II ed. M. M. Bose, *PTS,* 1943-36.
J	... Jātaka (with commentary), 1-VI. ed. V. Fausboll, *PTS.* 1962.

JAOS	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JAs	...	Journal Asiatique.
JASB	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBHU	...	Journal of the Benares Hindu University.
JBORS	...	ournal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRAS	..	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBRS	..	Journal of the Burma Research Society.
JBTS	...	Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JCBRAS	...	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JDLC	...	Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.
JGIS	...	Journal of the Greater India Society.
JIH	...	Journal of Indian History.
Jinac.	...	Jinacarita, ed. W. H. D. Rouse, *JPTS* 104-5,1-165.
Jinak.	...	Jinakālamali, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, PTS. 1962.
Jinal.	..	Jinālamkāra (with translation), ed, J. Gray. London. 1894.
Jm.	...	Jātakamalā, ed. H. Kern, HOS. I Boston. 1891.
JOR	...	Journal of Oriental Reserach.
JPTS	...	Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JRAS	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JSS	...	Journal of the Siam Society.
Keith	...	Keith, A. B. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Oxford. 1905.
Khp.	...	Khuddakapāṭha. ed. H. Smith PTS. 1915.
KhpA.	...	Khuddakapātha Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā I). ed. H. Smith. PTS 1915
Khs.	...	Khuddasikkhā. ed. B. Muller, JPTS. 1883.
KhT.	...	Khotanese Texts, I-II. ed. H. W. Bailey. Cambridge. 1946-54.
KlTurf.	...	Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte (Konig'liche Preussische Tufan-Expeditionen)
Kp.	...	Karunāpundarika. ed. S. C. Das and S. C. Sastri, Calcutta. 1898.
Ks'yp.	...	Kas'yapaparivarta, ed. H. Stael-Holstein 1926.
Ktr.	...	Karatalaratna Sanskrit fromt the Chinese translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar. 1938.
Kvbh.	...	(Karmavibhanga) Mahakarmavibhanga (Lagrande Classification des Actes) et Karma vibhangopades'a (Discussion sur le Mahākarma-vibhanga), ed. S. Levi. Paris, 1932.
Kvit.	...	Kankhāvitarani. ed. Dorothy Maskell, *PTS.* 1956.
Kvu.	...	Kathāvatthu, 1-11, ed. A. C. Taylor *PTS.* 1894-95 *KvuA.* Kathāvat thuppakarana Aṭṭhakathā. ed. Minayeff. *JPTS.* 1889, 1-222
Kvyu	...	(Avalokites'varaguna) Kāraṇḍavyūha, ed. S. Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873.
Lal.	...	Lalitavistara, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST* 1. 1958.
Lank.	...	Lankāvatārasutra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.
Ligeti.	...	Ligeti Louis Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol. I. BOH. III, 1942-44.
Ls'	...	Lokes'varas'ataka, ed. Suzanne Karpeles JAs. 1919,5.11, XIV, 357- 465
M.	...	Majjhima Nikāya, 1-IV, ed. V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, PTS. 1888-1925.
MA.	...	Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papancasūdani), 1-V ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, 1. B. Honer PTS. 1922-38.
MBT.	...	Minor Buddhist Texts, ed. G. Tucci, SOR. IX Part 1, 1956.
MCM.	...	Memoir of the Colombo Museum.
Mdhvr.	...	Mādhyamakavrtti, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, BB. IV, 1902-13.
Mdhvt.	...	Mādhyamakāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, BB. IX.
Mgh.	...	Meghasūtra, ed. C. Bendall, JRAS. I 880-288ff.
Mhbv.	...	Mahābodhivamsa, ed. S. A. Strong. PTS. 1891.
Mhm.	...	Mahāmāyuri, ed. Oldenberg in Zapiski Vostschnago Otdelenija Imp. Rusesk, Archeol, Obschestva, XI, 1899.

Mhps. ... Mahāparinirvānasutra, ed. H. Waldschmidt, Abhandlungen der Deustschen Akademie, Berlin, 1950-51.

Mhs. ... Mahāmājsutra, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke Buddhistischer Sutras, 1) KITurf. IV, 1932.

Mhsmg. ... Mahāyānasamgraha, 1-II, ed. E. Lamotte (La Somme du Grand Vihicule d' Asanga), Louvain, 1938.

Mhv. ... Mahāvamsa, ed. W. Geiger (chapters i-xxxvii) PTS, 1980, ed. W. Geiger I-II, (chapters xxxviii-lxxii and Lxxiii-ci), PTS. 1925-27.

MhvA. ... Mahāvamsaṭika (Vamsatthappákāisini Mahāvamsa Aṭṭhakathā), I-II, ed. G. P. Malasekera. PTS. 1935.

MhvE. ... Extended Mahāvamsa. ed. G. P. Malasekera, AS. III 1937.

Mhvu. ... Mahāvastu, 1-III. ed. E. Senart. Paris. 1882-97.

Mhvyut. ... Mahāvyutpatti. ed. R. Sasaki. Kyoto. 1916.

Miln. ... Milindapanha, ed. V. Trenckner, PTS. 1962

Mmk. ... (Arya) Manijus'rimulakalpa. ed. T. G. Sastri. TSS. 1920-25.

Moc. ... Mochizuki. S. Bukkyo-dai-jiten, 1- 8, Tokyo. 1933-57.

Mls. ... Mūlasikkhā, ed. E. Muller, JPTS. 1883, 122-32.

Mvibh. ... Madhyāntavibhāga, ed. S. Yamagucchi, Nagoya. 1934.

Mvyk. ... Maitreyavyākarana, ed. S. Levi. melanges Linossier, Paris. 1933. 381-90.

Nanjio. ... Nanjio, B. Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, Oxford, 1883.

Nd.I. ... Mahāniddesa, I-li ed. L. de la Vailce Poussin and E. J. Thomas. PTS. 1916-17.

Nd.II. ... Cullaniddessa, 1-III, ed. W. Stede, PTS. 1981.

NdA.I. ... Nidddesavannanā (Saddhammapajjotikā- Mahā niddesa Aṭṭhakathā). I-III, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, PTS. 1931-1.

NdA.II. ... Nidddesavannanā (Saddhammapajjotikā- Culla niddesa Aṭṭhakathā), ed. Boruggamuwe Sri Revata SHB. XIV. 1923.

Nett. ... Nettippakarana, ed. E. Hardy. PTS. 1902

NettA. ... Nettippakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā ed. Widurupola Piyatissa, *SHB*, IX, 1921.

NIA. ... New Indian Antiquary.

NR. ... Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku-bu Kenkyu Ronshu (Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University).

Nrp. ... Nāmarūpapariccheda, ed, A. P. Buddhadatta, *JPTS*, 19 13-14.

Nrs. ... Nāmarūpasamāsa, ed. P. Dhammāra ma, *JPTS* 1915-16.

Nyāb. ... Nyāyabindu, ed. Th Stcherbatsky (Nyāya-bindu, Nyayabindutika), I- II, BB. VIII, 1904:III, 1929.

Nyap. ... Nyāyapraves'a (with commentary, ed. A. B. Dhruva, GOS, 38, 1930.

OM. ... Otani Daigaku Toshokan-zo Tibet Daizokyo Kanjur Kando Mokuroku, Kyoto, 1930-32

Panc.g. ... Pañcagatidipani.ed. L. Feer, JPTS. 1884. 152-61.

PB. ... Prabuddha Bhārata.

PBO. ... Polski Biuletyn Orintalistyczny (The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, Varsovie).

PED. ... Pali-English Dictionary, T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede. PTS.

Pet. ... Peṭakopadesa, ed. A. Barua, PTS 1949.

Phṛd. ... Prajnāpāramitāhrdayasūtra, ed. F. Max Muller, Oxford, 1884.

Pjm. ... Pajjamadhu, ed E. R. Gooneratne, JPTS. 1887, 1-16.

PMG. ... Publications du Musee Guimet.

PpA. ... Pañcappakarana Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), Part I, ed. Rerukane Ariyañāna, SHB, XXXVII, 1936 Part II, ed. Rerukane Canda-vimala, SHB. XL, 1938

Ppind. ... Prajnāparamitāpiṇḍārtha, I-II, ed. G. Tucci (Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajnaparamita, JRAS, 1947.

Prā. ... Prātimokṣasūtra, ed. L. finot (Prātimokṣasū des Sarvastivadins) with a French translation of the Chinese version ed. Huber, JAs. XI, 2(1913). 473ff.

Prgsg. ... Prajjnāpāramitāratna gunasañcayagāthā. ed. E. Obermiller, Moscow, 1937.

Prvār. ... Pramānavārttikam(with commentary and sub-commentary) ed. R. Sankrityayana. Allahabad. 1949.

Ps. ... Paṭisambhidāmagga. I-II ed. A. C. Taylor, PTS. 1905-07.

PsA. ... Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā (Saddhammappakasini). I-III, ed. C. V. Joshi, PTS. 1933-47.

PSS. ... Panjab Sansknt Series (Lahore).

PTC. ... Pali Tipiṭṭiakaṃ Concordance. PTS.

PTS. ... Pali Text Society (edition).

Pug. ... Puggalapaññatti, ed R. Morris. PTS. 1883.

PugA. ... Puggalapaññatti Aṭṭhakathā. ed G. Lands-berg and Mrs. Rhys Davids. JPTS. 1913-14 pp. 170-254.

Pvs'P. ... Pañcaviṃsatisāha srikāprajnāparamitā ed. N. Dutt, London, 1934.

Pvu. ... Petavatthu, with commentary Petavatthu Aṭṭhakath (Paramatthadipani), ed. E. Hardy. PTS. 1894.

Ratgot. ... Ratnagotravibhāgamahāyānottarat antra-sāstra ed. E. H. Johnston Patna, 1950.

Rkav. ... Roruka Avadāna (I: Tibetischer Text and Dt. Ubersetzung II Worterbuch), ed J. Nobel 1954.

Rpp ... Rāstrapālaparipreccha, ed. L. finot, St. Petersburg, 1901.

Rsv. ... Rasavāhini, ed. Nanavimala Maha thera, Colombo, 1961.

Rvibh. ... Rūpārūpavibhāga. ed. A. Buddhadatta, BM. 1, 1915.

S. ... Saṃyutta Nikāya, I-VI, ed. L. Feer and Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. PTS, 1884-1904

SA. ... Saṃyuttanikāya Aṭṭakathā (Sāratthappakāsini), I-III ed. F. L. Woodward, PTS. 1929-37.

Sadh. ... Sādhanamālā ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1025-28.

Sag. ... Samyuktāgama (fragments from Stein manuscripts), ed. L. de la Vallee *Poussin*, JRAS. 1913, 569 ff.

Sal. ... Sālistambasūtra (reconstructed), ed L. de la Vallee Poussin, (Bouddhisme, Etudes et Materiaux, Theorie es douze causes), Gand, 1913, 19-90.

Sāsv. ... Sāsanavaṃsa, ed. M. Bode, PTS. 1897.

Saund. ... Saundarānanda, ed. E. H. Johnston, Oxford, 1928.

Saund. K ... Saundarānandakāvya, ed. Haraprasad, Sastri, Calcutta. 1910.

SBB. ... Sacred Books of the Buddhists.

SBE. ... Sacred Books of the East.

Sdars.' ... Sarvadars'anasamgraha, ed. E. B. Cowell. 1978.

Sdmp. ... Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra, ed. U. Wogihara and K. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934-3 5.

Sdmpy. ... Saddhammopāyana, ed. R. Morris, JPTS. 1887, 35-98.

Sdms. ... Saddhammasaṅgaha, ed. Nedimale Saddhānanda, JPTS. 1890, 2 1-90.

Sdurg. ... Sarvadurgatiparis'odhanausnisa vijaya-dhārani, ed. F. Max Muller, 1884.

Sgh. ... Sadgatihārikā ed. P. Mus; La Lumiere sur les Six Voies, Paris, 1939.

Shastri. ... Shastri, Hara Prasad A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government collection. Under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1917.

SHB. ... Simon Hewavitarane Bequest (Colombo)

SH. ... South Indian Inscriptions (Madras).

Siks. ... S'iksasamuccaya, ed. C. Bendall, St. Petersburg, 1897-1902.

Sīmā ... Simāvivādavinicchayakathā, ed. J. Minayeff, JPTS. 1887, 17-34.

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VinS.	...	Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin, ed. (and translated in French) J. Fillozat and H. KunoJAs. 1938, 21-64.
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WZKM	...	Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Yam.	...	Yamaka, 1-II, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, PTS. 1911-13.
YamA.	...	Yamakappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā ed. C. A.F. Rhys Davids, JPTS. 1910-12, 51-107.
ZDMG	...	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

CROSS-REFERENCES OF SPEICAL TITLES TO ABBREVIATIONS

Atthasālini	Dhammasangani Aṭṭhakathā	*(DhsA.)*
Madhuratthavilāsini	Buddhavamsa Aṭṭhakathā	*(BuvA.)*
Manorathapūrani	Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(A.A.)*
Niddesa-vaṇṇanā	Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	*(NdA. I, II)*
Papañcasudani	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(MA)*
Paramatthadipani	Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā	*(CpA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā	*(ItA)*
Paramatthadipani	Pancappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā	*(PpA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā	*(PvuA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā	*(Thag A.)*
Paramatthadipani	Theri gāthā Aṭṭhakathā	*(Thig A.)*
Paramatihajotika I	Khuddakapātha Aṭṭhakathā	*(KhpA.)*
Paramatthajotika Ii	Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā	*(SnA.)*
Paramatthamañjusa	Visuddhimagga Aṭṭhakathā	*(VisniA.)*
Saddhammapajjotika I, II	Maha-(CuIIa-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	*(NdA. I, II)*
Saddhammappakasini	Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	*(PsA.)*
Samantapāsādikā	Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā	*(VinA)*
Sammohavinodani	Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā	*(VbhA.)*
Saratthappakāsini	Samyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(SA.)*
Sumangalavilāsini	Digha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(DA)*
Visuddhajanavilāsini	Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā	*(ApA.)*

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

VOLUME VIII

SĀTAVĀHANAS. With the weakening of the authority of the Mauryan dynasty that ruled the Magadhan empire for over one and a half centuries the throne was usurped by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga the commander of the Mauryan army who began the Śuṅga dynasty. Although Puṣyamitra managed to keep under his control a sizeable part of the former Mauryan empire, peripheral regions fell into the hands of some independent ruling dynasties. However, nothing is known for certain about the political situation in the Deccan and Southern India after the Mauryas but very soon an independent dynasty called the Sātavāhanas appear in the political arena. Although there is no definite evidence about the origin of the Sātavāhanas or the way in which they came into prominence in the Deccan it is generally believed, following the Purāṇic evidence that they established their independence having thrown off the yoke of the Kāṇva dynasty that succeeded the Śuṅgas in Magadha, probably in the first century A.C.

The *Purāṇa* literature is the main source of information to reconstruct the political history of the Sātavāhanas but that information is sketchy and at times confusing. In many instances, the Purāṇic information is restricted to a mere list of kings and the number of years each ruler reigned. Yet again, the different texts are not always unanimous on the information they provide. Therefore, one has to look beyond the Purāṇic tradition for more detailed information and in such a situation some Buddhist literary works and epigraphic and numismatic sources in particular are of immense significance in writing a comprehensive history of the Sātavāhanas.

The Purāṇas call the Sātavāhanas Āndhras, and the Āndhras have a long history going back to the Vedic times. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, for instance, mentions the Āndhras among the five (non Aryan) tribes who were outside the pale of the Aryan domain. Though the *Purāṇas* frequently call the Sātavāhanas Āndhras, the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas dynasty never refer to them as Āndhras. As such, it raises the question whether the Sātavāhanas in fact, had any direct connection to the ancient tribe of the Āndhras. In the inscriptions of Asoka the Āndhras are mentioned as a people belonging to his empire but no mention is made of the Sātavāhanas. Some scholars seem to believe that the Satyaputras mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions may have been the Sātavāhanas but any definite evidence to support this theory is lacking.

The fact that the Sātavāhanas inscriptions refer to this dynasty only as Sātavāhanas or Sātakarni and that they are never referred to as Āndhras raises the possibility that this dynasty was not originally called Āndhras. Such a hypothesis is supported by the fact that all their early inscriptions are restricted to the Western Deccan suggesting that the Sātavāhanas began their career in that region but sometime later they annexed the Āndhra -deśa as well. It is said that at one time their empire extended from coast to coast. It is quite possible that their authority was restricted in the later times to the Āndhra country when they lost their original territories in the Western Deccan to the Śaka-Kṣatrapas and the Ābhiras.

According to all available sources the founder of the dynasty was Simuka who is described as the person who gained independence from the Kāṇva rulers of Magadha. He was succeeded by his brother Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa), and one of the earliest inscriptions of the Sātavāhana dynasty records the donation of a cave in the Nāsik region during the reign of this ruler. Therefore, it is fairly certain that Kaṇha was in control of the Nāsik region in western Deccan, which in turn supports the belief that the Sātavāhana began their rule initially in this region.

The third king of the dynasty was Sātakani (Sātakaṃi), son of Simuka, according to the Nanagahat inscription. According to this inscription Sātakarṇi made many conquests and performed Aśvamedha sacrifices. He is sometime identified with the Sātakarṇi mentioned in an inscription on a gateway of a Sāñchi stūpa, and if this identification is accepted, it may be

surmised that the Sātavāhanas were able to make early inroads into Northern India as well. After Sātakarṇi, the fortunes of the Sātavāhanas began to change when the throne passed princes Śakti-Śri and Veda Śri whose mother Nayanikā (or Nāganikā) acted as the queen regent. The political history of the Sātavāhanas in the following period is shrouded in darkness though the *Purāṇas* give a list of names of persons who are said to have been rulers of this dynasty; but their historicity cannot be established with any certainty. It is during this period that the Kṣaharāta kṣatrapas under Nahapāna posed a serious challenge to the Sātavāhanas when they took control of all Sātavāhana possessions in northern India and a large part of the western Deccan.

However, the victory of Nahapāna was short lived as the Sātavāhanas under Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (86-110 A.C.) managed not only to recover the regions that his dynasty had lost to the Śaka-kaṣtrapas, but also to add new areas particularly in northern India to his empire. The Nāsik inscription of the queen mother, Gautamī Bālaśri giving details of the achievements of her son mentions that, he overthrew the Śakas, Yavanas and the Pahlavas, destroyed the Kṣaharatas and re-established the glory of the Sātavāhanas. The fact that Gautamīputra defeated the Kṣaharātas is also confirmed by some coins from the Jogalthembi (Nasik) hoard. These coins that had originally been issued by Nahapāna the Kṣaharata ruler was restruck by Gautamīputra indicating his authority over regions previously held by the former.

After Gautamīputra's long reign of about 24 years his son Vāsisthiputra Śri Pulamāvi who ascended the Sātavāhana throne claims to have extended his authority over Āndhradeśa. He has been identified with Siropolemaiou as mentioned by Ptolemy in his *Geographia* as the ruler of Baithan (Paithān or Pratisthāna) which was probably the capital of the later Sātavāhanas. Some scholars seem to believe that Pulamāvi is the Sātakarṇi the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (the *kṣatrapa* ruler) who was defeated twice by Rudradāman. But other scholars tend to identify the Sātakarṇi mentioned in this inscription with Pulamāvi's successor Yajña Śri Sātakarṇi. Whoever is the Sātavāhana ruler defeated by Rudradāman, it is evident that the two adversaries' were closely related and this is also confirmed by a Kanheri inscription which mentions that the daughter of Rudradāman was the queen of Vasiṣtiputra Sātakarṇi. The Junagadh inscription also reveals that, in spite of the close relationship of the two dynasties, Rudradāman, having defeated the Satavāhana ruler annexed all territories the latter had held in Northern India and some regions in northern Deccan

The next ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty, Yajña Śri Sātakarṇi had a fairly long reign of about 30 years. Several inscriptions belonging to Sātakarṇi's reign provide some detailed information about his activities, mention that his empire extended from eastern sea to the western sea. He is said to have re-captured all the areas lost to the *kṣatrapas*. Some of his coins which were imitations of the kṣatrapa coins with the Ujjain symbol were probably meant for circulation in the territories he captured from the kṣatrapas.

After Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhanas rule suffered again primarily because his successors were weak rulers who were unable to stem the decline of the empire. The Sātavāhanas first lost control of their western territories to the Śaka- kṣatrapas, then to the Ābhīras and the Ikṣavākus. Thus their domain was restricted to eastern India, mainly the Āndhra country but the Pallavas who in the meantime, were emerging as a strong force in the Kanchi region soon dislodged the Sātavāhanas thus ending their rule.

The Stavhana rule in the Deccan is significant in the history of India for several reasons. In the main, this dynasty was able to provide much needed political stability to the Deccan after the disappearance of the Magadhan imperial authority. The Satavāhanas also continued the administrative system and cultural traditions that the Mauryas or their predecessors in Magadha introduced into the Deccan. Though the Sātavāhana monarchs were mainly followers of the Brāhmaṇic faith they did not fail to patronize other religions particularly Buddhism following the age old Indian tradition of religious tolerance and co-existence. In fact, one of the early rulers of this dynasty, King Kanha (Krsṇa) is said to have appointed a *mahāmātra* to look after the well-being of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, an act reminiscent of a similar arrangement in the Mauryan administration under Aśoka. Moreover, King Kaṇha had a cave excavated at Nasik for the use of the Buddhist *saṅgha*. However, from the time of

Gautamiputra Śri Sātakarṇi (c.86-110 A.C.) information is lacking about relations between the Sātavāhana rulers and Buddhism. In fact, most of the inscriptional information about Buddhism in the Deccan comes from the Nasik-Karle region in the north-western Deccan, and it appears that sometime after Kaṇha. the Sātavāhanas lost their authority over that area of western Deccan.

It is not out of place here to note that the Śaka- kṣatrapas the Kṣaharatas in particular, under Nahāpāna having wrested control of some of the Sātavāhana possessions in the Deccan also took special interest in supporting the Buddhist *saṅgha* and *brāhmaṇas*. A number of inscriptions, mostly in the Karle-Nasik region, reveal that one Usavadāta Vṛṣabhadatta?), son-in-law of Nahapāna, was the administrator of the Nasik region and that he performed many benevolent acts towards the Buddhist *saṅgha*. He donated large tracts of land, fields, coconut groves etc., and made several deposits of money with guilds of artisans and traders with the proviso that proceeds of the land donations and the interest occurring to the deposit is be utilized to provide for the maintenance of the *saṅgha*. Usavadāta extended similar benevolent services towards the brāhmaṇas as well, but his generosity towards the Buddhist *saṅgha* was most impressive and thus far outweigh his support for the *brāhmaṇas*. It is important to note that this is the first ever instance on record of the Buddhist *saṅgha* in India being endowed with resources for income for the purpose of their sustenance. The Kṣahartas being new comers and having arrived as invaders must have made an extra effort to win over the subjects to their side and for that purpose the most effective policy would be to support the religions popular in the region.

Gautamīputra, having gained control of the northern Deccan from the Śakas, went on to consolidate his position as ruler, and in this process, not only re-granted some land that had previously been donated by Usavadāta, but also made several fresh grants with still more rights and privileges to the *saṅgha*. Vāśiṣthiputra Pulamāvi (c. 110-118 A.C.), the son and successor of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi also extended his patronage to Buddhism with lavish donations. Though there is no definite inscriptional evidence connecting the immediate successors of Pulamāvi with Buddhism, the large number of Buddhist monasteries and *stūpas* constructed in the Sātavāhana dominion may be assigned to the times of these later rulers, especially Yajña Śri Sātakarṇi (c 152-181 A.C.) and his immediate successors. Of the last rulers of the dynasty, king Siri Sivamaka Vijaya (who probably reigned in the latter part of the second century A.C., may be considered one who patronized the Buddhist *saṅgha*, as is revealed by a seal that has reference to this monarch.

The land grants of the Sātavāhanas, such as those of Vāśiṣthiputra Śri Pulamāvi, provide elaborate details of the donations. These grants sometimes go into minute details, specifying privileges and immunities conferred along with land. They mention that the land should not be entered into by royal officials, it should not be dug for salt, the enjoyment of the land should not be disturbed by the district law-enforcement officers. More importantly, all rights and prerogatives previously enjoyed by the king were now conferred upon the *saṅgha*. Thus, the granting of land and other resources of income, together with various rights and privileges, committed the *saṅgha* to involve themselves in the management of that property. This marks the first phase of a long process which in later times made many Buddhist monasteries develop into large property owning organizations with extensive economic, administrative and social responsibilities.

The patronage for religion in this period did not come only from the royalty; in fact, people from different strata of society also contributed lavishly, as is evident from the large number of donatary inscriptions.Among these groups mention may be made of traders, artisans of various sorts and other inhabitants of trading centres. Yet, what is significant is the overwhelmingly prominent position of the mercantile community as the single most dominating group to patronize Buddhism. It is no secret that from the very inception Buddhism maintained an intimate relationship with the mercantile community, a relationship which appears to have been a mutually beneficial one. In the Sātavāhana period too, one can easily see the close relationship that existed between

the *saṅgha* and the trading community, from the evidence of the large number of traders who are mentioned in the donatory inscriptions. It is very striking that the location of virtually all major Buddhist sites in the western Deccan correspond with the main trading centres that had risen at meeting places of the major trade routes of the day. It is also significant that it was during this period that many parts of India, the western Deccan in particular, were reaping the benefits of a thriving overseas trade. Thus apart from the royalty, traders and artisans, whose crafts benefited from the growth of trade, were able to extend their patronage generously towards the sustenance of the *saṅgha* and the *brāhmaṇas*.

The large number of donatary inscriptions are also useful in obtaining information about the different Buddhist *nikāyas* that existed in the Sātavāhana Kingdom. The inscriptions sometimes refer to the particular *nikāya* or the *nikāyas* to which the monks of a particular monastery belonged. This information would also be helpful in determining the nature of the concentration of followers of the different *nikāyas* at a given monastic site. Two inscriptions, one from Kane and the other from Junnar, refer to the Dharmottariya sect, while a cave-inscription from Nasik, which belonged to the time of Vāśiṣthiputra Pulamāvi, records donations to the *saṅgha* of the Bhadryāniya sect. The Caitikas, or Caityavādakas, an off-shoot of the Mahāsāṅghikas, are referred to in some cave-inscriptions, again from Nasik.

It appears that the Mahāsāṅghikas and some of their branch organizations were able to spread into the southern and eastern parts of the Sātavāhana dominion in addition to their centres in western Deccan. This is evident from inscriptions from Nagarjuṇakoṇḍa, Amarāvati, and certain other places, which make clear reference to several of the sub-divisions of the Mahāsāṅghikas. Among them may be mentioned the Caityakas, the Rājagirinivāsikas, the Bahusrutiyas, the Aparamahāvanaseliyas, the Pūvasailas and the Saiddhāntikas. The concentration of all these subdivisions of the Mahāsāṅghikas in the Dhānyakaṭaka region clearly shows that it was a stronghold of this *nikāya*. In fact, some inscriptions from Amarāvati specifically state that the Great Caitya at Dhānyakaṭaka was the main centre of worship for the Caityikas. The only sect that did not belong to the Mahāsāṅghikas but found mentioned in the inscriptions referred to above, was the Mahisāsaka *nikāya* which had Ṣthaviravāda associations.

Complementary to this epigraphic evidence, several legends recorded in literary works of later times also throw light on the condition of Buddhism in the Sātavāhana period. Of these, the *Sīhaḷavatthupakaraṇa*, a compendium of stories from Sri Lanka and assignable to the fifth century A.C., (though the contents of these may in fact belong to a much early period) refers to a Sātavāhana ruler who was converted to Buddhism by a Sinhalese monk named Tambasumana. The author of the *Sīhaḷavatthu* himself was a native of the Kanthakasola-paṭṭāna, which has been identified as Guntasala, situated near the estuary of the river Krishna. A number of stories in this collection refer to Suraṭṭha (identified as present Saurashtra) as the region where incidents involving Buddhists described in them took place. It is noteworthy that Saurashtra was not far away from major Buddhist centres of the western Deccan. It may also be surmised from the stories in the *Sihalavatthu* that Buddhists of different regions, including Sri Lanka, had maintained close contacts with the Buddhist centres of Deccan.

Several legends about the famous Mahayāna philosopher Nāgārjuna also refer to his associations with the Sātavāhanas and the Āndhra country. Some Chinese and Tibetan authorities of later times state that Nāgārjuna maintained intimate relationship with the Kuṣāṇa king, Kaniṣka, as well as with a Sātavā hana ruler whose name is not given. Thārānātha mentions that Nāgārjuna built a monastery in the Āndhra country, where he spent the last days of his life. Though there is controversy over the identification of the Nāgārjuna mentioned in these different traditions and the truth of the matter cannot easily be gleaned from the many legends full of mystical events which appear to have grown around his personality, it is still not possible to reject all these legends connecting him with Sātavāhanas and the Āndhra region as mere fabrications. A place-name like Nagarjunikoṇḍa, which was a major Buddhist centre with Mahayāna associations in the Āndhra country, also points to the possibility of some connections between Nāgārjuna and this region. Furthermore, many scholars, following a statement in the Mahāyāna work *Aṣṭhasahasrikā-*

Prajñāpāramitā, seem to believe that Mahāyāna originated in South India and that it was introduced to the north later on. Thus, Nāgārjuna's association with Mahāyāna, together with the many traditions connecting him with the Sātavāhana kingdom, may not be merely accidental.

The Sātavāhanas period is also considered a major phase in the history of Indian art and architecture. As in the case of the Kuṣāṇa period, almost all the remaining monuments of this age belong to Buddhists. Of these, special mention may be made of the *stūpas*, the cave temples and sculpture. The *stūpa* construction had already well developed by the time its first representations begin to appear in the Deccan. They are smaller in size, compared with the later *stūpas* of the period. Some of these *caityas* carry some embellishments, but in the main, they are simple constructions. The great *stūpa* at Amarāvati is considered to be the largest and perhaps one of the most beautiful constructions of this period, as is evident from a replica of the *stūpa* carved on a slab found in the ruins.

All the early rock-cut caves of the western Deccan belong to the Sātavāhana times, and they too are simple constructions, except in a few instances such as Cave No. XIX of Bhajā, where some decorated bas-reliefs can be seen. A distinguishing feature of several of these caves is the manner in which their ceilings are carved; they are imitations of a barrel-vault wooden roof-structure and it is quite obvious that the craftsman wanted to give it an appearance of a wooden ceiling while working on stone. The cave-temples also provide the earliest examples of the Buddhist decorative art in the Deccan. In some temples, figures of guardians, Gajalakṣmī, *yakṣa-yakṣinis* and men and women are found near the doorways. Some of the *caityas* also carry similar figures and a few other embellishments. Unlike at places like Sanchi and Bharhut, the representation of the *Jātakas* is rare in the sculpture of the western Deccan, but an exception is Pitalkora where the artists have attempted to create a few frames from the *Jātaka* stories.

Amarāvati, one of the major Buddhist centres of the eastern Deccan, was at that time known as Dhānyakaṭaka. The famous Āndhra school of art known as the Amarāvati school has also been named after this great city. The Early sculpture of the Amarāvati school, as the Śuṅga-Khānva art, represents the Buddha only in his symbolic form, but quite soon, by about the second century A.C., the representation of the Buddha in human form begins to make its appearance. The Amarāvatī Buddha image, though, betrays some influence of the Mathura school develops independently with certain characteristics unique to it.

The Buddhist centres of both western and eastern Deccan maintained close contacts with the Buddhists of other parts of the sub-continent as well as those of Sri Lanka and perhaps some regions in Southeast Asia. Contacts with the Buddhists of Sri Lanka is quite evident from the stories in the *Sīhalavatthupakaraṇa* as cited above. Inscriptions from Amaravati also refer to Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka and to a vihāra specially built for the use of the Sinhalese monks. Amarāvatī flourished as a great Buddhist centre throughout the Sātavāhana period and also under the Iksvakus, who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in eastern South India.

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P.V.B. Karunatilaka

SATI. Sati was a monk, a member of the Buddhist Order who lived during the life time of the Buddha. There is no information about his personal life in canonical or post canonical Pāli literature except for the fact that he was called 'the Fisherman's Son' (Kevattaputta) a term always suffixed to his name. However, the *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1.256ff) informs us that this monk held a certain pernicious view that, as he understood the Buddha's teachings, "this same consciousness runs on and continues (even after death) without break of identity" (*yathā tadeva idaṃ Viññṇaṃ sandhāvati saṃsarati anaññanti*). When his colleagues in the order came to know this, they tried hard to disabuse his mind of his pernicious view pointing out that the Buddha has in many ways called this consciousness dependently originated (*paṭiccasamuppanna*) and therefore he should not caluminate the Master in this way. But as they were unable to change Sāti's views they ultimately brought it to the Buddha's notice. The Buddha summoned Sāti to his presence and questioned him on the charge levelled against him.

Sāti reiterating his view readily agreed that he holds such a conception. The Buddha then asked Sāti to define his conception of consciousness. He replied "that this, Lord, who as speaker, feeler, in this and that place, experiences the results of good and evil actions "as the consciousness meant by him. Then the Buddha rebuked him for calumniating him reemphasizing the views expressed by his other disciples to Sāti. After a long exposition to disabuse Sāti's mind, the Buddha, however, pointed out that the presence of the *gandhabba* as a necessary condition for a conception to take place (*gabbassāakkanti*) and this seems to point in the direction of a role consciousness (*viññāṇa*) has to play in the process of rebirth which Sāti had probably misinterpreted.

Buddhaghosa (*MA*. II. 305f), commenting on Sāti's views, says that he was a person of little education (*appassuto*) and a Reciter of Jātakas (*Jātakabhāṇaka*). As he listened to the Jātaka tales taught by the Buddha he found that the Buddha identified himself with one character in each of these tales, and thought that while the other four aggregates, viz form, feeling, perceptions and mental formations cease in each birth, the consciousness alone continue from one birth to the next and thus conceived the erroneous view. In some of the discourses one could find this identification of one of its characters, usually the main character, with the Buddha (e.g. *M*. II. 82; *D*. I. 143). But one could not be certain whether there was a special group of monks, designated *Jātakabhāṇakas* in the lifetime of the Buddha. Definitely there was such a grouping in later times. On the other hand Buddhaghosa may have styled Sāti, who was a fisherman's son who did not have much opportunity of acquiring an education, a Jātaka bhānaka to show that he did not have a knowledge of the deeper feedings of the Buddha. However, from what Prof. O. H. de A. Wijesekera[1] has revealed in two of his articles Sāti's statements seem to indicate that he, in actual fact, was presenting a theory of a transmigrating soul (*ātman*) linking different lives of a Saṃsaric being.

In fact, in another discourse (*M*. 1. 8.), the same words used by Sāti in defining his concept of consciousness are used by the Buddha in defining a concept of an individual self (*atta*) held by some as identified with the permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging cosmic self (*Atman*) that will stand for all eternity. In Buddhist discourses too, points out Prof. Wijesekera, there are some other aspects of the consciousness besides its commonly observed perceptive or the cognitive aspect. For instance it is applied in discourses to the medium in which *jhānic* or spiritual progress takes place. It is also applied to the surviving factor in an individual and is denoted by the special term *Saṃvattanika viññāṇa* or the 'evolving consciousness', the cause for an individual's survival after death. Prof. Wijasekera also points out that this is the same as the stream of consciousness (*viññāṇa-sota*) said to be extending to both worlds and also the stream of becoming (*bhava-sota*), the cause (*bīja*) of rebirth and the consciousness as nutrition (*āhāra*). He holds that this is also the *bhavaṅga-citta* referred to in the Abhidhamma work, *Paṭṭhāna*, and probably also in the *Anguttara Nikāya*. It is the same consciousness as the survival factor which is called *gandhabba* in this discourse as a necessary factor for a conception to take place.

Prof. Wijesekera has also tried to examine the expression *vado vedeyyo* used by Sāti in defining his conception of the transmigrating consciousness, in comparison with the expression *Avāki anādaraḥ* found in certain Upanishads and Brahmanas. The word *avāki* or *avākkam* literally means 'speechless' or 'non-speaking' but, under the interpretation given by

Śaṅkara, it could be taken in the broader sense of non-agent. The word *anādarah*, literally means 'unconcerned' or 'indifferent', i.e. not moved by external event. These qualities are in fact applied to the macrocosmic self but not to the transmigrating self. Prof. Wijesekera also draws attention to the fact that in the Sāṅkhya Kārikas it is asserted that it is only in association with the *linga*, i.e. the transmigrating subtle body, that the normally indifferent (*udāsina*) Puruṣa becomes agent.

Taking, in the light of this, Prof. Wijesekera takes *vado*, in Sāti's definition in a broader sense of 'agent' in general without confining to merely speaking. Similarly *vedeyyo* is taken to be the 'agent of experience'. While Buddhaghosa takes the rejection of Sāti's statement by the Buddha as a flat denial of any surviving factor such as *viññāṇa*, some modern scholars have shown that what the Buddha has denied is the identity of the consciousness that runs and continues in *saṃsāra* with the living consciousness. It is this empirical consciousness that is called dependently originated. But the extra - empirical surviving consciousness is denied any quality of agency. It is the *gandhabba* which is necessary for a conception to take place and it is none other than the *Saṃvattanika viññāṇa*. Prof. Wijesekara adds, the history of the evolution of this and histological *gandhabba* shows that even some of the later Buddhist schools, interpreting the surviving factor as some being (*satta*) or personality (*puggala*) endowed with a full sense apparatus and even, in the opinion of some, a subtle, transporting (*ativāhika*) body of some sort comparable to the *liṅga-s'arira* , had forgotten the exact import of the concept and ignored the term *gandhabba* completely". However all these shows that Sāti was not after all an ignoramus of little education as held by the Pāli commentators.

C. Witanachchi

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[1]Wijesekara, O. H. de A., Buddhist and Vedic Studies, Ed. Jayasuriya, M.H.F., Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1994, The concept of Viññāna in Theravāda Buddhism p. 103ff ;Pāli *vado Vedeyyo* and Upaniṣadic *Avāki- Anadarah* p. 167ff.

SATI

SATI (Sanskrit *smṛti*), usually translated as mindfulness, or as awareness', constitutes a mental quality of crucial importance in early Buddhism. In order to comprehensively cover the main aspects of this important mental quality, the present article will consider *sati* in relation to memory, to sense restraint, as a factor of the noble eightfold path, as a factor of awakening, and in relation to concentration.

I. *Sati* and memory

The term *sati* is related to the verb *sarati*, to remember. This remembrance aspect of *sati* is personified by the Buddha's disciple most eminent in *sati*, Ānanda (*A*. I, 24), who is credited with the almost incredible feat of recalling all the discourses spoken by the Buddha (*Vin*. II, 287 and *Thag*. 1024).

This connotation of *sati* as memory appears also in its formal definition in the discourses, which runs: he is mindful, being endowed with highest discriminative mindfulness (so that) things said or done long ago are recalled and remembered' (*M*. I, 356: *satimāhoti, paramena satinepakkena samannāgato, cirakatam-pi cirabhāsitam-pi saritā anusaritā*). What this definition of *sati*, points to is that if *sati* is present memory will be able to function well.

Thus mindfulness being present (*upaṭṭhitasati*) implies presence of mind, in so far as it is directly opposed to absent-mindedness (*muṭṭhasati*,). Presence of mind in the sense that, endowed with *sati*, one is widely awake in regard to the present moment. Due to such presence of mind, whatever one does or says will be clearly apprehended by the mind, and thus can be more easily remembered later on.

Sati is required not only to fully take in the moment to be remembered, but also to bring this moment back to mind at a later time. To 're-collect', then, becomes just a particular instance of a state of mind characterised by 'collectedness' and the absence of distraction.

The kind of mental state in which memory functions well can be characterised by a certain degree of breadth, in contrast to a narrow focus. It is this breadth that enables the mind to make the necessary connections between information received in the present moment and information to be remembered from the past. This quality becomes evident on those

occasions when one tries to recall a particular instance or fact but where, the more one applies one's mind, the less one is able to remember it. Yet, if the issue in question is laid aside for a while and the mind is in a state of relaxed receptivity, the information one was trying to remember may suddenly spring to mind.

The suggestion that the mental state in which *sati* is well established can be characterised as having 'breadth' instead of a narrow focus finds support in the *Lohicca Sutta*, which relates the absence of *sati* to a narrow state of mind *(parittacetasa)*, while its presence leads to a broad and even boundless' state of mind *(appamānacetasa- S.* IV. 119-120). Based on this nuance of 'breadth of mind', *sati* can be understood to represent the ability to simultaneously maintain in one's mind the various elements and facets of a particular situation.

This nuance of 'breadth of mind' has found its expression in a simile in the *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta*, which describes a cowherd who had to closely watch over his cows to prevent them from straying into the fields where the crop was ripe. But once the crop was harvested, he was able to relax, sit under a tree, and watch over them from a distance. To express this comparatively relaxed and distant manner of observation, *sati* is used *(M.* I, 117: *sati karaṇīyam)*. The disposition suggested by this simile is a calm and detached type of observation, a quite literally broad state of mind that watches over the whole of a situation.

Another simile supporting this quality of overseeing a situation from a detached position occurs in a verse in the *Theragāthā* which compares the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna* to climbing on to an elevated platform or tower *(Thag. 765)*. Connotations of uninvolved detachment are confirmed by the context of this passage, which contrasts the tower image to being carried away by the stream of desire. This tower simile brings out quite vividly the ability to oversee a whole situation and thereby be aware of its various aspects.

This ability of overseeing a situation as a quality of *sati* is described in yet another simile found in the *Magga Saṃyutta*, which compares *sati* to a careful charioteer (*S.*V, 6). The qualities evoked by this simile are careful and balanced supervision.

This quality of balanced supervision is a central function of *sati* among the faculties *(indriya)* and powers *(bala)*. These faculties and powers are altogether five: confidence *(saddhā)*, energy *(viriya)*, mindfulness *(sati)*, concentration *(samādhi)* and wisdom *(paññā)*. Among these, *sati* is placed in the middle position, indicating its central function of balancing and monitoring the other faculties and powers, by becoming aware of excesses or deficiencies.

2. *Sati* in relation to *indriya saṃvara*

Sati as a mental quality is closely related to attention *(manasikāra)*, a basic function which, according to the definition of *nāma* found in the discourses *M.* I, 53*)*, is present in any kind of mental state. This basic faculty of ordinary attention characterises the initial split seconds of bare cognising of an object, before one begins to recognise, identify and conceptualise. *Sati* can be understood as a further development and temporal extension of this type of attention, thereby adding clarity and depth to the usually much too short fraction of time occupied by bare attention in the perceptual process.

This 'bare attention' aspect of *sati* has an intriguing potential, since it is capable of leading to a de-automatisation of mental mechanisms. Through bare *sati* one is able to see things just as they are, unadulterated by habitual reactions and projections. By bringing the perceptual process into the full light of awareness, one becomes conscious of automatic and habitual responses to perceptual data. Full awareness of these automatic responses is the necessary preliminary step to changing detrimental mental habits.

Sati as bare attention is particularly relevant to restraint at the sense doors *(indriya saṃvara)*. In this aspect of the gradual path, the practitioner is encouraged to retain bare *sati* in regard to all sense-input. Through the simple presence of undisrupted and bare mindfulness, the mind is 'restrained' from amplifying and proliferating the received information in various ways.

This quality of careful supervision occurs in a simile in which *sati* is personified by the gatekeeper of a town *(A.* IV, 110-11 1). This town has energy *(viriya)* as its troops and wisdom *paññā* as its fortification,

while the function of the gatekeeper *sati* is to recognise the genuine citizens of the town and to allow them to enter the gates. This simile brings out the restraining function of bare *sati*. Just as the presence of the gatekeeper prevents those not entitled from entering the town, so too the presence of well-established *sati* prevents the arising of unwholesome associations and reactions at the sense doors. The same protective role of *sati* underlies also other passages, which introduce *sati* as the one factor that guards the mind *(D. III, 269* and *A. V, 30)*, or as a mental quality able to exert a controlling influence on thoughts and intentions *(A. IV, 385)*.

Such controlling or restraining of the mind is however a gradual process, as depicted in the *Dantabhūmisutta*, which compares *satipaṭṭhāna* to the taming of a wild elephant *Dantabhūmisutta* (*M.* 111, 136). Just as a recently caught elephant has to be gradually weaned of his forest habits, so too *satipaṭṭhāna* will gradually wean a monk from memories and intentions related to the household life.

The ability of guarding the mind is in particular a benefit of mindfulness directed to the body. Once one has learned to be aware of the body, to be 'with' the body during its natural activities instead of being carried away by various thoughts and ideas, one is mentally anchored in the body and thereby less prone to be carried away by mental distraction. This aspect of *sati* can be found in another simile, which depicts a man carrying a bowl brimful of oil on his head through a crowd watching a beautiful girl singing and dancing. (*S.* V, 170). He is followed by another man with a drawn sword, ready to cut off his head if even one drop of the oil is spilled. To preserve his life, the man carrying the oil has to apply his full attention to each step and movement, without allowing the commotion around the girl to distract him. The image of carrying an object on the head in particular points to the balance and centeredness that accompany bodily activities carried out with *sati*. Another important aspect of this simile is that it relates awareness of the body's activities to sense restraint.

Sense restraint comes up again in another simile, which compares mindfulness of the body to a strong post, to which six different wild animals are bound (*S.* IV, 198). Since the animals are firmly bound to the post, however much they may struggle to escape, sooner or later they have to give up and sit or lie down next to the post. In a similar way, mindfulness of the body can become a 'strong post' for 'taming' the six senses. This simile illustrates the benefit of being grounded in the experience of the present moment through mindfulness of the body. Lacking such grounding through body awareness, attachment and clinging can easily find an opportunity to arise.

The relevance of *sati* in relation to sense restraint comes up again in a simile found in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which compares the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna* to a cowherd's skill in knowing the proper pasture for his cows (*A.* V, 352). Another discourse employs the same image to describe the situation of a monkey who has to avoid straying into regions visited by hunters (*S.* V, 148). Just as the monkey, wishing to be safe, has to keep to its proper pasture, so too practitioners of the path should keep to their proper pasture, which is *satipaṭṭhāna*. The need to keep to one's proper pasture comes up again in a parallel simile depicting a quail, which in this way can avoid getting caught by a falcon (*S.* V, 146). This set of images concerned with proper pasture point to the restraining role of *sati* in regard to sanse input.

3. *Sammāsati*

In the noble eightfold path, *sati* occupies the middle position in the three factored path-section directly concerned with mental training *(sammā vāyāma, sammā sati, sammā samādhi)*. This position of *sati* in between the two mental qualities of energy and concentration is found also in the enumeration of the faculties and powers. This position mirrors a natural progression in the development of *sati*, since in the early stages of practice a considerable degree of energy is required to counter distraction, while well-established *sati* in turn leads to an increasingly concentrated and calm state of mind.

Numerous discourses mention "wrong" mindfulness *(micchā sati)*, indicating that certain forms of *sati* can be quite different from right mindfulness.[1] These references to wrong types of *sati* to some extent disagree with the presentation in the Pāli commentaries of *sati* as an exclusively wholesome mental factor, *(DhsA.* 250, the Sarvāstivāda tradition however considers *sati* to be an indeterminate mental factor). At first sight this presentation may seem convincing,

in view of the many wholesome repercussions of *sati*. Yet this presentation of the commentaries causes a practical difficulty: how to reconcile *sati* as a wholesome factor with *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplation of the hindrances, if wholesome and unwholesome mental qualities cannot coexist in the same state of mind? The *satipaṭṭhāna* interactions for contemplating a hindrance clearly refer to such a hindrance being present at the time of practice, *M*. 1, 60: "he knows: 'there is in me'", *atthi me ajjhattaṃ*". The *satipaṭṭhāna* Sub commentary (1, 373, Burm. ed.) attempts to solve this contradiction by presenting *satipaṭṭhāna* of a defiled state of mind as a quick alternation between mind-moments associated with *sati* and those under the influence of defilements. The problem with this explanation is, however, that with either the defilement or else *sati* being absent, *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplation of the presence of a defilement in one's mind becomes impossible.

The problem with this commentarial explanation is that it can lead to the mistaken notion that *satipaṭṭhāna* cannot be practised with a defiled state of mind. This, however, is a serious underestimation of "the potential of *sati*, whose scope includes whatever happens in the mind. *Sati* is to know and clearly recognize whatever is taking place, especially so when a negativity has arisen in the mind. In fact, the Buddha clearly declared that *sati* is beneficial on all occasions, *satiñca, sabbatthikaṃ vadāmi* (*S*.V, 1 15), thus there is no need to reserve it only for those occasions when all is well and the mind is at peace.

The standard definition of *sammā sati* speaks invariably of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*. A close examination of these four *satipaṭṭhānas* reveals that the meditator is never instructed to actively interfere with what happens in the mind. If a mental hindrance arises, for example, the task of *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplation is to know that the hindrance is present, to know what has led to its arising, and to know what will lead to its disappearance. A more active intervention is no longer the domain of *satipaṭṭhāna*, but rather belongs to the province of right effort (*sammā vāyāma*).

The need to distinguish clearly between a first stage of observation and a second stage of taking action is, according to the Buddha, an essential feature of his way of teaching (*It*. 33). The simple reason for this approach is that only the preliminary step of calmly assessing a situation without immediately reacting enables one to then undertake the appropriate action.

Thus, although *sati* furnishes the necessary information for a wise deployment of right effort and will monitor the countermeasures by noting if these are excessive or deficient, nevertheless *sati* remains an aloof quality of uninvolved and detached observation. *Sati* can interact with other, much more active factors of the mind, yet by itself it does not interfere. Such uninvolved and detached receptivity is a crucial characteristic of *sati*. The purpose of *sati* is solely to make things conscious, not to eliminate them. *Sati* silently observes, like a spectator at a play, without in any way interfering. Such silent and non-reactive observation can at times suffice to curb unwholesomeness, so that an application of *sati* can have quite active consequences. Yet *sati's* activity is confined to detached observation. That is, *sati* does not change experience, it deepens it.

This non-interfering quality of *sati* is required to enable one to clearly observe the building up of reactions and their underlying motives. As soon as one becomes in any way involved in a reaction, the detached observational vantage point is lost. The detached receptivity of *sati* enables one to step back from the situation at hand and thereby to become an unbiased observer of one's subjective involvement and of the entire situation. This detached distance allows for a more objective perspective, a characteristic illustrated in the above-mentioned similes of climbing onto a tower.

According to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the detached but receptive stance of *satipaṭṭhāna* constitutes a 'middle path', since it avoids the two extremes of self mortification and sense indulgence (*A*. 1, 295). The receptivity of *sati*, in the absence of both suppression and reaction, allows personal shortcomings and unjustified reactions to unfold before the watchful stance of the meditator, without being suppressed by the affective investment inherent in one's self-image. Maintaining the presence of *sati* in this way is closely related to the ability to tolerate a high degree of cognitive dissonance, since the witnessing of one's own shortcomings ordinarily leads to unconscious attempts at reducing the resulting feeling of discomfort by avoiding or even altering the perceived information.

This shift towards a more objective and uninvolved perspective introduces an important element of sobriety into self-observation. The element of sobriety, inherent in the presence of *sati* comes up in an entertaining canonical description of a particular celestial realm, whose divine inhabitants get so intoxicated with sensual indulgence that they lose all *sati*. As a consequence of being without *sati*, they fall from their elevated celestial position and are reborn in a lower realm (*D*.I, 19 and *D*. III, 31). The reverse case is also documented in another discourse, where negligent monks, reborn in an inferior celestial realm, on regaining their *sati* are at once able to ascend to a higher realm (*D*. II, 272). Both instances illustrate the edifying power of *sati* and its wholesome repercussions.

4 *Sati* as a *bojjhaṅga*

The wholesome repercussions of well established *sati* become particularly evident when its role among the factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*) is considered, where *sati* assumes the starting position. Here *sati* constitutes the foundation for those factors that bring about realisation.

The supportive role of *sati*, in the development of wisdom is reflected in a verse from the *Sutta Nipāta*, according to which *sati* keeps the streams in this world in check, so that the faculty of wisdom can cut them off (*Sn*. 1035). This verse points in particular to the role of *sati* in relation to restraint at the sense doors (*indriya saṃvara*) as a basis for the development of wisdom.

This preparatory role of *sati* for the development of wisdom is illustrated again in another simile, which compares *sati* to the probe of a surgeon (*M*. 11, 260). Like the surgeon's probe, whose function is to provide information about the wound for subsequent treatment, so too the 'probe' *sati* can be used to carefully gather information, thereby preparing the ground for subsequent action.

This ground-preparing quality is conveyed again by another simile, relating *sati* to the goad and the ploughshare of a farmer (*S*. I, 172 and *Sn*. 77). Just as a farmer has to first plough the ground in order to be able to sow, so too *sati* fulfils an important preparatory role for the arising of the other *bojjhaṅgas*. The fact that ploughshare and goad are mentioned together in this simile points moreover to the need to combine clarity of direction with balanced effort in developing *sati*, since the farmer has to execute two tasks at the same time: with the goad in his one hand he has to ensure the straightness of the furrow by keeping the oxen moving in a straight line, while with the other hand he has to exert just the right amount of pressure on the ploughshare, avoiding that it gets either stuck because he has pushed it too deeply into the ground or else only scratches over the surface due to lack of pressure.

This role of *sati* in support of the arising of wisdom occurs again in another simile, which associates the parts of an elephant's body with mental qualities and factors. Here *sati* is compared to the elephant's neck, the natural support for its head, which in the same simile represents wisdom (*A*. III, 346). The choice of the elephant's neck is of additional significance, since it is a characteristic of both elephants and Buddhas to look around by turning with the whole body instead of only with the head (*M*. II, 137). The elephant's neck, then, represents the quality of giving full attention to a matter at hand as a feature of *sati*.

What the similes of "keeping the streams in check", of the "surgeon's probe", of the "plough share" and of the "elephant's neck" have in common is that they illustrate the preparatory role of *sati* for insight. According to these similes, *sati* is the mental quality that enables wisdom to arise.

5. *Sati* and concentration

The continuous presence of well-established *sati* is not only of relevance to the development of wisdom, but also constitutes an important requirement for attaining absorption *jhāna*. As the *Visuddhimagga* points out, without the support of sati concentration cannot reach the level of absorption (*Vism*. 514). *Sati* becomes particularly prominent when the third level of absorption (*jhāna*) is reached, expressed in the standard descriptions of the third *jhāna* by explicitly mentioning *sati* as a qualifying factor of this absorption. With the attainment of the fourth absorption, when the mind has reached such a degree of proficiency that it can be directed towards the

development of supernormal powers, *sati* also reaches a high degree of purity, due to its association with deep equanimity.

Even though *sati* has thus an important role to fulfill in regard to the development of deeper levels of concentration *(samādhi)*, the characteristic functions of *sati* and concentration are quite distinct. While concentration corresponds to an enhancement of the selective function of the mind, by way of restricting the breadth of attention, *sati* on its own represents an enhancement of the recollective function, by way of expanding the breadth of attention. These two modes of mental functioning correspond to two different cortical control mechanisms in the brain. This difference, however, does not imply that the two are incompatible, since during absorption attainment both are present. Yet, during absorption *sati* becomes mainly presence of the mind, when it to some extent loses its natural breadth due to the strong focusing power of concentration.

The difference between these two becomes evident from the vocabulary employed in a discourse from the *Satipaṭṭhāna Saṃyutta (S.* V, 156). In this discourse the Buddha recommended that, if one is being distracted or sluggish while practising *satipaṭṭhāna*, one should temporarily change one's practice and develop a tranquility *(samatha)* object of meditation, in order to cultivate internal joy and serenity. This he termed a 'directed' form of meditation *paṇidhāya bhāvanā*. Once, however, the mind has been calmed, one can return to an 'undirected' mode of meditation *(apaṇidhāya bhāvanā*, namely the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna*. The distinction drawn in this discourse between directed and undirected forms of meditation suggests that, considered on their own, these two modes of meditation are clearly different. At the same time, however, the whole discourse is concerned with their skilful interrelation, clearly demonstrating that whatever the degree of their difference, the two can be interrelated and supports each other.

The characteristic quality of concentration is to direct and apply the mind, focusing on a single object to the exclusion of everything else. Thus the development of concentration promotes a shift from the common structure of experience as a subject-object duality towards an experience of unity. Concentration, however, thereby excludes a broader awareness of circumstances and of their interrelations. Yet, this awareness of circumstances and interrelations is essential in order to become aware of those characteristics of experience whose understanding leads to awakening. In this context, the broadly receptive quality of *sati* is particularly important.

Thus, although it plays an important part in the development of absorption, considered on its own *sati* is a mental quality distinct from concentration. Indeed, the reason why even the attainment of high levels of absorption by itself is insufficient for liberating insight is quite probably related to the inhibition of the broadly receptive observational qualities of awareness by the strong focusing power of absorption concentration. See also AWARENESS, SATIPAṬṬHĀNA.

Anālayo

Reference

[1] • *Micchā sati* occurs e.g. at *D.* II, 353; *D.* III, 254; *D.* III, 287; *D.* III, 290; *D.* III, 291; *M.* I, 42; *M.* I, 118; *M.*III, 77; *M.* III, 140; *S.*II, 168; *S.* III, 109; *S.* V, 1; *S.*V, 12; *S.*V, 13; *S.*V, 16; *S.*V, 18—20; *S.*V,23; *S.*V, 383; *A.* II, 220-229; *A.* III, 141; *A.* IV, 237; and *A.* V, 212-248.

SATIPAṬṬHĀNA (Sanskrit *smṛtyupasthāna*), is a compound of *sati*, mindfulness or awareness, and *upaṭṭhāna*, with the *u* of the latter term being dropped due to vowel elision. The Pāli term *upaṭṭhāna* literally means 'placing near', and in the present context refers to a particular way of 'being present' and 'attending' to something with mindfulness. Thus *satipaṭṭhāna* means that *sati* is 'being present' in the sense of attending to the current situation. The word *satipaṭṭhāna* can then be translated as 'presence of mindfulness' or as 'attending with mindfulness'.

The Pāli commentaries (e.g. *MA.* I, 238 or *Vism.* 678) however derive *satipaṭṭhāna* from the word *paṭṭhāna*, 'foundation' or 'cause'. With this commentarial explanation *satipaṭṭhāna*, instead of representing a particular attitude of being aware, becomes a 'foundation of mindfulness' *paṭṭhāna* being understood to refer to the 'cause' for the establishment of *sati*. This moves emphasis from the activity to the

object. Yet according to the rules of Pāli grammar on this derivation one would expect a doubling of the consonant, the resulting term then being *satipaṭṭhāna*. Moreover in the discourses contained in the Pāli canon the corresponding verb *paṭṭhāti* never occurs together with *sati*. In fact the noun *paṭṭhāna* is not found at all in the early discourses, but comes into use only in the historically later *Abhidhamma* and the commentaries. In contrast, the discourses frequently relate *sati* to verb *upaṭṭhahati*, indicating that 'presence' (*upaṭṭhāna)* is the etymologically correct derivation. This is also corroborated by the equivalent Sanskrit term *smṛtyupasthāna*, which documents that *upasṭhāna*, or its Pāli equivalent *upasthāna*, is correct choice for the compound.

On numerous occasions in the discourses four *satipaṭṭhānas* are enumerated, which are concerned with contemplating the body, feelings, mind and phenomena. According to the detailed exposition found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta* (*M*. I, 55-63), the range of the first *satipaṭṭhāna*, contemplation of the body, proceeds from mindfulness of breathing, of postures and of various activities, via an analysis of the body into its anatomical parts and its basic elements, to contemplating a corpse in decay.

The first of these, mindfulness of breathing, as a meditation exercise constitutes a convenient way of building up a foundation in mental calm and concentration. Mindfulness of breathing also has a considerable potential as a tool for the development of insight, the impermanent nature of the breath being easy to notice and thus a constant reminder of the impermanent nature of one's entire existence, which is so dependent on the next breath to be taken in.

The next of the exercise for body contemplation, mindfulness of the four postures of one's body, aims in particular at the development of general body awareness, a development which counters the mind's tendency to distraction and thus serves as an important foundation for more formal sitting mediation. Somewhat similar is also the third exercise, mindfulness and clear comprehension of bodily activities, which relates general awareness of the body to particular activities.

The next body contemplation exercise is concerned with the anatomical constitution of the body, exemplified by listing its various parts. This exercise can act as a convenient antidote to conceit and sensual desire. The first anatomical parts mentioned in this list are usually being taught to Buddhist monks and nuns on their day of ordination, no doubt as an encouragement to embark on this particular exercise as a protective and supportive practice for their celibate life.

Next comes contemplation of the body in terms of the four elements, which are earth (*paṭhavi*), water (*āpo*), fire (*tejo*), and air (*vāyo*). This exercise can lead to deep insight into the selfless nature of the body, which is but a combination of these four elements and thereby not different from any other manifestation of these four elements found elsewhere in nature.

The body contemplations conclude with the cemetery contemplations, which direct mindfulness to different stages of a dead body in decay. Similar to the contemplation of the anatomical parts, this exercise can also act as an antidote to conceit and sensual desire. It moreover quite vividly documents the impermanent nature of the body, whose final destination is none other than death.

Central topics of the first *satipaṭṭhāna* are thus a gradual building up of foundations in mental calm and mindfulness and a deepening insight into the true nature of the body.

The second *satipaṭṭhāna* is concerned with contemplation of feelings. According to the instructions given, feelings are to be distinguished according to their affective quality into pleasant (*sukha*), unpleasant (*dukkha*) and neutral (*adukkhmasukha*) types. Here the mediator's task is to be aware of the affective input provided by feeling during the very early stages of the process of perception, before the onset of reactions, projections and mental elaborations in regard to what has been perceived. According to the later part of the instructions for this *satipaṭṭhāna*, these three types of feelings are moreover to be differentiated into worldly (*sāmisa*) or unworldly (*nirāmisa*) occurrences. The later part of contemplation of feelings thus introduces an ethical distinction of feelings, aimed at the important difference between worldly feelings caused by 'carnal' experiences, and unworldly feelings related to renunciation and spiritual practices.

Contemplation of the mind covers the presence or absence of four unwholesome states of mind: the lustful (*sarāga*), angry (*sadosa*), deluded (*samoha*) and the distracted (*vikkhitta*) states of mind. The main task here is to avoid being carried away by any particular train of thought and instead to clearly recognize the state of mind underlying this train of thought. In this way the motivating forces at work in one's mind are uncovered and insight into the working mechanism of the mind becomes possible. The latter part of the same contemplation of the mind is also concerned with the presence or absence of four higher states of mind: the great (*mahaggata*), unsurpassable (*anuttara*), concentrated (*samāhita*) and liberated (*vimutta*) states of mind, these terms being mainly references to states of mind experienced during the more advanced stages of tranquility meditation.

The hindrances (*nīvarana*), those factors that particularly obstruct the proper functioning of the mind and therewith all attempts at meditation, are the first object of contemplation of phenomena. In regard to the hindrances one is to recognize their presence and absence, and one is to gain insight into how they arose, how they can be overcome, and how their future arising can be prevented.

After covering the hindrances to meditative practice, the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna* next progresses to two analyses of subjective experience: the five aggregates and the six sense spheres. In regard to the aggregates, their arising and passing away is to be contemplated. This exercise can lead to insight into the impermanent and selfless nature of all aspects of what one takes to be 'oneself'. Such contemplation of the arising and passing away of the aggregates features prominent in the discourse as a form of meditation capable of leading all the way through to full awakening. In regard to the sense-spheres, here the arising of a fetter at any sense -door is the object of *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplation. The meditator's task here is to gain insight into and control over the influence exercised by experience on the mind.

These two analyses are followed by contemplation of the awakening factors (*bojjhanga*). These awakening factors, of which *sati* is the first and foundational one, are those seven mental qualities or factors that have to be brought into being in order to be able to gain awakening. Their contemplation as a *satipaṭṭhāna* is to be aware of their presence and absence, and to be aware of how they can be brought into being and further developed.

The culmination of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice is reached with the contemplation of the four noble truths, full understanding of which coincides with realisation. According to the *Dvayatānupassanā Sutta*, contemplation of the four noble truths can be undertaken by either contemplating *dukkha* and its arising, or be directing mindfulness to the cessation of *dukkha* and the path leading thereto (prose introduction to *Sn.* 724).

The *satipaṭṭhāna* commentary recommends each of the four *satipaṭṭhānas* for a specific type of character or inclination (*MA.* I, 239). According to its exposition, body and feeling contemplation should be the main field of practice for those who tend more strongly towards craving, while meditators predominantly given to intellectual speculation should place more emphasis on contemplating mind or phenomena. Understood in this way, practice of the first two *satipaṭṭhānas* suits those with a more affective inclination, while the other two are particularly recommendable for those of a more cognitive orientation. In both cases, those whose character is to think and react quickly can profitably centre their practice on the relatively subtler contemplations of feelings or phenomena, while those whose mental faculties are more circumspect and measured will have better results if they base their practice on the grosser objects of body or mind.

The *Nettippakaraṇa* and the *Visuddhimagga* also set the four *satipaṭṭhānas* in opposition to the four distortions (*vipallāsas*), which are to mistake what is unattractive, unsatisfactory , impermanent, and not self, for being attractive, satisfactory, permanent, and a self (*Nett.* 83 and *Vism.* 678). According to them, contemplation of the body has the potential to reveal in particular the absence of bodily beauty; observation of the true nature of feelings can counter one's incessant search for fleeting pleasures; awareness of the succession of states of mind can disclose the impermanent nature of all subjective experience, and contemplation of phenomena can reveal that the notion of a substantial and permanent self is nothing but an illusion. This presentation brings to light the main

theme that underlies each of the four *satipaṭṭhāna* and indicates which of them is particularly appropriate for dispelling the illusion of beauty, happiness, permanence, or self. Although the corresponding insights are certainly not restricted to one *satipaṭṭhāna* alone, nevertheless this particular correlation indicates which *satipaṭṭhāna* is particularly suitable in order to correct a specific distortion (*vipallāsa*).

In the end, however, all four *satipaṭṭhānas* partake of the same essence. According to the *satipaṭṭhāna* commentary, each of them is capable of leading to realization, like different gateways leading to the same city (*MA.* I, 239). As the commentary to the *Vibhaṅga* points out, the fourfold division is only functional and can be compared to a weaver splitting a piece of bamboo into four parts to weave a basket. (*VibhA.* 222).

According to a set of verses in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Saṃyutta*, these four *satipaṭṭhānas* form the direct or only path (*ekāyano maggo*) for crossing the flood in past, present, and future times (*S.* V. 168 and *S.* V. 186). The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* also uses the same expression in order to introduce *satipaṭṭhāna* as the path for the purification of beings and for the realisation of *Nibbāna* (*M.* I, 55). *Satipaṭṭhāna* is indeed a necessary requirement for awakening, since whosoever have escaped, are escaping, or will escape from this world, all of them do so by way of well developing the four *satipaṭṭhānas* (A.V. 195). That is, only with *Satipaṭṭhāna* is awakening possible, not without it.

Satipaṭṭhāna stands, however, in necessary interdependence with the other factors of the noble eightfold path, so that it would be a misunderstanding to believe that by practicing only *satipaṭṭhāna*, awakening can be gained. Rather, for *satipaṭṭhāna* to yield its potential fruits, right view and good standards of morality are the indispensable foundations (see *S.* V. 143; *S.* V. 165; *S.* V. 187; and *S.* V. 188).

Another important requirement for successful *satipaṭṭhāna* practice is that it should lead to insight into the arising and passing away of phenomena. This importance is highlighted in the *Vibhaṅga Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* V. 183), according to which it is this insight which marks the distinction between mere establishment of *satipaṭṭhāna* and its complete and full 'development' (*bhāvanā*). This passage indicates that mere awareness of the various objects listed under the four *satipaṭṭhānas* may not suffice for the task of developing penetrative insight. What is additionally required is to move on to a comprehensive vision of impermanence, to contemplating the arising and passing away of all events, a requirement explicitly mentioned in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* after each of the exercises.

In this way, based on right view and moral conduct and aimed at an understanding of the impermanent and therewith unsatisfactory and selfless nature of reality, *satipaṭṭhāna* forms the path leading to the realisation of the goal supreme , of *Nibbāna*.

See also ĀNĀPĀNA-SATI, ANUPASSANĀ, ASUBHA BHĀVANĀ, CONTEMPLATION, DHAMMĀNUPASSANĀ, KĀYAGATĀSATI, KĀYĀNUPASSANĀ, SATI, SUKKHAVIPASSAKA.

Anālayo.

SATIPAṬṬHĀNA SUTTA is the title of the tenth discourse of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* I, 55-63). Precisely the same discourse recurs as the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* II, 305-315), the only difference being that this discourse offers a more extensive treatment of the four noble truths, the last of the *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplations. Apart from these two, there are also three smaller *Satipaṭṭhāna Suttas* at *S.* IV, 360, *S.* IV, 363 and *A.* III, 142. The first two of these three just briefly point out that the four *satipaṭṭhānas* lead to the unconditioned. The third, in some editions also called the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, declares that being mindful of five things, namely the rise and fall of phenomena, the lack of beauty of the body, the lack of appeal in food, the unattractive nature of the whole world, and the impermanent nature of all conditioned phenomena, will enable one to become an arahant or a non-returner. In addition to these discourses, there is also a *Satipaṭṭhāna Saṃyutta* at *S.* V, 141-192; a *Satipaṭṭhāna Vagga* at *A.* IV, 457-462; a *Satipaṭṭhāna Vibhaṅga* at *Vbh.* 19-207; and a *Satipaṭṭhāna Kathā* at *Kvu.* 155-159 and at *Ps.* II, 232-235. Evidently the topic of *Satipaṭṭhāna* has received ample treatment in the Pali Canon.

Not only the Pali Canon offers descriptions of *Satipaṭṭhāna* , but the Chinese *āgamas* have also

preserved two parallels to the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*. These come as the ninety-eighth sutra in the Chinese *Madhyama Āgama* (Taish° 1 no. 26 p. 582b) and as the first sutra in the twelfth chapter of the *Ekottara Āgama* (Taish° 2 no. 125 p. 568).

The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* takes place at *Kammāsadhamma* in the Kuru country, a location corresponding to the area of modern Delhi. Thus the setting of this discourse is somewhat removed from the Ganges valley, suggesting that the discourse was probably delivered at a comparatively later period of the Buddha's life, at a time when his sphere of influence had spread to distant areas such as the Kuru country. The commentary (*MA*. I, 228) draws specific attention to the ability of the inhabitants of the Kuru country to understand deep teachings and their willingness to engage in the practice of meditation, this being the reason why the Buddha chose to explain the topic of *satipaṭṭhāna* in such detail at this location.

The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* starts with the Buddha's declaration that *Satipaṭṭhāna* constitutes the direct or only path (*ekāyano maggo*) for the purification of beings, for realizing *Nibbāna*. The next section of the discourse offers a short definition mentions four *Satipaṭṭhānas* for contemplation: body, feelings, mind, and phenomena. The definition, also specifies the mental qualities that are instrumental for *Satipaṭṭhāna*, one should be diligent (*ātāpi*), clearly comprehending (*sampajāna*), mindful (*sati*) and free from desires and discontent (*vineyya lokeabhijjhādomanassa*).

The main body of the discourse then describes the four *Satipaṭṭhānas* (q.v.) in detail. Each of the exercises described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* is followed by a particular formula, according to which *Satipaṭṭhāna contemplation* should cover internal and external phenomena, and is concerned with their arising and passing away. The same formula also points out that mindfulness should be established merely for the sake of developing bare knowledge and for achieving continuity of awareness, and that proper *Satipaṭṭhāna* contemplation takes place free from any dependency of clinging.

The discourse rounds off this description of the four *Satipaṭṭhānas* with a prediction about the time period within which realization can be expected and ends by reporting the monks being delighted by the Buddha's exposition.

A comparison of the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the Pali canon with its two parallel versions in the Chinese *āgamas* reveals that all versions agree on the basic scheme of four *Satipaṭṭhānas*. The basic scheme occurs also in numerous discourses in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which usually mention only the bare outline of this scheme, without going into the details of their possible applications as found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Since one of these briefer discourses took place right after the Buddha's awakening (*S*. V, 167), it becomes clear that this basic scheme must have been a direct outcome of his realization. The details of their practical application, however, were only expounded at a later stage during the Buddha's sojourn in the Kuru country, and thus could represent the outcome of this teaching experience.,

In regard to the various meditations detailed in each area, the Chinese version from the *Madhyama Āgama* describes a total of eighteen body contemplations, against only six types of body contemplations found in the Pali version. Some of the contemplations listed in the *Madhyama āgama*, however, seem to belong rather to contemplation of mental states. Thus various ways of dealing with unwholesome thoughts are found as the third and the fourth of the body contemplations in the discourse, instructions which parallel the first and the last of the antidotes to unwholesome thoughts mentioned in the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* (*M*.I., 120).

Body contemplations six to nine in the *Madhyama Āgama* offer a detailed description of the development of the four *jhānas* together with the same set of similes as found in the Pali discourses. The positioning of the four *jhānas* under body contemplation does have a parallel in the *Kāyagatāsati Sutta* of the Pali canon, which directs awareness to the effect that these absorptions have on the physical body (*M*. III, 92).

The tenth and eleventh of the body contemplations in the *Madhyama Āgama* version are concerned with developing a brilliant perception and with remembering the contemplation image, expressions which could

correspond to the *aloka-saññā* and the *Samādhi-nimitta* found in the Pali discourses.

Another interesting finding is that the *Madhyama Āgama* version places mindfulness of breathing after the development of awareness of postures and clear comprehension of activities, whereas in the Pali version mindfulness of breathing occupies the first position among the body contemplation. This shift in the position of mindfulness of breathing is a meaningful alternation of the sequence of the body contemplations, since awareness of the four postures and clear comprehension of activities are simpler and more rudimentary forms of contemplation. Thus it seems reasonable to place them at the beginning of a cultivation of *satipaṭṭhāna*, as convenient ways of building up a foundation in *sati*. Moreover, awareness of postures and clear comprehension of activities are predominantly concerned with the body in action, whereas mindfulness of breathing and the remaining body contemplations would probably be carried out predominantly in the stable sitting posture. The proper sitting posture is in fact described in detail only in the instructions for mindfulness of breathing, indicating that its position could fit in well after awareness of postures and clear comprehension of activities.

In the Chinese version found in the *Ekottara Āgama*, however, mindfulness of breathing is not mentioned at all. In this particular exposition contemplation of the body covers only four exercises: contemplation of the anatomical parts, of the four elements, of the various bodily orifices together with the impure liquids discharged by them and of a corpse in decay. The first two and the last of these four are also found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, whereas the third has parallels elsewhere in the Pali canon, namely in the *Gaṇḍa Sutta* (*A.* IV, 386) and in the *Vijaya Sutta* (*Sn.* 197-198).

Thus what is common among the Pali version of body contemplations found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* and its Chinese parallels are the contemplation of anatomical parts, of the four elements and of its decay after death. This agreement among the different versions clearly indicates that a central theme of contemplating the body as a *Satipaṭṭhāna* is to gain an insight into its true nature and constitution.

Concerning the next two *satipaṭṭhānas* , there is little disagreement between the Chinese and the Pali versions. In addition to the types of feelings listed in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, the *Madhyama Āgama* version has feelings connected with desire and feelings related to food; while the *Ekottara Āgama* version directs awareness to the fact that the presence of one type of feeling excludes the presence of the other two, a statement found also in the *Mahānidānasutta* (*D.* II, 66). In addition to the states of mind found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, the *Madhyama Āgama* version also instructs to contemplate a state of mind with or without blemishes, while the *Ekottara Āgama* version has craving and mastery of the mind as additional categories.

Additional categories for these two contemplations can also be found in the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga* of the Pali canon , which includes the six types of feelings and the six types of consciousness, differentiated according to the six senses, in the respective lists for contemplation of feelings and contemplation of states of mind (*Ps.* II, 233 and *Ps.* II, 234).

Concerning the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna*, it is noteworthy that contemplation of the five aggregates and of the four noble truths are absent from both Chinese versions, and even contemplation of the sense spheres is found only in the *Madhyama Āgama* version. Thus what remains as the unanimously accepted core of the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna* in its Pali and Chinese versions are the contemplation of the five hindrances and the contemplation of the seven factors of awakening. The same is also found in the *Vibhaṅga* of the Pali Abhidhamma, which lists just these two meditation practices under the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna* (*Vbh.*199). This agreement between the different sources throws into relief the importance of abandoning the hindrances and developing the factors of awakening for the path to realization. To overcome the hindrances, to practice *satipaṭṭhāna* and to establish the factors of awakening are indeed, according to several Pali discourses, key aspects of awakening (*D.* II, 83; *D.* III, 101 and *S.*V, 160). This same statement forms also the introductory part of the *Madhyama Āgama* version of *satipaṭṭhāna*.

In drawing to the end of this comparison it may be noted that the prediction of realization in the *Madhyama Āgama* version allows for even quicker

awakening than the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, which reports the Buddha as stating that realization may be gained within a minimum of seven days. The Chinese version, however, has him stating that realization could occur in the evening even if one had only begun to practice that same morning. The potential of *satipaṭṭhāna* to lead to realization within the interval of just one day or night is also recognized by the Pali commentary to the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*MA*. I, 302), while the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta* relates the possibility of such instant realization to the development of the five factors of striving (*M*. II, 96).

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Anālayo.

SAUNDARĀNANDA. In all probability the earliest extant *mahākāvya* written in Sanskrit, attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, which together with the *Buddhacarita* of the same author and the *Raghuvaṃśa* and the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa, provided the model for Dandin in formulating his famous definition of a *Mahākāvya* or poem *par excellence*.

The colophons to his *Kāvyas* describe Aśvaghoṣa as a *bhikṣu* (Buddhist monk) hailing from Sāketa (former Ayodhyā) and the son of Suvarṇākṣi ('the golden-eyed one', being the name of his mother). He probably lived in Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar) in the first century A.C. during the reign of Kaniṣka. According to tradition, he was a brahmin, an adherent of the *Sarvāstivādi* School, who later embraced Mahayanism to become one of the forerunners of that school.

The *Saundarānanda* in 18 cantos relates the popular legend of the conversion of the reluctant Nanda, his half-brother, by the Buddha. Even after his formal conversion Nanda was not able to forget his beloved, village lass of ravishing beauty named Sundarī (which affair gives the poem its title, i.e. *Saundara+nanda*). The Buddha had to resort to a special ruse to dissuade Nanda from his passion for worldly pleasure.

Although clad in a monk's robe, Nanda was always thinking of his beloved and finding all excuses to return to household life. The Buddha then decided to take a bolder step, that is, to take him to heaven to show him heavenly nymphs who were much more beautiful than Sundarī. On their way to heaven the Buddha showed him in the Himalaya a one-eyed ape of awful appearance and asked Nanda how she compared with his Sundarī. For Nanda there was no comparison for the loveliness of his Sundarī, but when he saw the *apsaras* in heaven he had to change his opinion and admit that the comparison of heavenly nymphs with his Sundarī was similar to that between the latter and the ape they saw in the Himālaya. He now forgets his Sundarī and is infatuated with the nymphs. The Buddha then tells him that he could win heaven only by good deeds. After returning to earth he resolves to continue his ascetic life with the ultimate object of winning a nymph for enjoying sensual pleasure. But he was severely criticized by other monks for leading the life of a recluse with the ulterior motive of realizing worldly pleasure. Ven. Ānanda then had to drive home the fact that heavenly pleasures are fleeting and that one must return to earth when one's merits are exhausted. This made Nanda realize the folly of hankering after worldly pleasure and decided to seek the assistance of the Buddha. On listening to the Buddha, Nanda resolves to tread the nobler path of seeking not only his own salvation but also of preaching the doctrine to others for their emancipation.

This story recounted in brief in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Nidānakathā* does not warrant treatment in a *mahākāvya*, but Aśvaghoṣa seized the opportunity and developed it into a story of absorbing interest. The first part of the poem displays the poetic skills of Aśvaghoṣa, which describes the city of Kapilavastu, King Suddhodana, the birth of princes Siddhārtha and Nanda, the latter's love for Sundarī, the forcible conversion of Nanda, the conflict of his feelings and the lament of Sundarī over her lost fiancé. All this is delineated in elegant *Kāvya* style and possesses

considerable narrative interest. But towards the end of the poem the treatment becomes too dogmatic, the preacher getting the upper hand of Aśvaghoṣa the poet. This is no surprise because the main purpose of this *Sarvāstivādi* convert to Mahayanism was to inculcate religious ideals in the masses through his writings.

All the eighteen cantos of this poem are preserved in Sanskrit. Herein the poet displays his skill in prosody and grammar. His style is unmistakably *Vaidarbhī* which lays more emphasis on sense rather than mere ornament. He possesses a metrical skill of high calibre. He appears to have taken a delight in often employing such grammatical forms as Perfect, Aorist and Periphrastic future. Although quite a number of works are attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, *Saundarānanda* is one of three works that are known for certain to be of Aśvaghoṣa, the other two being the *Buddhacarita*, a *mahākāvya* and the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, a drama in nine acts preserved in fragmentary form. Aśvaghoṣa's greatness as poet, therefore, rests entirely on these works. All the other works ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa are Mahayanist in character. They are the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda sūtra*, the *Vajrasūci*, the *Sūtrālankāra* and the *Gaṇḍīstotra-gāthā*.

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SAUTRĀNTIKA: The school of Buddhism by that name and an adherent of the same school. In Pali sources the name of the school is given as Suttavāda (*Mhv.*5.9). The word *sūtrantakā* or *sūtrāntikā* (Pali *suttantikā*) was probably avoided in naming the school as it had, from early times (eg. *Vin.*II. 75) been used to denote experts on the *suttas* without any connotation of a school of Buddhism. Thus in naming the new school they have avoided the word *sūtra* and used instead the synonymous *sūtrānta*. Both the Pali *Mahavaṃsa (ibid)* and the *Samayabhedo-paracanacakra* of Vasumitra, quite significantly, give the name of this school at the very end of the list of Sthaviravāda (Theravāda) schools of Buddhism [1]. Murti[2] cites Masuda's view that Saṅkrāntivāda and Dārṣṭāntikavāda were either other names or stages of the Sautrāntikas. It is noteworthy that according to the Pali *Mahāvaṃsa (ibid)* the Sabbatthivāda school gave rise to the Kassapiyas who in turn gave rise to the Saṅkantikas and the Suttavādins emerged from them.

Ven Dhammajoti[3], however, considers the Dārṣṭāntikas to be the precursors of Sautrāntikas. According to him the early Sarvāstivadins were very much divided on the interpretation of even some of their basic tenets. There were a number of schools of thought within the Sarvāstivada fold even with regard to the interpretation of their main " everything exists" *(sarvaṃ asti)* concept. To the four great Abhidharmikas, Dharmatrāta, Buddhadeva, Vasumitra and Ghoṣaka are attributed four different interpretations to this concept. Of these four Dharmatrāta and Buddhadeva are also considered the most eminent Dārṣṭāntikas at the time of the compilation of the *Mahā Vibhāṣā Śāstra*. In this work, however, Dārṣṭāntikas are never referred to as Sautrāntikas. But by the time of the *Abhidharmakośa Bhāṣya* both appellations are used interchangeably. Subsequent to the *MVS* the then Dārṣṭāntika leader Kumāralāta is said to have been instrumental in the evolution of the Dārṣṭāntikas into Sautrāntikas. The name Kumāralāta is sometimes given as Kumaralābha or Kumaralabdha (*ERE*.II, p. 214, n 4). Charles Eliot[4] thinks that Kumaralabdha, founder of the Sautrantika school was perhaps identical with Kumarata, the eighteenth in the Chinese list of patriarchs.

Ven. Dhammajoti[5] also holds that the dogmatism and intolerance of the Vaibhāṣikas inevitably led the *sūtra*- centred Dārṣṭāntkas to co- operate with other holders of heterodox views, including the Mahāyāna Śūnyatāvādins, prevailing around the 1[st] and 2[nd] centuries A.C. and finally to change over to the ' present only exists' standpoint. It was in this process, says Dhammajoti, that a section among their radicals, the Dārṣṭāntikas eventually evolved into the Sautrantikas. In his subsequent publication Ven Dhammajoti[6] discusses the significance of the term

dārṣṭāntika. The Dārṣṭāntika masters, according to him, were known for their active effort in popularizing the Buddha's teachings employing poetry and possibly other literary devices and, they were particularly skilled in utilizing similies and allegories in demonstrating the Buddhist doctrines. It was for this reason, that they, most probably, came to be known as Dārṣṭāntikas. They were also known as meditators and proponents of meditation. At the same time there is evidence in the *Mahā Vibhāṣā Śāstra* that Dārṣṭāntika masters like Dharmatrāta and Buddhadeva were engaged in controverting Abhidharma doctrines. Therefore it is possible, thinks Dhammajoti, that there were two sections of Dārṣṭāntika, one more concerned with popular preaching and meditaton and the other with doctrinal disputation. It was probably from the latter that the Sautrantrikas came to be evolved.

In the process of disputation they also contributed to the development of Buddhist logic. For Vaibhāṣikas, who were themselves proud of their conformity to logic, spoke of Sautrantikas as arrogant in their logical skill (*tarkābhimāna*). This view also may support the idea put up by de La Vallée Poussin that not all the Dārṣṭāntikas were involved with the formation of the Sautrantika school. (*ERE*.11.213 a *f*). However, Dharmatrāta, described by Dhammajoti as a Dārṣṭāntika skilled in disputation, was also known for his literary skills. He is credited with the compilation of the *Udānavarga*[7]. If so Dharmatrāta must have been a Dārṣṭāntika active on both sides of the line and, therefore, it is difficult to judge where he stood in the formation of the Sautrāntika school.

Prof. Przyluski[8] has proposed a slightly different view regarding the use of the appellations Dārṣṭāntika and Sautrāntika. He thinks that *dṛṣṭānta* has to be contrasted with the term *sūtra* and both appellations, Dārṣṭāntika and Sautrāntika were used for the same group of people. But the former was used by their opponents derogatively while the latter was used by the Sautrāntikas with reference to themselves. Vallée Poussin has agreed with the view. But Dahmmajoti rejects it pointing out that the Sarvāstivādins, even while in disputation with them, refer to them with respect as " the Venerable/ Honourable Dārṣṭāntika" which is not a humiliating way of speaking. Dharmatrāta himself was referred to by them as Bhadanta. On the other hand we see that even such others as the Mahasanghikas and the Vibhajyavādins were criticized by them for " relying on the conventional parlance in the world" Thus it is clear that Sarvāstivādins only objected to the manner in which worldly similies were used to controvert Ābhidharmika doctrines, which they called *ārya-dharma*, by any one and not only by the Dārṣṭāntikas.

Amar Singh[9] tries to give a somewhat deeper interpretation to the term *dṛṣṭānta* which is not regarded by him as the simple simile (*upamā*)" which is not invariably conditioned by observed fact or sensory cognition and may be purely speculative, poetical or ficticious". He analyses the term as *dṛṣṭa*, 'seen or empirically observed' and, *antika* connoting ' conclusive or an end not requiring any further sources to prove it'. Thus for him "*dṛṣṭānta* is bound to be a perceived fact which is also the sole criterion to test the truth or falsity of an inference"

Singh holds that " the Dārstāntikas followed the Buddha's method of the *dṛṣṭānta* as preserved in the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, to cope with the doubtful, conflicting, confusing and uncertain doctrines of Vaibhāṣika Abhidharma". At a time when there was doctrinal turmoil in Buddhism due to various individual masters setting forth conflicting views through their Ābhidharmika expositions, Sautrāntikas adopted the neutral method of empirical example and logic to decide facts and to remove conflicting and doubtful doctrines. The application of *dṛṣṭānta* becomes the central point in this movement which latter terminated in logical and epistemological investigations. At a later stage Dārstāntikas favoured the name Sautrāntika for *sūtra* was agreed to contain the doctrine taught by the Buddha. It was only a new name for the Dārṣṭāntikas. Yaśomitra, for instance says in his *Sphuṭārtha*, that Dārṣṭāntikas are Sautrāntikas or a section of the Sautrāntikas (*sautrāntikaviśeṣaḥ*).

Among the most prominent Sautrāntika masters, according to Singh[10] were Bhadanta (Dharmatrāta?- see supra), Srīlāta, Gunamati, Kumāralāta and Vasubhandhu II . The last named was, according to him not the author of the *Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣya*. This he does not attribute to the scholar he calls Vasubandhu I , apparently the author of the *Abhidharmakoṣa*, who was later converted to Vijñānavāda by his brother Asanga. Vasubandu II he says, remained a Sautrantika till the end. Dinnāga was his pupil who in turn was the teacher of Dharmakirti.

These three continued the Sautrāntika philosophical tradition. As suggested by A.K. Warder in the foreward to this work, Singh's views may not be fully acceptable to all scholars in the field.

Doctrinal Standpoints of the Sautrāntikas

Sarvāstivadins regarded the Abhidharma as the final authority without which one cannot comprehend the teachings of the Buddha. This Vaibhāṣika standpoint is presented in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam* in the following words. " without the exposition in the *abhidharma* a pupil is unable to discern the dharma". As if correcting this Vaibhāṣika standpoint the author of the *Arthaviniścayasūtra-nibandhana* gives what appears to be the Sautrāntika standpoint, without the expositions in the *sūtras* the pupil is unable to discern the *dharma*".[11] Sautrantikas did not accept the *Abhidharma* to be the word of the Buddha. Abhidharma treatises, they argued, were the works of Kātyāyaniputra and others. The Buddha never mentioned it as a refuge (*pratiśaraṇa*) and the tenets of the different Abhidharma schools vary from one another. These arguments of the Sautrantikas were refuted by Sanghabhadra in his attempt to salvage the Vaibhāsika view point[12]. de La Valée Poussin (*ERE* vol. II *ibid)* says that the Sautrantikas who did not regard the Abhidhamma treatises as compositions of the Buddha or that he had instructed his disciples to compile such works, regarded that the Buddha had taught *abhidharma* in certain *sūtras* or *sūtrāntas* which constituted the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*. Such *sūtras* as the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* were raised to this position by the Sautrāntikas.

The main difference in view between the Sarvastivādins and the Sautrantikas, who had separated from them, was in the interpretation of the conception of " all exists" (*sarvāstitva)* which was common to all the schools of the Sarvastivādins. The Sautrantikas who belonged to the Sarvāstivāda group of Sthaviravāda schools also did not completely abandon this main "all exists" view 'when they broke away from the principal school. Instead they tried to give a different interpretation to the basic tenet. For them the correct and the only way of understanding the concept should be, " the past *dharmas* have existed, the future *dharmas* will come into existence and the present *dharmas* are existing" .Alternatively one could also say ' all exists' in the sense in which the *sūtra* (eg. *Sabba-sutta* in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*) says so: " Everything that is within the range of perception within the twelve *āyatanas* (and nothing more) – can legitimately be said to exist. In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* Vasubandhu defines the Sarvastivādins as those who hold that "all exists the past, the present and the future". Those, on the other hand, who hold that "some exist, viz. the present and the past karma which has not given fruit; and none of those which have given fruit or the future , are followers of *Vibhajyavāda*". In this Sautrāntikas fall into the Vibhajyavāda camp. Because of many holding conflicting views claimed to be Sarvāstivādins Sanghabhadra has attempted to distinctly dissociate Vaibhāsikas from the others whom he could not accept as real Sarvāstivādins. Here Sanghabhadra refers to Sautrāntikas as Kṣanikavādins who accept the reality of the twelve *āyatanas* of the present moment (*kṣaṇa).* Refusing to accept them as real Sarvāstivādins, he says their view " differs from Vaināśikas by just a mere a *kṣaṇa*", undoubtedly a derogatory labeling. Vaināśikas are said to hold that all *dharmas* are without *svabhāva*, like empty flowers[13]

Sautrāntikas accepted the reality of only the present time while the past and the future were considered unreal. Of the four Sarvāstivāda Ābhidharmika masters, Vasubandhu, considered as a Sautrāntika by Singh, accepted only Vasumitra's view on the triple division of time. Singh also has given a list of ontological topics of the Vaibhāṣikas critically examined by Vasubandhu on the ground that they involve contradictions with information of the senses (*pratyakṣa*) and the *Sūtrapiṭaka* viz., time (*kāla)*, the uncomposed (*asāṃskṛta*), intellectually discriminative cessation (*pratisaṃkhyā nirodha*), intellectually non-discrimative cessation (*apratisaṃkhyā*), durability (*sthiti)*, age (*āyu*), space (*ākāśa*), substance (*dravya)*, possession (*prāpti*), non- possession (aprāpti), making of consciousness (*vijñapti*), atom (*paramāṇu*), cessation (*nirodha)*, aggregate (*skandha)*, element (*dhātu)*, sense- sphere (*āyatana*), mental factor (*caitasika*), co-existing cause (*sahabhū hetu*), co-part cause (*sabhāga hetu*), applied cause (*samprayukta hetu)*, universal cause (*sarvatraga hetu*) resultant cause (*vipāka hetu)*, salvation (*nirvāṇa)* and form (*rūpa)*[14]. De La Vallée Poussin has also listed a number of doctrinal points to show the variety and the importance of the Sautrantika views[15]. They include the concepts of self- consciousness (*svasaṃvedana*); absence of direct

perception; the existence of external objects, but with conflicting views within the school on whether they possess a form or not; views on atoms; matter is only colour but not shape or figure; everything is painful for even pleasant feeling is painful as it is attenuated pain; destruction has no cause, as everything is perishable by nature etc.

Sautrāntikas, according to Murti[16], insisted on the creative work of thought and the doctrine of representative perception, which in turn, led to the Yogacāra idealism. For if only the ideas are known and the external object is inferred the irresistible conclusion is that only ideas are real and the world of objects is an ideal projection. Among Buddhists who advocated the most extreme form of atomism, according to Kalupahana,[17] were Sautrantikas. They argued that there is not even one moment when a phenomenon remains static in order to be cognized. Thus they were known as advocates of " the theory of representative perception" (*bāhyārthānumeya-vāda)*.They refused to recognize the static moment (*sthiti-kṣaṇa*) as it would violate the Buddha's conception of impermanence (*anitya)*.

Kalupahana also asserts that their conception of existence as consisting of momentary and atomic events led them to insurmountable difficulties in explaining causation or dependent arising. At the moment of the arising of a momentary event there would be no other event on which the successor could depend for its arising, for it has already passed away. Therefore they formed the view that all that is asserted by a theory of dependence is simply a succession of events (*samanantara)*, one event following another with no perceivable asymmetric or even symmetric relations. Conceptions of duration and identity, they feared, would rule out any notion of change or impermanence. They were compelled, as a result to accept a theory of " creation ex- nihilo" *(a-sat-kārya)* of every momentary existence.

Thus inability to account for the principle of dependence (*pratītyasamutpāda*) led the Sautrantikas, according to Kalupahana, to a major doctrinal conflict pertaining to the concepts of impermanence and continuity ,especially in relation to the human person. This ultimately led to the Vātsīyaputriya theory of a "real person" (*santaṃ pudgalaṃ)* which is neither substance (*dravya)* nor mere cognition (*prajñapti)*. This real person transcended both realistic and nominalistic explanations. However there seems to be a chronological problem here. Did the Sautrantikas precede the personalists in chronological order. The personalist view is the first controversial point debated in the *Kathāvatthu* as pointed out by Kalupahana himself. There is not a single view attributed to Sautrantikas (Suttavādins) included in this work originally compiled by Arahant Moggalīputtatissa in the 3rd century B.C. This school, as shown above, is at the very end of the *Sthavira* list of schools both in the Pali and the Buddhist Sanskrit traditions. It must have developed at a very late stage in the history of Buddhist schools. Therefore, even if Kalupahana is logically correct there could be chronological factors going against his view.

Charles Eliot[18] has also pointed out that indiscriminate acceptance of *sūtras* led the Sautrantikas to a creed in which the supernatural played a large part. They not only ascribed superhuman powers to the Buddha but also believed in the three bodies of the Buddha . This shows that the Sautrāntikas had drawn close to certain Mahāyāna views in the process of their development. Kalupahana[19] refers to the statement in the sarvāstivādin work *Abhidharmapradīpa* that the Sautrantikas " have reached the portals of *vaitulyaśāstra*" and asserts that " the essentialist Sautrāntika nominalism is what finally led to the absolute nominalism of the *Lotus*, and therefore of popular Mahāyāna". Singh[20] ,however does not think that the terms like *vaitulika*, used in the *Abhidharmapradīpa* indicate any particular school of Buddhism. They are used, according to him, just to ridicule Vasubandhu or Sautrāntikas in general.

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SĀVATTHI (Skt. Śrāvasti), was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Uttara-Kosala (modern Oudh), where the Buddha spent 25 years (rainy seasons) of his life. Located on the bank of the river Achiravati (modern Rapti), it was one of the six great cities of India at that time (*D*. II, p. 149). The Buddha counted a great number of followers in Sāvatthi, which reached the peak of its prosperity under the king Pasenadi. It is mentioned that the road from Rājagaha to Sāvatthi passed through Vesāli (*Vin*. II, pp. 15ff) and a road running southwards from Sāvatthi passed through Sāketa to Kosambi (*DPPN*. II, p. 1126).

According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Śrāvasti was founded by a king named Śrāvasta, who belonged to the solar race (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, chap. 2, V. 13). Another View, however, indicates that the city was named after a sage called Sāvattha, who resided there. Nevertheless, the commentators maintain that the city derived its name from a caravanserai that existed there (*SnA*. I, p. 300; *PsA*. P. 367).

The king of Kosala, Pasenadi visited the Buddha at Rājagaha and became one of his devoted disciples. Subsequently a millionaire merchant called Sudatta or Anāthapiṇḍika who was the treasurer to the king, too followed suit. On his return to Sāvatthi the latter purchased a garden on to the south of the city from Jeta, the son of the king. Sudatta, under the supervision of Sāriputta, constructed a monastery complex there which came to be known as Jatavanārāma and offered it to the Buddha. The complex contained two edifices called *Gandha-kuṭi* and *Kosamba-kuṭi*.

As mentioned earlier twenty-five (rainy seasons) of the Buddha's monastic life had teen spent in Sāvatthi out of which 19 in Jetavana and 6 in Pubbārāma built by Viśākā, which was located to the east of the city. King Pasenadi too constructed a monastery opposite Jetavana. Further, his consort queen Mallikā too had constructed a hall named Mallikārāma, which served as the meeting place for the wanderers (Debla Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 76). Located outside the city was a fisherman's village where 500 families lived (*DhpA*, I, p. 4). The Buddha had a multitude of followers in Sāvatthi and amongst his chief patrons were king Pasanadi, Aāthapiṇḍika, Viśākā and Suppavāsā (*DhpA*, III, p. 205). According to Buddhaghosa during the Buddha's time, there were 57,000 families in Sāvatthi with a population of eighteen crores (*SnA*, I, p. 371).

Apart from the fact that the Buddha delivered most of his important discourses there, some important episodes connected with his life, too, had taken place during his sojourn in Sāvatthi. Two such episodes were the performance of *Yamaka Pāṭihāriya* (twin

miracle) and the conversion of Aṅgulimāla. It was also in Sāvatthi that the Buddha confronted Ciñcā, a damsel set up by the *Titthiyas* to insult the Buddha (*DhpA*. III, p. 178f; *JtA*, p. 69; Nanda Lal Day, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 190). The death of Devadatta too had occurred in this city (*DPPN*. II, p. 1110).

Woodward presents a Graphic description to show how the 871 Suttas occurring in the four Nikāyas had been preached by the Buddha while Sojourning in Sāvatthi (*KS*. V, p. XVIII). Mrs. Rhys Davids presumes that either the Buddha mainly resided there or else Sāvatthi was the earliest emporium (? library) for the collection and preservation… of the talks (*M*. IV, p. VI). Of 498 *Jātaka* stories, 416 had been narrated by the Buddha in Sāvatthi.

Sāvatthi occupied an important place among the Jains too. Chandikāpuri or Chandrapuri as they called it, was the birthplace of the third Tīrthaṅkara Sambhavanātha and the eighth Tīrthaṅkara Chandraprabhānātha.

Sāvatthi during the Post-Buddha period:

Sāvatthi continued to be a hallowed center of worship for a few centuries after the Buddha's *Parinibbāna*. Emperor Aśoka extended his patronage to Sāvatthi by constructing two pillars at the eastern gate of the Jetavana monastery and also a *stūpa* enshrining the relics of the Buddha. (Debla Mitra, *op. cit*., 76). Hiuen-Tsang, who visited Sāvatthi, describing those pillars says that the left pillar was crowned by a wheel and the right pillar by an ox. He, however, mentions that the city was in ruins when he visited it, but records the sites of various edifices (Beal, II, pp. 1-13). The *Divyāvadāna* mentions Aśoka's pilgrimage to Śravasti to pay homage to *stūpas* erected in memory of Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Mahākassapa and Ānanda (Debla Mitra, *op cit*., p. 76). At the consecration of the Mahāthūpa in Anuradhapura, it is recorded that sixty thousand monks from the Jetavana (*Jetārāma*) monastery in Sāvatthi attended it (*Mhv*. xxix, v. 32).

Archaeological Remains

Numerous archaeological remains scattered over Sāvatthi corroborate that it flourished under the Kushāna rulers. However, when Fa-hien visited it in the 7[th] century A. C., it was in a dilapidating condition, with only monks belonging to the Sāmmitīya sect residing there. "Nevertheless, the discovery of Buddhist images like Lokanātha, Simhanāda, Lokeśvara, Tārā and Jambhala, some with inscriptions, prove that the activities continued till the twelfth century, to which period belong two inscriptions, are recording the foundation of a monastery by Vidyādhara… and the other recording the gift of villages by his son Govindachandra (Debla Mitra, *op. cit*., pp. 76-77). After this period Sāvatthi seems to have gradually fallen into decay.

General Cunningham identifies the modern Sāhet-Māhet, lying about 58 miles north of Ayodhya in Oudh as Sāvatthi (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 469). The ruins of Jetavana are located in the village Sāhet in District Gonda, Uttar Pradesh, situvated to its north-east, about 500 yards away are found the ruins of the fortified city of Sāvatthi in the village Māhet in District Bahraich.

The remains at Jetavana, which had been subjected to several excavations, yielded remnants of temples, *stūpas* and monasteries, in addition to coins and artifacts belonging to the Kushān period. The earliest available remains consist of a few Kushān structures and images. The largest of the temples stands on the site of the *Gandha-kuṭi* erected by Anāthapiṇḍika. It is situated within the oblong enclosure-wall and consists of a sanctum and a maṇḍapa. There exists ruins of another temple built on the site of the original *Kosamba-kuṭi*. Located in front of the temple are two solid brick terraces that mark the site of the Buddha's promenade. Within the fortified city of Sāvatthi (modern Mahet) are found the remains of two massive brick structures known as *Pakkī-kuṭi* and *Kachchi-kuṭi*, which are "regarded as representing respectively the *stūpa* erected on the spot where Aṅgulimāla was converted and where the *stūpa* of Anāthapiṇḍika stood" (Debla Mitra, *op. cit*, p. 78).

The remains at Sāvatthi reflect an immense royal patronage it received during the Kushan period. From the artifacts unearthed from the site, one can deduce that at a later period it had become a sanctum of Mahāyanists, particular of the Sarvastivāda School.

This is further attested by the fact that in the reign of Kanishka a monk named Bala had setup an "image of the Mathura workshop... on the promenade of the Buddha for the teachers of the Sarvastivāda sect in *Kosamba-kuṭi*"...... (Debla Mitra *op. Cit.*, p. 77).

C. S. Ranasinghe

SCEPTICISM *See* **SKEPTICISM**

SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR. Born 22.2.1788 in Danzig, died 21.9.1860 in Frankfurt. German philosopher of world-wide fame whose name is mentioned first among those who prepared the ground for the acceptance of Buddhism by members of the German intelligentsia. The excellent and easy style of his philosophical works secured him in his later years a very wide audience. Buddhist ideas were thus brought to the attention of Richard Wagner, who planned an opera on Ānanda, Friedrich Nietzsche, Paul Deussen, Eduard V. Hartmann and others. To be led by Schopenhauer's books to Buddhism was quite a common occurrence in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century when there were still few books on Buddhism obtainable. Karl Eugen Neumann, the well known translator of the *Suttapiṭaka*, Dr. Georg Grimm, and Nyanatiloka Mahāthera may be mentioned in this connection.

Details on his life and philosophy can be found in any of the general encyclopaedias. Only an outline of his life and an appraisal of his attitude towards Buddhism will be given in this article.

His father was a merchant of repute who died of an accident. Arthur Schopenhauer could secure from the heritage enough to enable his mother, sister, and himself to live an independent life on the income from a small capital. He gave up his career as a merchant and mastered in an astonishingly short time Latin, Greek and other subjects thus qualifying for study at the university of Berlin. From 1811-1813, he studied philosophy and natural sciences which held his interest during all his life. His doctoral thesis was on the philosophical aspect of causality.

At Weimar he was introduced by his mother who had become a well known novelist, to Goethe. There the orientalist Friedrich Major acquainted him with the antiquities of India, and especially with the *Upanishads*.

In 1820 he started delivering lectures at the university of Berlin which were poorly attended. Schopenhauer held his lectures at exactly the same hours as Hegel did, who at that time was on the peak of his fame. With the outbreak of the cholera epidemic in 1831 he left Berlin to permanently settle down in Frankfurt where he died in 1860. Hegel fell a victim to the epidemic. He began medical studies at Göttingen in 1909.

Schopenhauer was an excellent writer holding the interest of his readers by his transparent style and his vast knowledge from all walks of life. It was, however, only in the later years of his life that he really became well known and attained to the fame he deserved. For a long time he was the most influential German philosopher whose books were read by all educated people.

He derived his philosophy from Plato and Kant. He made use of his wide studies of Orientl, mainly Indian philosophy to support his own interpretation of life. The primary moving force of the world he saw in the strong and blind will-to-live. Because of its impermanence and the impossibility to satisfy definitely the craving for sensual desires, life is suffering. But Schopenhauer also taught an escape from this suffering. Deliverance can be attained through the understanding of the life process and by the negation of the blind will-to-live. He also taught the importance of loving-kindness to all forms of life.

At that time, literature on Buddhism was very scarce. Among the books Schopenhauer read in this subject, were Burnouf's *'Introduction a l' histoire du Bouddhisme indian'* (1844), *'Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi'* (1852), Fausböll's Latin translation of the *Dhammapada* (1855), and Koeppen's *'Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung'* (1857-59). These books made him familiar with the Theravāda and Mahāyāna at the same time. Schopenhauer had more than an intellectual 'interest' in Buddhism, he felt a genuine sympathy for the Buddha himself. Letters to his friends disclose the happiness and gladness he felt

when he acquired a Tibetan statue of the Buddha. He gave it pride of place in his study.

In the 19th century, the prevailing religion in Europe was either a strict monotheism or some vague pantheism. Schopenhauer's philosophy paved the way for the acceptance of the Buddhist teaching which holds no place for a God who is Creator and Ruler of the World. In addition, it made acceptable for the European mind the quite unheard -of doctrine of Rebirth, though Schopenhauer himself considered it more in the form of Metempsychosis than in the Buddhist interpretation. He called Metempsychosis the popular version of his own philosophical theory on life and the problem of time and space.

A critical appraisal of Schopenhauer's influence on the spread of Buddhist ideas in Europe will, on the other hand, find that the odium of pessimism which still clings to Buddhism and acts as a strong impediment to its acceptance is partly due to his interpretation of the Dhamma.

Guido Auster

SCRIPTURE. Scripture essentially refers to the written word (Scribere to write). Despite the absence of an early tradition of a written record of the *Buddhavacana*, the word of the Buddha, the Dhamma is often referred to as the Buddhist Scripture. *Dhamma* (q.v) is the general term by which the Buddhist teachings are designated and it is also one of the Three Refuges - *tisaraṇa*. With the discovery of the *dhamma* the recluse Gotama became the Buddha, the Enlightened One. The efficacy of the *dhamma* is proven by the existence of the *Saṅgha*, who have trained themselves according to the *dhamma* and attained the professed goal of *nibbāna*, the cessation of suffering. Therefore the *dhamma* has been vindicated to possess the instrumental value of leading its followers from suffering to happiness. It has the intrinsic value of being a true description of reality, things as they really are- *yathābhūta*.

The *dhamma* is so valuable that the Buddha regarded it as his teacher, as he found that there is no other human or divine being who could act in the capacity of a teacher for him. It is said that this is the practice of all Buddhas (*S*. I, 139; *A*. II, 20).

The *dhamma* is often described as *ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosānakalyāṇaṃ* (*D*. I, 87, 128, 150 etc.). According to *DA*. I, 175 this is so because even in a single discourse of the Buddha the beginning, middle and the end are all equally beautiful, pleasant and useful. According to a more developed point of view given in the same context *sīla* or the moral discipline constitutes the initial stage. The *magga* as the Noble Eightfold path comprises the intermediary stage. *Nibbāna* is the final culmination. The *dhamma* caters to the needs of all who are in these stages of development. Therefore the *dhamma* is beautiful and beneficial at the beginning, middle and end. It is full of meaning (*sāthaṃ*), lucidly explained in idiomatic phraseology (*savyañjanaṃ*). It teaches a higher life which is complete in every way and absolutely pure (*kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti*).

Another oft-recurring description of the *dhamma* is as follows: *svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhīti* (*D*. II, 93; III, 5; *S*. I, 9; 117). The *dhamma* has been well expounded by the Buddha (*svākkhāto*). The extensive literature contained in the Pali canon without inherent inconsistencies and contradictions bears ample testimony to the masterly exposition of the *dhamma* by the Buddha. It is said to be self –evident (*sandiṭṭhiko*) because we can see the *dhamma* working through us in our own experience. According to *A*. I, 156 a brahmin asks the Buddha in what sense the *dhamma* is called *sandiṭṭhika*. The Buddha explains that when a person is overpowered by lust, hatred and ignorance he is motivated to cause harm to himself and others whereby he experiences suffering. When he is not overpowered by lust, hatred and ignorance he is not motivated to cause harm to himself and others, thereby he does not experience suffering. It is in this sense that the *dhamma* is said to be self-evident as it manifests itself through our own experience. It is *akāliko* because it is of timeless value, it held good over 2500 years ago during the time of the Buddha, and it still holds good. It has not gone out of date. It is also so called because it gives immediate results. According to *S*. I, 9; 117 sense pleasures are time-bound (*kālikā kāmā*) as they afford only temporary fleeting satisfaction, whereas the *dhamma* is *akālika*, transcending the boundaries of time. The Buddha invites everybody to come and see, and investigate the *dhamma*. (*ehipassiko*). This verifiable

nature of the *dhamma* excludes the necessity to repose blind faith on the teachings of the Buddha. It leads one who practices accordingly to its professed goal, therefore it is progressive, *opanayiko*. It has to be individually realized by the wise in order to gain full results as reliance on the understanding of another does not benefit one.

The Buddha invites his disciples to investigate not only the *dhamma*, but himself too, the discoverer of the *dhamma*. In the *Vaṅgīsatthera Saṃyutta* (*S*. I, 190) the Buddha invites his disciples to investigate whether there are any censurable traits in the physical and verbal behaviour of himself. The *Vīmaṃsakasutta* (*M*. I, 317) is even more emphatic in this respect. Those who do not have the ability to read the minds of others are invited to see the behaviour of the Buddha with their eyes, and hear his words with their ears to investigate whether the Buddha is guilty of impure actions and words. If they found his actions and words to be pure they must inquire whether they have been so for a long time or not. They also must investigate whether he refrains from impure actions due to fear as absence of fear. After all these tests the Buddha himself should be asked whether any impure states are found in him, and whether he deliberately refrains from impure states due to fear or absence of fear. The *dhamma* gains credibility because it is propounded by one who is free from all greed, hatred and delusion. The *Caṅkīsutta* (*M*. II, 172) describes the *dhamma* as being profound, difficult to see, difficult to understand, conducive to peace, excellent, beyond dialectic, subtle and intelligible to the wise. It is the type which cannot be preached by one who is greedy, hateful and ignorant (*gambhīro so dhammo duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍitavedanīyo, na so dhammo sudesiyo luddhena... duṭṭhena ... mūḷhena*).

The *Kālāmasutta* (*A*. I, 189) lists a set of ten guidelines to test the veracity of any teaching, including the teachings of the Buddha. According to this *sutta* the following are no valid criteria for accepting a proposition as true and useful-authority based on revelation (*anussava*), tradition (*paramparā*), legendary report (*itikirā*), scripture (*piṭakasampadā*), logic (*takka*), inference (*naya*), superficial reflection on reason (*ākāraparivitakka*), agreement with one's accepted views (*diṭṭhinijjhānakkhanti*), plausibility or the seeming ability of another person (*bhavyarūpatā*), and the prestige value of one's teacher (*samaṇo no garu*). This *Kālāmasutta* is not a mere charter for free inquiry, it is a middle path between blind faith and disbelief, between dogmatism and skepticism; a middle path meant for intelligent people with a mature sense of judgment and moral sensitivity. The valid criteria for acceptance of a proposition are personal conviction, attitude of the wise and the practical utility value seen from resulting consequences when implemented. Elsewhere it is said that just as gold is tested by rubbing, cutting and smelting, the *dhamma* too should be subject to the most severe rigorous tests to decide on its truth value and utility value.

The Buddha is the authority for the *dhamma* because he discovered it through his own efforts unaided by any human or divine guidance as inspiration. This fact is stated in a number of *suttas* (*M*. I, 310; *A*. I, 199; IV, 158; 351; V, 355) as *bhagavaṃ-mūlakā dhammā bhagavaṃ-nettikā bhagavaṃ-paṭisaraṇā*, the Blessed One is the source of the *dhamma*, the guide and the refuge of the *dhamma*. But the mere acceptance of these truths on the authority of the Buddha will not be of much benefit to the disciple, as his knowledge will remain at information level as *sutamaya-paññā*. Logical understanding and the intellectual appreciation of the *dhamma*, *cintāmaya-paññā* is superior to the former but is not sufficient for a liberative experience. The *dhamma* has to be discovered afresh through one's own personal experience, giving rise to experiential knowledge, *bhāvanāmaya-paññā*, for one to attain final liberation.

The *Alagaddūpamasutta* (*M*. I, 134) warns against the misuse of the *dhamma* with an eloquent simile. Just as a snake caught by the coils or the tail would turn round and bite the one who caught it, the *dhamma* too would bring misery to one who ill-grasps it. The *dhmma* should not be learnt for the purpose of exalting oneself and disparaging others, for the purpose of offence and defense in debate. If one does so one's conceit and intolerance will grow which will be morally detrimental to him. The *dhamma* is expressly said to be for the purpose of saving oneself and not for dogmatically grasping as a *diṭṭhi*, a point of view to be brandished in debate - *nittharaṇatthāya no gahaṇatthāya*. Just as one makes a raft for the purpose of crossing over to safety from a flood of water, and the raft is discarded after the purpose is served, so the

dhamma is to be utilized for the purpose of crossing the flood of *saṃsāric* existence (*M.* I, 134; 260).

The *Caṅkīsutta* (*M.* II, 173) explains in detail how a keen disciple conducts himself having reposed faith in the Buddha after due investigation. He listens to the *dhamma* attentively and bears in mind what he has heard. He then examines the meanings and learns to appreciate the *dhamma*. Thereby his interest grows and he makes and effort to live accordingly. He weighs his experiences before and after the practice is undertaken. Then he gets down to meditative striving which by and by gives him the physical experience of the ultimate truth. He penetrates his experience with wisdom and understands the truth – (*pahitatto samāno kāyena c' eva paramasaccaṃ sacchikaroti, paññāya ca taṃ ativijjha passati*).

In the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (*D.* II, 154) the Buddha admonishes his disciples not to feel leaderless after his demise. The *dhamma* and the *vinaya* preached and laid down by him should be regarded as their teacher after the demise of the Buddha. So long as the body of doctrine and discipline lasts the Buddha is regarded as being alive. Thus the scripture is vested with the impersonal leadership of the dispensation by the authority of the Buddha himself.

The Buddha also lays down how a disciple should react when a new text / idea is put forward as the word of the Buddha (*D.* II, 124). One should lend ear to such a text / idea without being emotionally biased. One should not immediately jump up with elation and accept the idea as authentic, nor reject straight away with impugnment. Without being emotionally agitated one should learn it well and compare with the *sutta* and the *vinaya*. If agrees one should accept, otherwise reject. Thus the Buddha laid down four *mahāpadesas* or criteria for authenticity whether a text / idea is introduced as having been directly heard from the Buddha himself, or as the opinion of the *Saṅgha*, a group of monks or a single learned individual.

As this admonition was given by the Buddha shortly before his demise, what was meant by *sutta* and *vinaya* would have been the commonly accepted corpus of discourses and rules of discipline delivered to his immediate disciples during his lifetime. As these teachings were not collected until after his demise, and as his immediate disciples had spread over a vast area even outside the north eastern part of India where the Buddha trod, there was the possibility of new texts / ideas creeping in, especially after his demise with the claim of having been heard from the Buddha himself. Therefore safeguards such as the *mahāpadesa* had to be built into retain scriptural purity without contamination from unorthodox ideas. Tradition maintains that Ānanda was the *dhammabhaṇḍāgārika*, the human *dhamma* treasury / library while Upāli was the chief repository for the *vinaya*. Perhaps they formed the nucleus round which the oral scriptural tradition was built, for Ānanda and Upāli are reported to have played key roles in the first Buddhist council which was convened by Mahākassapa to fix the texts three months after the demise of the Buddha. This decision to hold the council too would have been instigated by the Buddha's admonition that the *dhamma* should be recited together not disputed about (*saṅgāyitabbaṃ na vivaditabbaṃ D.* III, 127) after his demise, as did the disciples of Mahāvīra (*D.* III, 117).

When commentaries were compiled by Buddhaghosa a thousand years after the Buddha, the phrase *sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni* gave rise to a number of interpretations (*DA.* II, 565 ff). They can be tabulated as follows: -

1. *Sutta* means *suttavibhaṅga Vinayapiṭaka* minus *Vinaya* means *khandhakas* the *Parivāra*
2. *Sutta* means *ubhato vibhanga* The entire *Vinaya* means *Khandhakaparivārā Vinayapiṭaka*
3. *sutta* means *Suttapiṭaka* Two *Piṭakas Vinaya* means *Vinayapiṭaka*
4. *Sutta* means *Suttābhidhammapiṭakāni* Three *Piṭakas Vinaya* means *Vinayapiṭaka*
5. *Sutta* means *tīṇi piṭakāni Vinaya* means *Kāraṇaṃ*, i.e. implementation of the teachings.

5.1 When one knows that some practice is conducive to attachment bondage, clinging, increased desire, discontentment, indolence, involvement and acquisitiveness, then one should know it is not the *dhamma*, not the *vinaya*, and not the teaching of the Buddha. When one knows that some practice is conducive to

detachment, freedom, non-clinging, frugal living, contentment, perseverance, solitude and giving up, then one should know that it is the *dhamma*, it is the *vinaya*, and it is the teaching of the Buddha.

DA. II, 567 further says that when a decision has to be made regarding what is the *dhamma*, only what accords with the *sutta*, i.e. the scripture, should be accepted. When a decision has to be made regarding what is permissible and what is not, in the case of something which has not been specifically rejected, one should not accept as permissible if it falls in line with what has already been pronounced as not permissible, and if it contravenes what has been pronounced as permissible by the Buddha.

The same context explains the four *mahāpadesas* as the criteria for authenticity as *sutta*, *suttānuloma*, *ācariyavāda* and *attano mati*. *Sutta*, means scripture and that should not be rejected, and if one rejects the scripture, it is tantamount to rejecting the Buddha himself. *Sutta* comprises the *Tripiṭaka* handed down through the three councils, and no censurable *sutta* should be accepted. *Suttānuloma* means what accords with the *sutta*. *Ācariyavāda* comprises the commentaries. *Attano mati* means the personal opinion of an individual inferred through his own ingenuity. Generally the personal opinion of an individual is considered the weakest, and should be accepted only when it is in conformity with the scriptures.

The commentarial explanation that the *Tripiṭaka* handed down by the three councils should be accepted as authoritative appears to be contradictory to the letter and spirit of the *Kālāmasutta* and the *Caṅkīsutta*. The commentaries seem to regard the canon as containing truths which have been well tested out against experience by *arahants* of old, therefore it is not necessary to test this validity over again. It is new material and new interpretations which have to be tested against authentic scripture.

Buddhism insist that truths declared by the Buddha have to be verified by the wise individually, not for scholarly purpose as Buddhism is studied today, not merely for intellectual appréciation, but for the purpose of realizing the ultimate goal of *nibbāna*, for saving oneself from suffering.

Lily de Silva .

SEKHA: The Pali word *sekha*, sometimes also spelt *sekkha* (Bdst.Skt. *śaikṣa*, sometimes also spelt *śaiṣya*) denotes a person who is on a course of training to realize full emancipation as an Arahant, also designated an *asekha*, (Bdst.Skt. *aśaikṣa*), an adept who has completed the course of training and reached the desired goal and, therefore, gone beyond the need for any more training.

Queried by a monk as to the meaning of the term *sekha* the Buddha once said, " he is undergoing training, monk, therefore he is a trainee (*sekho*). And what does he train in ? He trains in higher moral discipline (*adhisīla*), higher thought (*adhicitta*) and higher wisdom (*adhipaññā*) (*A*.1.231). These three terms, by which the whole course of training of a Buddhist monk or nun is described, are explained as i. the complete moral training of an ordained Buddhist disciple, ii.the four *jhānic* attainments and iii.the knowledge, as they really are, of the Four Noble Truths (*ibid* 235) respectively.

In another context a trainee is said to be endowed with the eight constituent elements of the Noble Eightfold Path (*S*.V.14). The commentator explains this as the eight elements arising with the three fruitions (*tīhi phalehi*) and the four paths (*catūhi maggehi SA*.III.131).

Speaking about the training of a *sekha* it is said, in one of the discourses, that one who has not attained his goal and abides aspiring for the unsurpassed safety from bodage (*anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ patthayamāno*) practises the concentration on body, feelings, mind and mental states for the purpose of full comprehension (*pariññāya*) of these (*S*.V.145). Ven Anuruddha further clarifies this when he says that a trainee's development of these concentrations is partial (*padesam*). A trainee is said to understand by higher knowledge (*abhijānāti*) all phenomena, both physical and mental inclusive of *Nibbāna*, but should not take them subjectively as I or mine or rejoice in them. Instead he should thoroughly understand them (*pariññeyyaṃ*) (*M*.1.1*ff*.). The Buddha also has shown the method by which a trainee monk, standing in the position of a trainee (*sekha bhūmiyaṃ ṭhito*) could assure himself that he is a trainee. First, when a trainee monk understands, as they truly are, the Four Noble Truths, he can assure himself that he in fact is a trainee (*sekha*). Further, if, after a thorough investigation, he

could conclude that outside this dispensation there is no other recluse or brahamin who could teach a doctrine that is factual (*bhūtam*), true (*saccam*) and real (*tatham* or *tatham*) as the Exalted One, he can assure himself of his *sekhahood*. Lastly if he is fully aware of the five controlling faculties (*pañca indriyāni*), viz faith, effort, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom, but as to their destiny, excellence, fruits and final goal he dwells not in personal experience thereof, nor does he see them piercing through by wisdom, then he could be assured of his *sekhahood*. (*S*.V.229 *f*.). In other words such a monk could know by these methods of his own accomplishments as well as what one has yet to achieve. Another reference to such an incomplete achievement of a trainee is referred to in a discourse, in a reply given by a monk named *Lomasavamgisa* to a query raised by Mahānāma,the Sakyan. He says that the way of life of a *sekha* (*sekho vihāro*) is not the same as that of a Tathāgata. A *sekha* who has not reached one's goal but lives aspiring for the incomparable safety from bondage dwells having abandoned the five hindrances (*pañca nīvarane*). But in an Arahant the same hindrances are abandoned for good and are not liable to resurface again (*ibid* 327).

This same incomplete characteristic of the *sekha* position is indicated by the Buddha to the father of Yasa, one of his earliest disciples. Yasa, who had become a Stream-winner earlier, became an Arahant while listening to the sermon given to his father by the Buddha. Later the Buddha tells Yasa's father that like him Yasa also realized the Dhamma by the knowledge of a trainee (*sekhena ñānena*) and by the vision of a trainee (*sekhena dassanena*). Then, while reflecting the position of what he has seen and what he has known, his mind was freed from the cankers (*Vin*.1.17). Thus the position of a trainee is not complete emancipation. Ven. Ananda, in the last hours of the Buddha's life, tells him that he is " a trainee who has further to be achieved" (*sakaraṇīyo*) (*D*.II.143).

The Course of Training (*Sekha-paṭipadā*)

A monk who enters the path (*paṭipadā*) and dwells aspiring for the unsurpassed safety from bondage is called an 'unshaken recluse' (*samaṇa-m-acalo*) comparable to the eldest son of a king, secure in succession, but not yet anointed (*A*.ii.86 *f*.). One who has cast off the five lower fetters, called here depravities (*kilesa*) and, therefore, cannot fail, is called a perfect trainee (*paripuṇṇa-sekho*) (*ibid*.5*f*). The longest and the most comprehensive discussion on the course of training of a *sekha* is, significantly, made by Ven. Ananda, at a request by the Buddha himself, to the Sakyans of Kapilavatthu headed by Mahānāma. Ananda who remained a trainee during the whole lifetime of the Buddha was probably the most qualified to speak on the subject.

The *Sekha Sutta* (*M*.II354 *ff*.) comes very close in its contents to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. A brief summary of the contents is given by Ven. Ananda at the very commencement. Thus the course followed by a trainee is said to comprise moral discipline, guarding of the senses, moderation in food, vigilance, and possession of the seven excellent qualities —viz faith, shame, fear, learning, energy, mindfulness and wisdom- and the acquisition of the four *jhānas*. A detailed analysis of each of these factors is then taken up. Summing up, he says; "then he, Mahānāma, is called an ariyan disciple who is on a learner's course (*sekho pāṭipado*), possessed of (mental) soundness, he becomes one for successful breaking through...self awakening... winning the matchless security from bonds"1. After the acquisition of the fourth *jhāna* the trainee gradually realizes the three knowledges ending up with the destruction of the cankers (*āsavakkhaya*) and the realization of full emancipation.

In another discourse the Buddha speaks of a trainee following a course constituted of eight elements (*aṭṭhaṅga samannāgato sekho pāṭipado*). These in fact are the eight steps on the Noble Eightfold Path. By adding two more steps to these, viz, right knowledge (*sammā ñāṇa*) and right release (*sammā vimutti*), one arrives at Arahantship constituted of ten elements (*dasaṅga-samannāgato arahā ibid*.III.76). A reference to the trainee's course is also found in another discourse in connection with the development of the sense faculties. Here it is pointed out that a trainee could feel troubled (*aṭṭīyati*), ashamed (*harāyati*) or loathsome (*jigucchati*) when one's senses come in contact with their sense objects resulting in likes, dislikes or both likes and dislikes for them, showing that he has not yet come into full control over his feelings (*ibid*.300 *f*.).

Close or orderly attention (*yonisomanasikāra* is said to be the most useful quality for a trainee aspiring for safety from bondage. By this one could abandon

the unwholesome (*akusala*) and develop the wholesome (*kusala*) *It.*9 *f.*). On the other hand, three things conducive for the decline of a trainee are, attachment to activity (*kammārāma*), gossiping (*bhassārāma*) and sloth (*niddārāma ibid.*53). The commentary (*ItA.*67) adds that it would be a hindrance for progress and also for the realization of the path (*maggādhigamassa paripanthāya honti*). However, it hastens to add that for one who has realized the path there is no falling out of it.

It is quite clear now that, from the point of early Buddhist texts, the word *sekha* stands for a person who is aspiring for the realization of complete emancipation from *dukkha* and, therefore, is following the course of training that would lead oneself to reach that lofty ideal. The Noble Eightfold Path and the normal religious life prescribed for his ordained disciples by the Buddha consisting basically of moral discipline, mental concentration and wisdom, as discussed in such discourses as the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Sekha Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, constitutes the Path leading to this final goal. Thus a *sekha* is not yet a fully emancipated Arahant but one who has entered the path leading to that position and training oneself for the realization of Arahanthood.

However one cannot be designated a *sekha* by the mere fact of his or her leading the life of a monk or nun until and unless one has at least entered the stream (*sotāpanna*) flowing towards the goal of Arahantship.According to the *Abhidhamma* and the later commentaries there are seven individuals who are categorized as *sekhas*. Thus the *Puggalapaññatti* (p.14) states, "Persons endowed with the four Paths and the three fruitions are *sekhas*, Arahants are *asekhas* and the rest are neither *sekhā* nor *asekhā*". The *Dhammasanganī* (1016) states, "Which are the states that appertains to studentship?, the four Paths that are the Unincluded and the three lowest Fruits of the life of the recluse". The topmost fruit, that of Arahantship does not appertain to studentship)2. The Unincluded (*apariyāpanna*) comprises the Paths and the Fruits of the Paths and the Uncompounded element (*asaṅkhatadhātu Dhs.* 1287). According to the *Dhammasaṅganī* commentary (p.44) "springing up in the three or the seven courses of training are *sekhas*". They are also *sekhas* because they train themselves owing to their unconcluded training. It is clear that only the first seven of the eight Ariyas are designated *sekhas* and the eighth is an *asekha*.

C. Witanachchi

References

1 Middle Length Sayings II.23.
2 Tr. Rhys Davids, Caroline A. F, *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics* (Dhamma Sangani), New Delhi, p .264 (given as 1015), n. 2.

SEKHIYĀ: Often referred to as *sekhiyā dhammā* (*Budst.Skt. śaikṣāḥ dharmāḥ*) sekhiyā are a category of minor rules of training for both monks and nuns, included in the *Pātimokkha code*. Unlike in the case of other categories of rules of discipline in the *Patimokkha code*, the number of *sekhiyā* rules vary from school to school and sometimes even in different versions of *Vinaya* within the same school. In the code of rules comprising eight categories in the *Pali Vinaya Piṭaka* (IV p.185*ff.*), *sekhiyā* rules, altogether seventy-five in number, are included as the seventh category. It is quite interesting to see, unlike in the other seven categories which have almost identical numbers in all the recensions, the number of *sekhiyā* (*śaikṣa*) rules differ widely from tradition to tradition. The least number of sixty-six rules are recorded in the Chinese translation of the *Mahāsanghika Vinaya*, while the extent Sanskrit version of the same has sixty-seven. The *Upali paripṛcchā Sūtra* has seventy-two and the Theravada tradition holds a close third position with seventy- five rules. The *Chinese translation* of the *Vinaya Vibhāṣā* has ninety-one while the *Kāśyapiya* and the *Mūlasarvastivāda* versions in Chinese have respectively ninety six and ninety eight rules. The Chinese *Dharmagupta* and *Mahīśāsaka* texts have one hundred rules each. The *Mahāvyutpatti* in the *Chinese* translation of the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* and the *Tibetan* and Sanskrit *Mūlasarvāstivāda* versions have one hundred and eight rules. The largest number of one hundred and thirteen rules are recorded in the Chinese and the Sanskrit texts of the *Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa Sūtra* as well as in the *Nidāna Sūtra* in its Chinese translation[1].

An indication of how these wide differences in numbers of *sekhiyā* rules could have come about is found in early *Vinaya* texts. For instance, in the *Pali Sutta Vibhaṅga* while a fixed number is given for the other categories of rules recited at the *Uposatha* ceremony, no such fixed number is given for the *sekhiyas*. For instance, introducing the *Paṭidesanīya* rules it is said "These four rules, Ven.Ones, for Offences which ought to be confessed, come up for recitation (*Vin*.IV.178).But in the case of the *sekhiyā* the text states merely 'these rules for training (*sekhiyā dhammā*), Ven.ones come up for recitation" without giving a fixed number (*ibid*.p.185).

The same pattern is followed at the conclusion of each section. In the Sanskrit *Mahāsanghika* recension too, while giving the exact number in other categories, in the case of the *sekhiyā*, even when the number is sixty-seven, it is merely stated, "Over fifty (*sātirekāpañcāśat*)". In the Sanskrit *Mūlasarvāstivāda* recension too, while the exact number is given in other sections, the *sekhiyā* are introduced with the words 'a great number of sekhiyā rules' (*sambahulā sekhiyā*). Olivelle[3] concludes that, since the number of rules was fixed at an early stage in other sections, no new rules could be added to them in later recensions. But in the case of the *sekhiyā* the section was always left in a fluid state. Hence no such fixation of the number of rules could be made. He thinks that this section was added to the *Pātimokkha* later, but before the first schism in the order, for all the recensions of Buddhist schools have it and it is called by the same name. However, it has at the earliest stage, been in the form of an appendix of which the size and the contents varied from place to place.

The possibility of the *sekhiyā* section being a later addition to the *Pātimokkha code* is also suggested by the account of the first Buddhist Council in the *Pali Cullavagga* (*Vin*.II 287*f*.).In its attempt to unravel the meaning of the expression *Khuddānukhuddakānisikkhāpadāni* all other categories of rules except the *sekhiyā* and *Adhikaraṇa-samathā* are referred to by name during the discussion. This could indicate that these two categories were not yet accepted as a part of the *Patimokkha code* by the time this account was formulated. Although not designated as *sekhiyā* a variety of other minor rules was in existence at the time is also shown by the reference *Avasesāni Khuddānu-Khuddakāni*, ie 'rest of the lesser and minor rules of training'. The possibility is there that these minor rules may have included at least some of the rules later admitted to the code of rules under the designation *sekhiyā*. That this category of lesser and minor rules was in a fluid state is also indicated by the accusations leveled against Ven Ananda at this Council demanding him to confess that he has committed acts of 'wrong- doing' (*dukkaṭa*) by for instance, not ascertaining from the Buddha the significance of the expression 'lesser and minor rules of training' or by requesting the Buddha to give Ordination to women etc. which are not offences listed otherwise in the *Vinaya* texts. Miss Horner[3] has pointed out an instance referred to in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV. 121 *ff*.) where a monk named *Udāyi* was meticulously observing the behests of what appears to be the *sekhiyā* rules 61,62 and 67.However the possibility that the episode presents an instance before the *sekhiyās* were codified under the *Patimokkha*.In the latter case some of these minor rules may have existed in practice before their inclusion in the officially accepted code and may be even not yet designated *sekhiyā* rules.

Contents and the Significance of the Sekhiyā

The main purpose of laying down the *sekhiyā* rules, as the very term indicates, was to train the monks and nuns in decorous and polite behaviour in their day to day activities, especially in the presence of the public. Going through the seventy-five rules listed in the section, one could observe rules laid down to train them in decently clothing themselves, walking through the village or the town quietly and without hurry or flurry, partaking of meals, manner of speaking and laughing, touring for and receiving of alms, imparting the Dhamma to others and answering calls of nature and spitting out without polluting the environment etc. Although Miss Horner[4] says that the first fifty-six rules relate to the behaviour of monks when visiting houses for alms food, one can see among them some rules which do not mention the visiting of houses. For instance one of the rules relating to eating habits is "I will eat alms food with equal curry" (*Vin*.III:192). It need not necessarily refer to the behaviour of a monk on visiting laymen's houses for alms. It should refer to his manner of taking meals anywhere, even in his own monastic cell.

In actual fact these rules are laid down to train monks and nuns in good behaviour so that they would

not be irritating sight for the outside observer. Buddhists were always keen to compare the polished and pleasing manner of the Buddhist Clergy with what they called the uncouth ways and habits of Non-Buddhist recluses and Brahamins.King Ajātasattu is said to have been once stunned by the pin drop silence of a large gathering of monks in the presence of the Buddha *(D.1.49f)*. Emperor Asoka is said to have been disappointed with the behaviour of non-Buddhist recluses and priests in the palace refectory. He was converted to Buddhism on observing the behaviour of a Buddhist novice passing his palace gate on his alms round. *(Mhv.5.34ff.)*. But while arousing faith in the outsider these rules also help one to be unruffeled within and establish the peace of mind. John Hold[5] points out that more than any other category of rules listed in the *Suttavibhaṅga* the *sekhiyā* rules demonstrate that one's inward state is of utmost importance to the spiritual life of a monk. They are much more than mere social etiquette and politeness. They are outward expressions of the inner state of a *bhikkhu's* mental condition. It is not important to determine the motive behind each rule. One motive governs all of them, ie. Comprehensive discipline untainted in every detail.

Certain Common Features of the Sekhiyā Rules : Miss Horner[6] has drawn attention to several interesting points relating to the *sekhiyā* rules included in the *Suttavibhanga*.In the first place the provenance for all of them, except three, is given as Sāvatthi. Secondly the origin of the rules is attributed in all the cases to the offensive activities of the notorious group of six monks (*Chabbaggiyā*) and, in the case of identical rules for nuns the origin is attributed to the group of six nuns also notorious for the same type of character. In the third place, an offence of wrong-doing (*dukkaṭa*) is incurred by a monk or nun who, out of disrespect, (*yo (yā) anādariyaṃ paṭicca*) transgresses the rule enacted. This is common to all the rules. These common features of the seventy-five rules may indicate an attempt to collect certain rules, already observed, within the *Patimokkha code*. Even the introductory stories may have been added to bring them in line with the already codified *Pātimokkha* rules. Miss Horner also refers to a fourth point in which she divides the rules into three groups; i. 1-56 numbers are concerned with such etiquette and decent, polite behaviour, already referred to above, to be shown by a monk when visiting houses; ii. Numbers 57-72 are concerned with the respect that should be accorded to the Dhamma a person is listening to when preached. iii. Numbers 73-75 concern the improper ways of answering calls of nature and spitting out. Holt[7], however thinks he can agree with this only superficially. In its place he offers what he calls his "classification of expression: body— 1-56 and 73-5: speech— 57-72." According to him "all these rules require the conscious attention of the *bhikkhu*. As such a *bhikkhu* must constantly focus his thought upon his disciplined appearance. In other words, his bodily and verbal expressions must be coordinated by thoughtful readiness that is the result of his disciplined mental culture. A thoughtful expression is required by every *sekhiyā* determination".

Holt (*ibid.*) also draws attention to the fact that many of the *sekhiyās* are declared in a positive fashion unlike the prohibitory declaration that characterise the first six *Suttavibhaṅga* classifications of rules; eg. *sekhiyā* no.1 is "I will dress with inner robe all round me"[8].There are also, however, some rules negatively expressed;eg. "Not muffled up will I go (sit down) amidst the houses"[9] is the rule number twenty-three. But a common feature of both these types is that they are expressed as self- resolutions of the observer. Whereas in the earlier six groups of rules the Buddha is represented as either allowing or disallowing certain activities, in the *sekhiyās* the Buddha calls upon the disciples to resolve to train themselves accordingly. It is only after this that the act, when done out of disrespect, is declared to be "an offence of wrong-doing"(*dukkhaṭa*).

C Witanachchi.

References

1 Olivelle, Patrick, *Buddhist Monachism*, M.D Gunesena and Co.LTD., 1974 p.44 *ff*.

2 *ibid* 46

3 *The Book of the Discipline* Voll.III,Tr. Horner,I.B.p.XXVIII.

4 *ibid.*

5 Holt,John c., *Discipline, The Canonical Discipline of the Vinaya Piṭaka*, South Asia Books, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi,1983, p. 102*f*.

6 *The Book of The Discipline*, ibid.XXVII*ff*.

7 *Ibid*.103

8 The Book of the Discipline, *ibid.121*.

9 *ibid*. 125.

SÊNG – SHIH – LÜCH. This *Brief History of the Saṅgha of the Great Sung Dynasty*, also known as the *Brief History of the Saṅgha* in short, in three fasciculi, was composed by Ven. Tsän-ning (919-1001 A.C.) of the Sung dynasty.

The author says in the preface, "At the beginning of the T'ai-p' ing-hsing-kuo period I repeatedly received imperial instructions, to write a history of the Saṅgha besides biographies of eminent monks. When I brought the relic pagoda of Asoka to the capital, and lived in the Eastern Monastery by imperial order, then I had leisure to read and to collect material for the various headings of my future work." During the period of the Wu Yüeh Kingdom, Tsan-ning was already famous for his strictness in observing the *vinaya* and for his wide, liberal learning. In the third year of T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo (978 A.C.), when Ch'ien Hung-shu, the King of Wu Yüeh Kingdom, yielded to the sovereignty of Sung, Tsan-ning came to Pienliang with an Aśokan pagoda containing an actual relic of the Buddha, and then he started composing this work by an imperial order. There is no definite record as to when it was completed, except a note at the end of the contents in each fascicle, saying "revised in the second year of Hsian-p'ing, (999 A.C.). It was in the summer of the eighth year of Tái-píng-hsing-kuo (983 A.C.) that he returned to Hangchow to compile the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (compiled during the Sung Dynasty), and the latest events of the Sung dynasty, as recorded in this work, ended in the seventh year of Tái-píng-hsing-kuo (982 A.C.). (See both portions: "Chinese Monks who travelled in the Western Regions" and "The Ordination on the Altar"). There were notable events which occurred after the seventh year, e.g., (1) the emperor ordered the monks to change the "Court for Translating Sūtras" as the "Court for Propagating Dharmas" in the eighth year of Tái-píng-hsing-kuo (2) he ordered, in the second year of Yung-hsi (985 A.C.), that T'ien-hsi-tsai, Dharmadeva and Dānapāla should be granted the title of Chao-san-ta-fu to undertake the new posts of Hung-lu-shao-ch'ing, (both are recorded in chapter II on Taoism and Buddhism under the heading of the "Court for Propagating Dharmas" in the *General Record of the Sung Dynasty*, and (3) the ordination of monks in the third year of Yung-hsi (986 A.C.). (See the "Record of the Lineage of Buddha and Patriarchs (*fas.* 43). All these were important affairs in the history of Buddhism, but they were neither included in the "Chinese Monks who Travelled in the Western Regions" nor in the "Conferment of official ranks" and the "ordination on the Altar" in this work. From this we may see that this work ended its recording in 982 A.C., and it was completed before the author's return to Hangchow in the following year. In the section on "Incense offering and Religious Chanting", was quoted the report submitted to the emperor by Li Tsung-no an official of the Board of Agriculture and supply, in it was mentioned the posthumous title of Emperor T'ai-tsung of the Sung dynasty and the name of the author preceded the official title "the chief of Monks of the Right Street". All these events happened after the first year of Hsian-p'ing (998 A.C.), and they were apparently added to the book when it was revised later.

Although this work is titled as a *History of the Saṅgha*, it is, in fact a record of Buddhist events in general, including the origin and development of Buddhist customs and institutions. Therefore, the preface asserts: "it begins with the birth of the Buddha, the spread of the Dharma, and the various events concerning the maintenance of the Triple-gem". Prior to Tsan-ning, Ven. Sêng-yu of the Liang dynasty composed the *Origin of Miscellaneous Affairs in the Garden of Law* in ten fasciculi, which is a work dealing exclusively with the origins of "the routine monastic duties and the usual ceremonies of the Saṅgha" in China and India (See the preface), including the items on rituals, festivals, building of stūpas, chanting Sanskrit stanzas, making images, copying sūtras, the ceremony of ordination, etc. But it was lost a long time ago, leaving only its table of contents preserved in fasc. XII of the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, and it had apparent differences in the scope of events and the form of writing, as compared with the present work under review. The *Treatise on the Directors of Monks*, written by Ven. Yen-tsung of the Sui dynasty, had partial connections with this work, but it was not seen at the beginning of the Sung dynasty, and so Tsan-ning said, "I failed to find that book". (See the portion of "Miscellaneous Officiating Monks"). The *Commencement of Affairs*, composed by Liu Chiang-sun of the Tang dynasty, although touched on Buddhist subjects, it had simply a few items concerning Buddhism. Therefore the author had to collect material from both Buddhist and non-Buddhist works before he could write his book. The works he quoted in his

book include the *Life of Fa-hsien*, the *Han Fa Pen Nei Chuan*, the *Records of Buddhism and Taoism in the History of Wei*, the *Records of Buddhist Monasteries at Loyang*, the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, the *Biographies of the Teachers of the Sarvāstivāda School*, the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, the *K'ai-huang Record of the Triple-gem*, the *Monastery Edicts*, the *hi Hüan Tu Ching*, the *Larger Hung Ming Chi*, the *Records of Spiritual Influences of the Triple-gem*, the *Records of Inner Law Sent Home From the South Seas*, the *General Record*, etc. A large number of official documents and contemporary writings were also quoted in his book. It was not without reason that the author should have spent three or four years in composing it.

It is remarked at the end of the contents in the first fascicle that "the book consists of nearly sixty portions". This is but a round figure, as it has in fact only fifty-nine portions. The first fascicle including twenty-three portions, relates the origins of the events beginning from the date of the Buddha's birth, to the propagation of the Triple-gem in the East, the translation of the *Tripiṭaka*, the construction of monasteries, the renunciation of household life (to become a monk), the religious costumes, the ordination, the confession, the rituals, their preaching sūtras, writing commentaries on the *Tripiṭaka*, spreading *Dhyāna* and Tantric Buddhism, and their travels to the West in search of the Dharma. The second fascicle with seventeen portions gives an account of the origins of monastic regulations and institutions, the offering of incense, doctrinal and religious chantings, the appointment of monastic officials, the conferring of the title of "national teacher", the remuneration to monk officials, the organizations in charge of monks and nuns, the position of monks in the court, and the palatine places for practising religion. In the third fascicle there are nineteen portions, which explain the origins of such events as monks preaching sūtras on the occasion of the emperor's birth-day, the granting of "purple robes" and honorary title by the emperor to eminent monks, monks acting as harbingers to the emperor, the conferment of official ranks on monks, the erection of ordination altars, the organization of religious societies, the reckoning of the number of years spent in monastic life, of the conferment of posthumous titles, the appellations of monks in the presence of the emperor, the different positions of monks on the ordination altar, the selling of ordination certificates, the seven-jewel table for keeping sūtras, the images of heavenly kings being placed on city gates, the lantern celebration of the 15th day of the first month, as well as the origin of the Manicheism, the last portion is a conclusion to the whole book. The range of subjects discussed in this book is considerably wide. It deals with the subject of the spread of Buddhism in China, the development of some Buddhist rituals and ceremonies, the management and treatment of Buddhism by the governments of the different dynasties etc. A clear outline is drawn in this extensive record about the introduction and development of Buddhism in China, its relations with the contemporary political authorities and its influence upon society, and it gives us much valuable material concerning some fields of knowledge. It was not only studied by "the scholars in official circles who desired to know Buddhist and non-Buddhist historic anecdotes" (See *the Records of the Lineage of the Buddha and Buddhist Patriarchs*, fas. XLIV), but it has been also a worthy reference work for the study of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist customs and institutions till the present day.

More than one-third of the whole book is devoted to the subject of government management and treatment of Buddhism. Under the subject of the origin and development of "monk officials" are included, topics such as the Directors of Monks of the Later Ch'in, the Earlier Sung and the Southern Ch'i the Grand Director of Monks of the Liang dynasty, the President and the Vice-President of Śramaṇas of the Northern Wei period, the National Great President and the National Vice President of the Monks of the Sui dynasty, the President of Monks of the Two Streets of the T'ang dynasty, (this title, though later changed a little, was still fundamentally adopted in the Sung dynasty) and the Chief of Monks of the Left and Right Streets of the Sung dynasty. Although the titles varied in the different dynasties, the position was handed down from one generation to another along a single line. Besides, there were the "Chief of Bhikṣuṇīs" the "Vice Karmadāna of Bhikṣuṇīs" and other deputy monk-officials of the Earlier Sung dynasty; the "Vice Karmadāna" of the Northern Wei period; the "Vice Karmadāna" "in the Capital" of the Earlier Sung dynasty; and the "Deputy Chief Monks" of the T'ang and Sung dynasties. The organization in charge of the affairs of Buddhist monks and nuns, in both the Han and Wei dynasties, was the "Hung Lu

Sû". During the Northern Wei period, organization for that purpose was the "Chien Fu Tsao"; shortly afterwards it was named "Chao Hsüan Sû, and finally its title was changed to "Chung Hsuan shu". During the T'ang dynasty the management of Buddhist monks and nuns was at first assigned to the Board of Guests, but later during the reign of Empress Wu Tsê-t'ien it was put under the Board of Ancestral Temples. It belonged to the "Hung Lu Ssû" during the reign of Emperor Heüan-tsung, to the "Tso Yu Chieh Kung Tê Shih" during the reign of Emperor Hsien-tsung, and to the "Director of Guests" during the reign of Emperor Wu-tsung, but not long afterwards it was again put under the "Tso Yu Chieh Kung Tê Shih". During the Later Liang dynasty it belonged to the Board of Ancestral Temples, and during the Later Tsin dynasty, to the "Tien Hsia Kung Tê Shih". During the Sung dynasty it belonged to this same governmental department. There are also statements in this book about the registration of Buddhist monks and nuns during the reign of Emperor Wen-tsung, about the issue of ordination credentials during the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung, and about the sale of ordination credentials by the government during the reign of Emperor Su-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty; there are also statements about the remunerations for monk officials during the Later Ch'in, the Northern Wei and the T'ang dynasties; about the conferment of the titles of "National Teacher" during the Northern Chi, the Ch'en, the Sui, the T'ang, the Shu, the Wu Yüeh and the Southern T'ang periods, about the granting of the title "Great Master" during the T'ang and the Five dynasties; about the granting of the title of the "Bhadanta of Ordination" during the T'ang dynasty; about the presentation of "purple robes" during the T'ang and Sung dynasties; about the conferment of official ranks during the Northern Wei, the Liang, the Later Chou, the Sui and the T'ang dynasties; about the granting of "positions according to the number of years passed in the Saṅgha" during the T'ang and the Later Liang periods; and about the conferment of posthumous titles during the Northern Wei and the T'ang dynasties. Although the statements are not shown in detail, they give us a general picture of the development of Buddhist institutions and supply many clues for the study of these institutions. The records about the events of the Five Dynasties and the early Sung dynasty are particularly true and more valuable, as these periods were not far from the time of the author and some of the events were actually related to his personal experiences.

The author was very careful in his historical researches. He used to examine different data to ascertain the truth of an event and draw a comprehensive conclusion from them. Sometimes his remarks express his own views. To those doubtful historical records, such as the construction of the Ling-an Monastery and the Hsien-chi Monastery by King Mu of the Chou dynasty, he remarked that "It may be left out of consideration" (See portion on the "Introduction of Buddhist Scriptures and Images to the East"), or that "this can hardly be relied upon" (See the portion on the "Construction of Saṅghārāmas". He also corrected some of the mistaken records. For instance, whereas Seng-yu took Chu Shih-hsing of the Later Han dynasty who went to the west to search for Buddhist scriptures, as the first Chinese monk who travelled to the west, the author pointed out that Chu Shih-hsing travelled only as far as Khotan and that Fa-hsien of the Tsin dynasty was the first Chinese monk who reached Central India (See the portion on "Chinese Monks Travelling to the Western Regions"). It was said in the *History of T'ang* that the *Mahā-megha-sūtra* was an apocryphal work, but the author pointed out that a Chinese translation of this sūtra existed as early as the Tsin dynasty and it was not a falsification (See the portion on "Presentation of Purple Robes to Monks"). We may see from these examples that the author was not only a learned scholar, but also a discreet author in treating problems. But in some items the author also believed false statements, such as the report of eighteen Buddhist monks Shih Li-fang and others, coming to China with Buddhist scriptures during the reign of the First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty, and the report that Liu Hsiang of the Han dynasty discovered Buddhist sūtras when he collated the books at the T'ien Lu Ko, and that the seventy-four persons recorded in his *Biographies of Various Immortals*, were found in Buddhist scriptures. Based on these fictitious materials the author inferred that Buddhism was introduced into China during the Chou or the Ch'in dynasty (See the portion on "Monks Coming to China"), that Liu Hsiang understood Sanskrit (see under the portion on the "Translation of sūtras"), and that Liu Ch'in and Ah-p'an of the Han dynasty were the first Buddhist monk and nun in China (see the portion on "Buddhist Monks and nuns

in China"). All these are unreliable traditions, quoted in his book without discrimination. Regarding the year of the Buddha's birth, the author referred to eight different viewpoints, but in conclusion he still used the incorrect tradition that the Buddha was born during the reign of king Chao of the Chou dynasty. (See the portion on "The Year of the Buddha's birth"). Besides, there are defective points concerning the origin of some events. For instance, he said in the portion on the "Relaxation and Restriction of the Registration of Monks" that monks' registration was first initiated in the fifth year of T'ai-ho (831 A.C) during the T'ang Dynasty, while in the Later Tsin dynasty there was already a monk, by the name of Hui-pin, taking charge of monks' registration (see the portion on the "officiating Monks in a Monastery"). Hence there was apparently a particular person appointed from the officiating monks to be in charge of the registration of monks at that time. In the *Hung Ming Chi*, fas. XII, it is recorded that Chih Tao-lin of the Tsin dynasty discussed in a letter with Huan Hsüan about magistrates making lists of Śramaṇas. All these prove that the registration of monks existed much earlier and it was not started so late as the time of founding the "Chien Fu Tsao" and the "Chao Hsüan Ssû", nor was it initiated during the T'ang Dynasty. The edict issued by Emperor Hsüan-wu of the Northern Wei dynasty about the establishment of institutions for monks, as is mentioned in the portion on the "Establishment of monks Institution", was an event of the first year of Yung-p'ing (508 A.C.) (See the *Record of Buddhism and Taoism in the History of Wei*.). But in the *Record of Buddhism and Taoism*, it is mentioned that Emperor Hsiao-wên of the Northern Wei dynasty, previously issued an edict in the seventeenth year of T'ai-ho (493 A.C.) for the establishment of forty-seven rules for monks; and in the *Larger Hung Ming Chi*, Fas. XXIV, the text of the edict is recorded "Regulations for monks were made in the previous dynasties, but as they are not quite complete, they should be revised; Sêng-Hsien, the President of Srāmaṇera and some others have lately reported that they wished to revise the regulations". Therefore, the monastic regulations made in the seventeenth year of T'ai-ho were revisions of the regulations that had been laid down previously. It is apparently out of negligence that the author did not mention all these events in his book. But the official documents quoted in his book, such as the edict issued in the eleventh year of Chên-kuan (637 A.C.) of the T'ang dynasty and the edict issued in the second month of the first year of Ching-yün (710 A.C.), both quoted in the section on the "Position of Buddhist Monks and Taoist Priests in Court", and the edict issued in the sixth year of T'ien-pao (747 A.C.) quoted in the section on the "Lantern Festival on the Fifteenth Day of the First Month", are not stated in either the old or the new *History of T'ang* or the *General Record of T'ang*, and so these quoted documents in his book may supplement what were not found in historical works.

The author has expressed his personal views at various places in the book. He emphatically pointed out the importance of the liberal study of non-Buddhist branches of knowledge and proposed that besides studying Buddhism, Buddhists should also learn the theories of Confucianism and Taoism (see the section on the "Propagation of Tantric Buddhism"). He also advocated that the three teachings, i.e. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism should co-exist peacefully and that the emperor should not have prejudice against any one religion in particular (see the section on "Conclusion"). In the "Propagation of the Method of Dhyāna", he suggested that the practice of Dhyāna must be based on the teachings of the Buddha and that one should not cheat people by one's eloquence in spreading personal opinion. Regarding the "Conferment of Official Ranks", he criticized those monks who competed with one another in obtaining official ranks, and sneered at them, saying, "why do they not keep their wives and children and prostrate themselves before their parents and the emperor?". And concerning the "Sale of Ordination Credentials", he considered that this act of the government to cover military expenses was a damage done to Buddhism. In these statements the author not only expressed his own attitude towards such affairs, but he also reflected some activities of Buddhism in society and its influence upon thought during the period from the Five Dynasty to the beginning of the Sung dynasty.

This book was included in the Chinese Tripitaka in the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (1011 A.C.), and it was re-entered into the Tripiṭaka in the fourth year of Ch'ung-ning (1105 A.C.). In the fourteenth year of Shao-hsing (1144 A.C.) Ven. Fa-tao re-published it with new printing blocks.

As the end of the book is attached the document in one fascicle containing an edict issued by the emperor during the Shao-hsing period for the change of positions of Buddhist monks and Taoist priests at court. The name of the author is not mentioned in this document. In it there are included the petition submitted to the emperor by Fa-tao, the abbot of the T'ai-ping-hsing-lung Monastery at Tung-lin on Lu Mountain in King-chou, in the third year of Shao-hsing (1133 A.C.), and the petition submitted by Fan-an, the Chief Monk of Lin-an Prefecture, and some others, requesting a change of position of Buddhist monks and Taoist priests in the ceremony of offering incense on national mourning days, and soliciting a restoration of the old institution, according to which Buddhist monks had priority over Taoist priests. Immediately after the petitions there is the official sanction granting the request by the chief minister of the Board of Ancestral Temple of the Central Government. Fa-tao also requested that the sanction should be made known throughout the country, and consequently it was proclaimed after four days by the Board of Ceremonial to be observed at all places in the country. In the thirteenth year of Shao-hsing (1143 A.C.) Liu Jo-ch'ien, the chief Taoist priest of Lin-an Prefecture, and some others went to the Imperial Secretariat and requested the government to place the position of Taoist priests before Buddhist monks. But Shan-ta, the Ex-chief Buddhist Monk in the capital, and Chieh-yüeh, a chief Buddhist Monk on the other hand, requested that the positions should be ranged according to the seniority of the institution. There is another official sanction given by the chief minister of the Board of Ancestral Temples, ordering that the case should be settled in accordance with the institution as was fixed in the third year of Shao-hsing. These documents are collected in the book and in conclusion there is an observation made by the complier. It was possibly compiled by Fa-tao himself, probably in the fourteenth year of Shao-hsing.

In the *General Record of the Buddha and the Buddhist Patriarchs of the Successive Dynasties* fas. XIX, there is a biography of Fa-tao, in which the submission of his petition to the emperor in the third year of Shao-hsing is narrated. The disputes about the positions of Buddhist minks and Taoist priests are also recorded under the headings of the third year and the thirteenth year of Shao hsing respectively in the *Records of the Lineage of Buddha and Buddhist Patriarchs*, fas. XLVII, but they are not so complete as the disputes recorded in this document which is the most original record. As the author of the petition quoted the *Brief History of the Saṅgha* as its chief legal basis and he also published a new edition of the work, so this document has been published as an appendix to the *Brief History of the Saṅgha*.

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Su Chin-jên

SÊNG-YU, (445-518 A. C.) was a great *Vinaya* - master during the Ch'i and Liang dynasties and an outstanding writer on Buddhist history and literature of ancient China. By ancestral origin he belonged to the Country of Hsia-p'ei, P'êng-ch'êng, (modern P'ei-hsien of the Hsü-chou District), but he himself was born in Chien-yeh, modern Nanking. His family was surnamed Yu. When still a child, one day he followed his parents to the Chien-ch'u Monastery then inside the Chien-yeh city, but outside the chü-pao Gate of modern Nanking and joined in the worship, which delighted him so much that he refused to go home again. His parents in compliance with his desire consented to let him remain in the monastery as a novice under the tutelage of Śramaṇa Sêng-fan. When he reached the age of fourteen, he went to the Upper Ting-lin Monastery, on the Chung Mountain in the east suburb of Nanking and became a disciple of the Law-master Fa-ta, disciple of Dharmamitra, who was known as "a strict observer of precepts and a pillar of the Law". At the same time in the same monastery, there was another master, Fa-hsien doing propagation work. This was a master of "excellent discipline and exemplary virtues". To the teachings of both masters, Sêng-yu heartily adhered with steady and intelligent perseverance. After full ordination, he again received education under the *Vinaya*-master Fa-ying a famous *bhadanta* of that time in the study of precepts, who was acting as the Director of Buddhist Affairs of the Chiang-nan Region, (i.e. south of the Yangtze River). He was then compiling the *Karman of the Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya* (the *Vinaya of Ten Recitations*) and the *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa* at the Ch'ang-kan Monastery, (see *K'ai-yüan Catalogue* fasc. 2), and at the same time to deliver lectures on the said Vinaya at the To-pao, the Chin-hsing and other monasteries. By the end of twenty and more years of earnest study under the personal instruction of this master, Sêng-yu finally became a well-known *Vinaya* master of the time. During the Yung-ming period after the passing away of the *Vinaya*-master Fa-ying (in the 4th year of Chien-yüan of the Ch'i dynasty, i.e. 482 A.C.). Sêng-yu was repeatedly invited by Hsiao Tzû-liang the Prince of Ching-ling, to lecture on the *Vinaya*. His audiences, attracted by his accurate explanations and penetrating insight, always numbered seven or eight hundred. Afterwards he was sent by the order of the Emperor Wu of Ch'i to conduct the examinations for the monks of the three districts of Wu Region (modern Huchou, Soochou and Shaohsing). In those places he lectured on the *Vinaya of ten Recitations* and the rituals of ordination. He used the offerings he got therefrom for the repairing of the Chien-ch'u, Ting-lin and other monasteries. For each of these two particular monasteries he constructed a repository of the Tripiṭaka. Since then, during the second half of his life, for a period of several decades, he was constantly engaged in preaching on the *Vinaya* for learners. He lectured every spring and autumn, altogether over seventy times (see *General introduction to Sêng-yu's Religious Writings. A Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, fasc. 12), and his principal life-work was indeed the propagation of the study of Vinaya.

The Vinaya that Sêng-yu propounded was that of the Sarvāstivāda i.e. the *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*, which was the earliest one that spread in China. This is not without reason. Though all the four comprehensive *Vinayas*, i.e. the *Daśabhāṇavāra* (*Ten Recitations*), the *Pañcavarga*, the *Caturvarga* and the *Mahāsaṅghika*, had been translated at that time, the most widely circulated version in China was the *Vinaya of Ten Recitations* introduced from Kaśmira of North India. The compiler of the *Biogrphies of Eminent Monks* says in its 11th fascicle, the chapter on Vinaya-expounders, "Although (the Vinaya of) all schools has been translated, yet that of the *Ten recitations* is the most prevalent in the East. The reason is that the *Vinaya*-master Vimalākṣa was himself a prominent scholar of the West. When he came to Ch'ang-an and subsequently when he travelled in the regions of Ching, Hupei and Shen, Western Honan, he invariably preached the *Ten Recitations* and showed much deference to it. T'an-yu received education from him personally, while Sêng-yeh followed in their footsteps. After that, there were Sêng-chü, Tao-yen, Sêng-yin, Tao-yung and others, who all carried on the tradition of T'an-yu and became distinguished figures in the (Earlier) Sung dynasty ...... Still later, there was the *Vinaya*-master Chih ch'êng who was a profound thinker. In whatever he undertook to explain, he was able to enhance the system by advancing new ideas, so that during the period of Ch'i and Liang dynasties he was generally recognized as the paragon of the time". It was with this Chih-ch'êng that Sêng-yu in the 7th year of Yung-ming (483 A.C.) worked jointly at the Ch'i capital in lecturing on the *Ten Recitations* for

an audience of over seven hundred well-known monks and nuns (see *Note on the Abridged Version of the Satyasiddhi-Śāstra*, in the *Collection of Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*). Chih-ch'êng, too, joined Sêng-yu's company in attending the *Vinaya*-master Fa-ying's lectures on the precepts (see Biography of Chih-ch'êng, in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc. 11) In his *Preface to the Record of Principles of the Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*, Sêng-yu speaks of Fa-ying in this way: "He kept the moral purity (*śīla*) as the guiding principle of his practice and took the *Ten Recitations* as the basic text of his studies..... He taught this *vinaya* extensively to the monks and nuns, so that his influence became very pronounced in the metropolis and his fame rose high at the time of Sung and Ch'i. Indeed, he became the guiding teacher of the seven classes of disciples, the chief preceptor of the two dynasties. This is why his lectures were regularly well attended all round from spring to winter by the seekers of his instructions like gathering clouds or rolling billows". This suffices to illustrate the popularity of Fa-ying's lectures on the *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya* during the period of the Southern dynasties. Under this master, Sêng-yu passed his long-term education, "keeping by his master's side for twenty odd years" as he says of himself (see *Preface to the Record of Principles of the Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*, *Collection of the Records of Translations of he Tripiṭaka*, fasc. 12). It was after the death of Fa-ying when Sêng-yu was over forty, that he began to lecture on the *Vinaya*. In his *Preface to the Record of the Sarvāstivādins* (which was written in the third year after he started to lecture on the *Ten Recitations*), he describes this circumstance: "I am now over fifty. Thanks to the compassion of the past sages and the guidance of my departed master, I have had the chance of pursuing the study of the *Ten Recitations*, despite my mediocre understanding. Till now I have spent thirtysix years in reading the texts, trying to comprehend them and delivering lectures on them". This is expressive of his seriousness in carrying on the tradition of this *Vinaya*.

Concerning the source of Sêng-yu's system of the *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*, reference may be made to the *New Introduction to the Four Vinayas Transmitted to china* in the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, in which it says, "At first the *piṭaka* of the Law was preserved by Mahākāśyapa who transmitted it to Ānanda and so on until the 5th Patriarch Upagupta. The original text consisted of eighty recitations. Upagupta, seeing that the people of later ages would be too dull to accept it in full, undertook to simplify it into ten recitations. The term 'recitation' signifies that this Law is to be recited and observed". What is mentioned here as the "ten recitations" abridged from the eighty recitations is the text of the *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya* propagated by Sêng-yu; it is also the same abridged version of the *Vinaya* in eighty sections mentioned in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*. In the 100th fascicle of this *śāstra*, it is stated: "Briefly speaking, the *vinaya* consists of eighty sections, but there are two versions: (1) the *Vinaya* of Mathurā (Central India) which comprises 80 sections including the *Avadānas* and *Jātakas*, and (2) the *Vinaya* of Kaśmira (North India) which, excluding the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*, comprises only those of important use arranged in ten sections". What the *śāstra* mentions as the *Vinaya* of Mathurā in 80 sections is the enlarged version of the *Vinaya* circulated in Central India, the same version which I-tsing transmitted to China in the T'ang dynasty under the title of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*. What is mentioned as the Kaśmira Vinaya of important use in 10 sections is the abridged version of *Vinaya* circulated in North India, the same version which was transmitted to China by Puṇyatāra and Dharmaruchi (both Kasmirians) under the title of the *Vinaya of Ten Recitations*. In his *Preface to the Record of the Sarvāstivādins*, Sêng-yu relates the origin of this tradition in this way. "When the *Vinaya-piṭaka* was first compiled, there was only one common track for all to follow. As time went on, divergent views arose, resulting in the division of the five sects. Since this schism, each person had to learn according to what his teacher imparted to him. But that which prevailed in the domain of Ch'i was the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. This was a tradition originated in India, gaining influence in Kaśmira and enhanced now and again by a succession of brilliant sages and saints".

The traditional lineage of the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, that "was originated in India and gained influence in Kaśmira", is presented by Sêng-yu in the list of contents of the same *Record*. Basing on the old Sarvāstivādin record, he enumerates 53 generations from Mahākāśyapa down to Dharmatrāta. (A different lineage was presented by Buddhabhadra of the Ch'i-

kung Monastery of Ch'ang-an, which listed 54 generations from Ānanda down to Saṅghabhūti). He also names six *Vinaya*-masters who came from Kaśmira to translate and propagate the *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya* in China. They are: Vimalākṣa, Kumārajiva, Puṇyatāra, Dharmaruci, Guṇavarman and Buddhabhadra. As for the Chinese *Vinaya*-masters who propagated this *Vinaya*, twenty monks are mentioned. They are: Sêng-yeh (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc. 11), Hui-hsün, (*ibid.*), Tao-yen (*ibid.*), Fa-hsiang, (*ibid.* in the Biography of Fa-ying), Fa-li, (*ibid.*), Hui-yao, (*ibid.*) in the Biography of Tao-yen), Sêng-chü (*ibid.*), Hui-yu, (*ibid.*), Hui-kuang, (*ibid.* in the Biography of Sêng-yeh), Sêng-yüan, (fasc. 8), Ch'êng-chü, (fasc. 11, in the Biography of Sêng-yin), Fa-ying (*ibid.*), Chih-tao, (*ibid.*), Tao-sung, (fasc. 12), Sêng-hsi, (fasc. 8), in the Biography of Sêng-you, Ch'ao-tu, (fasc. 11, in the Biography of Chih-tao), Tao-hui (*Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc. 21, in the Biography of Hui-kuang), Hsüan-ch'ang, *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, (fasc. 8), *Vinaya*-master Hsien, (*ibid.*, fasc. 13) and Chih-ch'êng (*ibid.*, fasc. 11). We are indebted to Sêng-yu's record for the possibility of tracing the long lost lineage of the transmission of the *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*.

Sêng-yu had two written works on the *Vinaya*, namely, *A Record of the Sarvāstivāda* in 5 fascicles and *A Record of the Principles of the Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya* in 10 fascicles. The former is historical in nature, a record of the transmission of the *Vinaya* system that he propagated. The latter is theoretical, a record of interpretations on this system of *Vinaya*. These two books, both written after his middle age – that is, between his 49th and 50th year – are important works of ancient times about the study of the *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*. Unfortunately both of them have long been lost, except the lists of their contents and the author's prefaces to them which are still preserved in the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*.

Apart from his propagation works on the *Vinaya*, Sêng-yu's achievements are as abundant in the spheres of Buddhist literary and historical writings as well as in his cultural and artistic activities. These may be related briefly under the following topics.

1. The establishment of the repositories of the canon

At the time of Ch'i and Liang, China had accumulated a considerable wealth of Buddhist scriptures. But, the first endeavour in history to collect various manuscripts to form a whole Canon was made by Sêng-yu, when he established the Repositories of the Tripiṭaka at the Chien-ch'u and the Ting-lin Monasteries. The idea seemed to have been conceived by him under the inspiration of his teacher, the *Vinaya*-master Fa-ying. According to the Biography of Fa-ying in the 11th fascicle of the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, "Fa-ying used all the donations he received from his devotees in making *sūtra* copies and holy images and in establishing a repository of medicine". Sêng-yu carried on his work on a still larger scale. He constructed the *Prajñā* Terrace for the storage of the Canon, first in the Chien-ch'u Monastery in the city of Chien-yeh, and again in Upper Ting-lin Monastery of the Chung Mountain, and had an article written for each occasion (see the list of contents in his *Fa-yüan-chi* or *A Collection of Writings of the Garden of the Law* in the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, (fasc. 12). The repository of the Upper Ting-lin Monastery was established through the earnest patronage and assistance of Hsiao Hung, Prince of Lin-ch'uan (*op.cit.*). The famous man-of-letters Liu Hsieh, too, took part in the work of editing and collation, classification and grouping, and in composing introductions (see Biography of Liu Hsieh in the *History of Liang*, fasc. 51). Hui-chiao in his *Biographies of Eminent Monks* also praises Sêng-yu's labours in "establishing the repository of the Canon and collecting manuscripts so that the monasteries were enabled to satisfy the needs of learners and keep the Holy Scriptures in good preservation".

2. The compilation of the catalogue of sacred books

As Sêng-yu was establishing the Repositories of the Canon in the two monasteries, he had to gather and collate the various manuscripts with a view to the rectification of the translations, he summed up the results of his bibliothecal researches about the works in the Tripiṭaka into the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka* in 15 fascicles, which is the earliest extant record of Buddhist sacred books ever produced in China. The catalogue section of the

book is based on Tao-an's *Systematised Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books* with a certain amount of researches and supplements. Sêng-yu himself says in this book, "The Ven. Tao-an was the initiator of the catalogue. He made discussions and evaluation of the translators and fixed the dates of their works. It is chiefly due to his efforts that we now have reliable information about the Holy Scriptures. Despite the fact that I am but a humble junior to him, I have the ambition of following the example set by him. I venture to offer my limited views and compile a new catalogue as a continuation to the old one. At the same time, I have tried to examine the wide range of divergent information and made comparisons and rectifications upon them". (See *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, fasc. 2). In the course of the compilation, he "explored into the various Buddhist scriptures, consulted non-religious books, made references to the works of his predecessors and compared them with earlier information" (*op.cit.*, the Preface). His painstaking efforts were truly great making all these extensive investigations and references. The contents of this book fall into four main sections: (1) the origin of the Canon in which is given a brief survey of the sources of the works in the *Tripiṭaka*; (2) the catalogue of the sacred books in which are recorded the titles of scriptures translated, the names of the translators, the dates of the translations, as well as the different versions, work of anonymous translators, dubious and spurious works, etc., based chiefly on Tao-an's catalogue with additional rectifications and supplements; (3) introductory articles to various scriptures in which are given the dates of the translations and the process they underwent; and (4) biographies in which are related the lives and personalities of the translators of the past. As a whole, this work has preserved lots of primitive materials concerning the early history of the translation of Buddhist books. It furnishes a reliable basis for later learners to make their studies and thus deserves to be highly valued.

3. His works on Buddhist literature

Besides the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, the *Record of the Successive Generations of the Sarvāstivādins*, and the *Record of Principles of the Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*, Sêng-yu's other works in this category are: *A Genealogical Record of the Śākya Family* in 5 fascicles, *A Record of the Lokadhātu* in 5 fascicles, the *Fa-yüan-chi* (or *A Collection of Writings of the Garden of the Law*) in 10 fascicles, the *Hung-ming-chi*, or *A Collection of Writings on the Propagation and Illumination of the Law*) in 14 fascicles and *A Collection of Miscellaneous Records and Inscriptions on the Law* in 10 fascicles. These eight works he put together under the general title of the *Collection of Sêng-yu's Religious Writings*. In the Preface written by himself he says, "I have made myself a strong vow which is thus: to resolve steadily towards the Mahāyāna and to accent the *Vaipulya sūtras* as my ideal, while making excursions into the four *Āgamas*. I have had the chance of residing in the mountains, quiet and remote, where the streams were pure and the pine groves thick. Whenever I found spare time between lectures of monastic duties, I would go to the Scriptures, indulging in reading and perusing. Sometimes I forgot my meals for the day, and sometimes the whole night was spent under candle-light. My failing energy urged me to race with time as I felt that my limited knowledge would not allow me to let slip any single minute..... I kept deferent to the Scriptures and, in addition, made sections out of various records. I grouped events according to their nature and classified my topics according to set rules. Thus, in order to reveal the enlightening manifestations, I composed the *Genealogical Record of the Śākya Family*; and in order to differentiate the six paths of rebirth, I wrote the *Record of the Loka-dhātu*. Similarly, the *Record of the Tripiṭaka* was intended to rectify the translations of the Scriptures, and the *Record of the Successive Generations* (of the Sarvāsivādins) was to glorify the origin of the *Vinaya*. I compiled the *Fa-yüan-chi* to illustrate the sources of felicity, and the *Hung-ming-chi* to uphold the right Truth. Moreover I am deeply interested in the *Vinaya* which I have been studying from by early youth......During not to let drop the instructions that I received from my deceased master, I formulated sections and items and presented them in the form of a record of ten fascicles. Lastly, the miscellaneous writings and inscriptions were collected into a packet. Altogether there are eight works produced. It is my humble hope that they may contribute something to our cause to-day and furnish some help to the truth-seekers of the future". These eight works preserve a large quantity of old records and documents which are of great value, because most of them are important materials of early Buddhist

literature and history. Unfortunately, only three of them – i.e. *A genealogical Record of the Śākya Family*, *A Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka* and the *Hung-ming-chi* – are extant to-day, whereas the other five have all been lost.

Of the three extant works of Sêng-yu's religious Writing the *Genealogical Record of the Śākya Family* may be regarded as the earliest Life of Buddha written in the Chinese language, the *Hung-ming-chi* as the earliest anthology of Chinese Buddhist literature, and the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka* as the earliest catalogue of Chinese Buddhist sacred books. The last three fascicles of the last mentioned work contain a series of biographies which form in fact the earliest typical work in the Chinese language on the lives of monks. Indeed, it was under Sêng-yu's instruction that his disciple Pao-ch'ang compiled the *Biographies of Famous Monks* in 31 fascicles (see *Preface to the Biographies of Famous Monks* in the Biography of Pao-ch'ang, the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*). The later compilation of Hui-chiao's *Biographies of Eminent Monks* was consummated by adopting wholesale the articles from this work of Sêng-yu, and at the same time by taking Pao-ch'ang's *Biographies* as the basis to work upon with additions and eliminations made according to the results of his own researches (cf. the list of contents) in the *Extracts of the Biographies of Famous Monks*. Therefore it is not unsafe to assert that the Buddhist biographical literature in China was also initiated by Sêng-yu.

4. His contributions to Buddhist arts

In Sêng-yu's *Fa-yüan-chi* are collected a large amount of records and documents concerning Buddhist music, hymnology, Indian dancing image making, sculpture and the like, showing the wide range of his interest and cultivation in Buddhist arts. Indeed, his talents in this respect were unanimously acknowledged by his contemporaries, in court as well as in common society, both cleric and secular. For instance, in the biography given to him in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc. 11, is the passage: "Sêng-yu was endowed with wonderful skills. He could measure with his eyes and compute by heart and bring out results which agreed exactly with those done by the craftsman with apparatus. Hence he was invited to participate as adviser and designer in the work of making huge statues of the Kuang-chai Monastery and the Shê Mountain and in carving the stone Buddha images of Yen-hsien modern Shêng-hsien of chekiang". Of the above-mentioned, the statue of the Kuang-chai Monastery was made in the 8th year of the T'ien-chien period of the Liang dynasty (509 A.C. when Sêng-yu was 65). Sêng-yu was ordered by the emperor to supervise the work. Forty-three thousand catties of bronze were used to cast this Buddha Statue which measured nineteen Chinese feet in height and was said to be the very best one of its kind in magnitude and beauty in China (see Biography of Fa-yüeh, *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc. 13). In the 12th year of T'ien-chien (513 A.C. when Sêng-yu was 69), he was again ordered to supervise the work of carving the stone Buddha images of Yen-hsien. This work took him four years (513-517), from his 69th to 73rd year of age, producing an image in sitting posture measuring 50 Chinese feet in height and a standing statue 100 Chinese feet high, both of extreme beauty. For making offerings, halls and chambers were built, furnished with shrines and altars (see Biography of Sêng-hu in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc. 13). Prior to these, the great images and rockcuts on the Cliff of One Thousand Buddhas of the Shê Mountain had been initiated in the Ch'i dynasty by Ming Chung-chang. During the Ch'i and the Liang dynasties, images were continued to be carved along the cliffs under the patronage of such nobles as the Prince of Yü-chang. The Prince of Ching-ling and others, while Sêng-yu was always among the participants, acting as designer and supervisor. The *Fa-yüan-chi*, as listed in the 12th fascicle of the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, contains *A Record of the Great Stone Images of the Shê Mountain made by the Prince of Lin-ch'uan, Minister of Military Affaires*. Again, according to the Tablet Inscription of the Ch'i-hsia Temple of the Shê Mountain composed by Chiang Tsung of the Ch'ên dynasty, the Prince of Lin-ch'uan had added decorations and new carvings to these thousand stone images. As we know that the Prince of Lin-ch'uan was a pious devotee and an influential patron of Sêng-yu, therefore we may safely assume that Sêng-yu must have had a hand in the planning of these works. All these facts point to the prominence of Sêng-yu's achievements in Buddhist arts.

5. His mode of education

Sêng-yu's fame in the region of the Lower Yangtze chiefly rested as much upon his knowledge in the *Vinaya* as upon his literary and historical works. Consequently, in educating his disciples, he also laid emphasis on literature and history in addition to the study of Vinaya. According to the Biography of Ming-ch'ê in the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, "Ming-ch'ê studied the *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya* under Sêng-yu. Afterwards he went to the capital and dwelt in the Chien-ch'u Monastery. He said that he took the Precepts as the fundamental law of conduct and kept strictly to the rules. He perused all works of the four classes of *Vinaya* and made researches into their development and decline........After that he turned his efforts to the study of *sktras* and *śāstras*, learning the theories of various masters, and endeavouring to grasp their profound principles." In the same work, the Biography of Pao-ch'ang states that Pao-ch'ang became a Buddhist monk under Sêng-yu and received instructions in the study of *skūtras* and *vinaya*. He produced successively a series of written works, viz. *A Series of jewels of the Dharmaratna, A Continuation to the Treatise on the Wheel of the Law, A Collection, of Religious Writings, A Record of Sacred Books of the Hua-lin Palace, A Collection of Extracts on Remarkable Subjects from Sūtras and Vinaya Works*, *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, etc. Pao-ch'ang himself says, "The Vinaya-master Sêng-yu was a Śramana of remarkable stability in faith and of extraodinary loftiness in conduct. He wrote many books and collected many records for the revelation of the important truth. I, Pao-ch'ang, though but a dull student, was fortunate to have been admitted into the company of his disciples. I had the chance of gathering something left by him undone whenever I got time outside my routine services and lessons." Liu Hsueh too, owed much to his intimate attachment to Sêng-yu for over ten years, so that he became well-learned in Buddhist *sūtras* and *śāstras* and was enabled to differentiate the classes of the Scriptures, produce his extensive written works, and compose those documents at the Ting-lin Monastery. All these are illustrative of Sêng-yu's system of education as well as his disciples' literary achievements and mode of activity.

Sêng-yu's austere discipline of life, his erudition and many-sided talents made him an object of universal veneration during the Ch'i and Liang dynasties, in the court as well as among the commoners. Towards his old age when he was suffering from foot-disease, the Emperor Wu of Liang had him carried into the palace by sedan chair to communicate precepts for his court ladies. His disciples, including both monks and laymen, numbered over eleven thousand, among whom may be mentioned Chih-tsang, Hui-k'uo, Pao-ch'ang, Ming-ch's, the Prince of Lin-ch'uan (named Hsiao Hung), the prince of Nan-p'ing (named Hsiao Wei), Lia Hsieh and others. In the 5th month of the 17th year of T'ien-chien (518 A.C.), he passed away at the Chien-ch'u Monastery at the age of seventy-four. His remains were buried at the grave-yard of the Ting-lin Monastery on the chung Mountain. His disciple *Chêng-tu* had a tablet erected in his memorial with an inscription composed by Liu Hsieh.

Kao Kuan - ju

SERUWILA STŪPA(1): The Sinhala work named *Dhātuvaṃsa* (otherwise called *Lalāṭadhātu-vaṃsa*) (14th century) is a translation from an earlier Pali source (which is not available at present). The translator is said to be one Kakusandha Thera. This text gives information regarding a tradition which is related to Rohaṇa. The main center of interest in this text is the building of the *stūpa* at Seruvila which enshrined the Frontal Bone relic of the Buddha. Seruvila is situated in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka, about 26 miles south of Trincomalee, in the village named Toppur. The tradition relating to Rohaṇa is also mixed up with the building of the *stūpa* at Seruvila.

A prince named Abhaya, brother-in-law of King Kākavaṇṇa Tissa (father of Duṭṭha-gāmaṇi Abhaya, 161-137 B.C.), is said to have resided in a place called Giri-nuvara, but due to family differences, left the palace and together with his wife Somā-devi, went to his friend Siva who was the ruler of the city of Seru (where the Seruvila –*stūpa* now stands). Siva of Seru, gave Prince Abhaya a new abode within his territories. A city named Soma was built by Abhaya and he continued to reside therein. A prince named Mahānāga also was a kinglet who ruled from the city of Loṇa which was in close proximity to the cities of Seru and Soma. The narrative contains information that the whole of Rohaṇa was not at that time united under one central government and that local rulers like those

at Kālani and Seru at times did not acknowledge the paramountcy of the princes of Mahāgama in the South.

Among certain religious teachers of this period a story started gaining ground that a sacred relic in the possession of King Kākavanna Tissa of Rohana was destined to be enshrined by him in a *stūpa* at Seru. It was said that the Buddha himself had prophesied it in that wise. Kākavanna Tissa came to know of this prophecy through a great Thera (named Cullapiṇḍapātika Tissa who was a nephew of Vihāra devi (Kākavaṇṇa Tissa's wife) and also of (Giri) Abhaya (aforesaid), the ruler of the city of Soma. Kākavaṇṇa Tissa thereafter decided to march towards Seru with a large army proclaiming that the purpose of his march was the construction of a *stūpa* at Seru for enshrining the sacred relic. He made it known that he was desirous of getting the assistance of land-owners in and around Seru also. Cullapiṇḍapātika Tissa Thera, the main propagator of the story about the relic also accompanied the king. The local rulers of Seru, Soma and Loṇa also approved of his visit and received him cordially. They assisted him in the construction work of the *stūpa*. According to the *Dhātuvaṃsa* these events took place towards the end of Kākavaṇṇa tissa's career. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya's reign commenced in the year 161 B.C., which may also be taken as the year of the passing away of his father Kākavaṇṇa Tissa. Therefore it is safe to state that the Seruvila *stūpa* dates from 2nd century B.C.

Scholars are of opinion that the text *Dhātuvaṃsa* gives a legendary account of the building of the *stūpa* at Seruvila. In its narration of the miracles which accompanied the auspicious event, the text shows clear signs of having received its inspiration from the account of the origin of the Mahāthūpa (Ratnamāli-cetiya at Anuradhapura), given in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. It is stated therein that the relic chamber of that *stūpa* was like a solid square box (*satarās Pattāyamak se*). A square obelisk found in the center of some of the cellae (of *stūpas*) represented the Mahāmeru. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* in its description of the relic chamber of Seruvila-stūpa, states that the Mahāmeru, (made of the seven kinds of precious stones) was placed in the center. On the top of the Mahāmeru was shown the throne of God Sakra and seated on it the Buddha preaching to the gods. According to this text, the placing of the Mahāmeru in-side the relic chamber was probably to illustrate an episode in the life of the Buddha.

Within the shrine at Seruvila (at present) there is a small piece of stone sculpture (3 ¾ ins. High). It represents the Buddha in *Bhūmi-sparśa-mudra* on a *padmāsana*, with the back to the Bodhi tree. It has the *uṣṇiṣa*. The halo around the head which expands to a diameter of 2 ¾ ins., has ring patterns of its outer bands. The height from the *padmāsana* is 3 inches, the former alone being ¾ inches high. On the back there is an inscription in three lines in the north-east Indian Nāgari script found in the documents of the Pala dynasty of Bengal and attributed to about the 9th century A.C. The inscription contains the Sanskrit stanza *Ye dharmā hetu prabhavā* etc. usually referred to as the Buddhist creed.

This piece of sculpture is said to have been bought from a treasure hunter of Kantalai (Eastern province) and is now with the incumbent of the shrine. An examination shows that the sculpture was a product of the Pāla school of art which influenced the monuments of Mahāyāna in Sri Lanka to a considerable extent. In the Indian Museum there is a sculpture depicting the Buddha Gautama on *Vajrāsana* attended by Lokeśvara and Maitreya on either side. These two bodhisattvas are not represented in this piece of sculpture, but the attitude of the Buddha and the representation of the Bodhi branch above the head may be compared.

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Nandasena Mudiyanse

SERUVILA STUPA (2). In the fore-going article Seruvila Stūpa (1), the circumstances that led to the founding of the Seruvila Stūpa by King Kākavanna Tissa in the second century B.C., wherein the Frontal Bone Relic (*lalāṭadhātu* or *nalāṭadhātu*) of the Buddha was enshrined, has been described.

The Seruvila Stūpa has been highly venerated by the Buddhists since its founding in the 2nd century B.C., but with the passage of time, after many centuries, it fell into oblivion and ruins and was hidden by the advancing forest thicket.

A Sinhala text by the name *Pūjanīya Seruvila* (The Sacred Seruvila), co-authored by the present incumbent of the Seruvila temple Ven. Seruvila Saranakitti and his deputy Ven. Koṭapola Amarakitti, describes how a young and energetic monk by name Dambagasāre Sumedhaṅkara, who was ordained at the Sailabimbārāma temple in Dodanduwa in the Southern Province of Sri Lanka, pioneered to locate the Seruvila Stūpa. Sumedhaṅkara Thero who had gathered information about the Seruvila Stūpa from Pali and Sinhala literary sources such as the *Lalāṭadhātuvaṃsa*, became tremendously interested to locate the site of this stūpa, to renovate it and make it once again a holy place of worship and pilgrimage for the Buddhist Public. With this aim in view he toured in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka preaching the Dhamma to the people and enrolling the support of pious Buddhists of the area to join him in this arduous task.

The young bhikkhu Dambagasāre Sumedhaṅkara, after creeping through thick jungle, experiencing tremendous hardship and agony, was successful in locating the dilapidated Seruvila Stūpa in the year 1922. From that day onwards he made the Seruvila Stūpa site his permanent residence.

Sumedhaṅkara Thero, with the assistance of his supporters in Trincomalee and the adjoining areas, founded a society by name the *Mangala Mahā Cetiya Vardhana Samitiya* to spearhead the renovating activities of the Seruvila Stūpa. The foundation was laid for the reconstruction of the dilapidated stūpa on the 3rd of September 1925 and the construction work continued smoothly and rapidly. The enshrinement or relics in the dome of the stūpa was held in the year 1925 and the pinnacle of the reconstructed stūpa was laid in the year 1930. The reconstructed stūpa was declared open for the Buddhist Public by Sir D.B. Jayatilleke, the President of the State Council of Sri Lanka, on 25th September 1931.

Development work of the Seruvila Stūpa and Temple project received additional encouragement in 1979 with the visit of a State Minister of the then government of Sri Lanka, on pilgrimage to the Seruvila Stūpa. With government aid and public support many facilities such as approach roads, quarters for resident and visiting monks, pilgrim rests, a five storied shrine room to accommodate Buddha statues and relics, pipe borne water etc. are made available to the temple and its vicinity.

In recognition of the tremendous hardships endured by Ven. Dambagasāre Sumedhaṅkara Thero to locate the long forgotten Seruvila stūpa and to develop it as a very popular Buddhist Pilgrims' destination, the Kalyānivaṃsa Nikāya of Sri Lanka conferred on him the prestigious religious title "Chief Saṅghanāyaka of the Eastern Province and Tamankaduwa".

Ven. Dambagasāre Sumedhaṅkara Thero who pioneered the restoration of the Seruvila Stūpa and the Temple project lived in Seruvila stūpa premises until his demise in 1984. Ven. Seruvila Saranakitti Thero, Chief pupil of Ven. Dambagasāre Sumaṅgala Thero succeeded him as the Chief Incumbent of the Seruvila Stūpa. See **Plates I–III.**

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W.G. Weeraratne.

SHEN-HUI, Shen-hui (668-760A.C.); a later disciple of the sixth Patriarch of the Ch'an School, Hui-neng, was the founder of the Ho-tse Sect and an able master who played a very important role in the establishment of the so-called Southern Branch of Ch'an in China. He came from a Kao's family of the Hsiang-yang District of modern Hu-pei. During his childhood he studied Confucian classics and also works of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu at a later time, and gained considerable

attainment in both. Afterwards, in reading the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*, he came to know something about Buddhism, which aroused his great admiration. In consequence he left home and became a monk under the Law-master Hao-yüan at the Kuo-ch'ang Monastery of his native prefecture. Though showing remarkable understanding of his scriptural lessons, he had no liking for making lectures or discussions himself. During the period from the 30th to the 34th year of his age, he received education under Shen-hsiu at the Yü-ch'uan monastery of Ching-chou, studying the Ch'an doctrine. When summoned by Empress Wu Tse-t'ien to lecture in her palace in the 1st year of Chiu shih (700 A.C). Shen-hsiu advised his disciples to go to Shao-chou and seek for the instruction of Hui-neng. Accordingly Shen-hui went and visited the sixth Patriarch at Ts'ao-hsi with whom he stayed for several years, winning much of the master's good opinion. But before long, he set out on a trip to the North with a purpose of widening the scope of his knowledge. He first went to the Ch'ing-yüan Mountain to see Hsing-szu with whom he held a discourse on the tenet of Ts'as (i.e. Hui-neng) *(vid Biography of Hsing-szu, Records of the Transmission of the Lamp Up to the Ching-te Period,* fasc.5*)*. After that, he visited the Western Capital where he received ordination. He returned to Ts'ao-hsi in the period of Ching-lung (707-709 A.C.). Assured of Shen-hui's maturity in the cultivation of Ch' an, Hui-neng confided to him in his death bed this secret message: "It has been an established tradition of our school from the beginning to transmit the Law to one inheritor for each generation. Inwardly we communicate the Dharma-seal as the criterion to reassure one's mind, and outwardly a *kaṣāya* as the emblem of the doctrine. But, because I myself have almost paid my life for this robe, and because the great master Bodhidharma has predicted to the effect that the tradition would undergo a very critical moment six generations after him (which, I am sure, refers to no other but you), I think it best for the robe to remain here as a patriarchic treasure. As for you, go northward across the Range, because your career is destined to be in the North. Twenty years after, you shall promote this doctrine for the extensive "salvation of sentient beings." vid. A *Tābula- Table of the Traditional Lineage of the Masters of the Ch 'an School* by Tsung-mi). This was the circumstance in which Shen-hui got formally approved by Hui-neng.

In the 8th year of K'ai-yüan (720 A.C.) he was sent by mandate for some reason to the Lung-hsing Temple of Nan-yang. He was then already a figure of great repute. Wang Pi, Prefect Of Nan-yang. Wang Weng Wei, Member of the Imperial Censorate, Wang Chü, Minister of Finance and Duke of Chao, etc. all sought after him for enlightenment. Among them Wang Wei particularly had very high opinion of him.

When he returned to the North, he found the Northern School flourishing there. Thereupon he started a movement to uphold the doctrine of immediate enlightenment taught by the Southern School as superior to that of the gradual enlightenment taught by the Northern one. He pointed out that the true essentials of Bodhidharma's Ch'an system were preserved only in the immediate teaching of the Southern School, and opposed the Northern School to such an extent as to denounce it to be "a secondary branch of the great tradition, a side path of the doctrine that leads only to gradual enlightenment." With this view in mind he reconstructed the lineage of the transmission of the Dharma in India as well as the succession of the six patriarchs in China, aiming at establishing Hui-neng as the orthodox Sixth Patriarch after Bodhidharma.

On the 15th of the 1st month of the 12th year of K'ai-yüan (724 A.C.), Shen-hui caused to be held a great assembly (literarily "a meeting that rejects no one") at Hua-t'ai (modern Hua-hsien in Honan), in which he carried out a hot debate with Ch'ung-yüan, a well-known scholar of the time, and forwarded the tenet of the Southern Ch'an. In the meantime, he relentlessly criticized P'u-chi, the most honoured disciple of Shen-hsiu, who held his master as the orthodox transmitter of Bodhidharma' s tradition and consequently regarded himself as the successor of Shen-hsiu. According to the *Memorial, Inscription of the C'h 'an-master Ta-chao* (i.e. P'tu-chi written by Li Yung); P'u-chi, when about to pass away, gave his last instruction to his disciples, saying, "I have been entrusted by my deceased master with the task of carrying on the secret Seal, which was first transmitted from Bodhisattva Bodhidharma to Hui-k'o, from Hui-k'o to Seng-ts'an, from Seng-ts'an to Tao-hsin, from Tao-hsin to Hung-jen, from Hungjen to Ta-t'ung (i.e. Sen-hsiu) and from Te-t'ung to me. It is now the seventh generation" (see *Complete Tang Prose*, fasc. 262). Shen-hsiu's disciples were enjoying at that time

very great prestige. The lineage of the transmission of the Law they established was something not to be doubted. Shen-hsiu now openly declared that this lineage was a fabrication. He denied the tradition that Hung-jen ever transmitted the Law to Shen-hsiu, saying, "Bodhidharma handed Hui-k'o the *kaṣāya* as a certification of the Dharma. From Hui-k'o this *kaṣāya* passed on successively though Seng-ts'an and Tao-hsin who handed it to hung-jen, but from Hung-jen it was handed to Hui-neng, thus forming an unbroken line of six generations" (*vid. Discourse on the Decision of the Right and the Wrong Made by the Southern Branch of Bodhidharma's System* written by Tu-ku P'ei, Tun-huang Ms. No. 3047, Paris). Again Shen-hui said, "When still living, the Master Shenhsiu himself pointed out that the *kaṣāya* attesting the transmission of the Law was in Shao-chou. Not a single word ever passed his lips to allege that he was the Sixth Patriarch. But now Ch'an-master P'u-chi claimed for himself the title of the Seventh patriarch, and thus groundlessly established the *Upadhyāya* (Shen-hsiu) to be the Sixth. This is what I cannot admit. "At that moment, Ch'Ung-yüan of the Ta-yün Temple put forward a protest against him, Saying, "P'u-chi was a man of renown throughout the empire. Don't you know that in thus de-claiming against him you are endangering your own life?" Shen-hui answered calmly, "I am striving to differentiate the right from the wrong, to determine the true tenet of the school, and to establish the right doctrine for the cause of the Mahāyāna. How should I care for my life?" His extraordinary resolution and eloquence created a shock among the assembly. Since then, the split of these two branches was the more clear-cut and the controversy between them grew sharper than ever (vid. *Analects of Shen-hu*, fasc. 3, fragment).

In the 4th year of T'ien-pao (745 AC.), Shen-hui in his advanced age of seventy-eight, was invited to hold the abbacy of the Ho-tse Monastery, of the Eastern Capital. Both P'u-chi and I-fu had died one after another. Owing to his arduous labours, the Ts'ao-hsi doctrine of immediate enlightenment soon became prevalent in Lo-yang and afterwards over the whole empire (vide. Tsung-mi's *Extracts From the Comprehensive Commentary on the Sūtra on the Perfect Enlightenment* fasc. 3, 2nd portion). In the 8th year of the same period (749 A.C.) at the same monastery, Shen-hui once more took the initiative to assert the tenet of the Southern Ch'an and attack the Northern doctrine. He scheduled open lectures every month in which he depreciated the so-called Pure Ch'an and propagated the Ch'an of Bodhidharma (vide Biography of Wu-hsiang in the *Record of the Dharmaratna of Successive Ages*).

There was at that time a certain Lu Yi a Member of the Imperial Consorate, who was a follower of the Northern School and a devotee of P'u-chi. This official submitted a memorial in the 12th year of T'ien-pao (753 A.C.), falsely accusing Shen-hui to the effect that he was actually contemplating some malignant attempt towards the court in keeping a large retinue of followers. Consequently Shen-hui was summoned to the capital to answer the emperor Hsuan-tsung's personal inquiries. His defense proved successful so that he was only given a mild punishment of exile to the I-yang Prefecture of Kiangsi, where he did not stay long but was removed to the Wu-tang Prefecture of Hu-pai. In the following spring he was again removed to Hsiang-chou and in the autumn of the same year to the K'aiyüan Monastery of Ching-chou. These troubles were apparently brought about by the grudging followers of the Northern school with a desire to take revenge upon him (*Vide. Biography of Shen-hui in the Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled During the Sung Dynasty*, fasc. 8, and the *Extract from the Comprehensive Commentary on the Sūtra on the perfect Enlightenment*, fasc. 3, 2nd portion). Thus Shen-hui lived the life of an exile, shifting from place to place four times within a period of two years, but his fame remained unimpaired.

Three years after Shen-hui's exile, i.e. the 14th year of T'ien-pao (755 A.C.) the revolt of An Lu-shan broke out. Garrison Commander at Fan-yang Lo-yang fell, and the rebellious troops continued to advance upon Ch'ang-an. Emperor Hsüan-tsung fled to Szech'uan, leaving the direction of the warfare to General Kuo Tzu-i, the Vice Commander-in-chief. Driven by the pressing need of funds, the court resorted to the emergency measure proposed by Vice Minister P'ei Mien, ordering all provinces and prefectures to license the conferring of ordination to Buddhist monks, so that a certain amount of revenue (the so-called incense-and-water charges) could be levied to meet the expenses of military supply. Shen-hui was then in Ching-chou. His old enemy, Lu Yi who falsely accused him three years before, had lost his life in the hands of the rebels. Urged by the public desire for his services

in the affairs of ordination, Shen-hui returned to Lo-yang. This took place in the 1st year of Chih-te (756 AC.), when he was eighty-nine. The ravages of war had destroyed all monasteries of Lo-yang, and he had to found a temporary shrine and altar for the performance of the ceremony. All the income was forwarded to the state exchequer to support the campaign. In so doing, Shen-hui contributed his share in helping the recovery of the two Capitals by the troops led by the crown prince (Emperor Tai-tsung, after wards) and General Kuo Tzu-i (*vide. Biography of Shen-hui* in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled During the Sung Dynasty*, fasc. 8, and the *Revised Biographies of Buddhist Priests Classified According to Six Courses*, fasc.4, compiled by T'an-o, of the Yüan dynasty).

After the pacification of the revolt, Shen-hui was summoned by Emperor Su-tsung, to the palace where he was reverently entertained. An imperial order was given to build a residence for him inside the Ho-tse Monastery where he had once been living. Hence the Ch'an system he propagated became generally known at that time as the Ho-tse Sect.

On the 13th day of the 5th month of the 1st year of Shang-yüan (760 AC.), he passed away in the Ho-tse Monastery of Lo-yang, at the age of ninety-three. A stūpa was erected for his remains in the Pao-ying, Monastery of Lo-yang and a posthumous title of Chen-tsung-ta-shih (the Great Master of the True Doctrines) was conferred upon him (Vide. *of Shen-hui in the Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled During the Sung Dynasty*, fasc. 8).

The basic theory of the Ho-tse Sect is conveyed in Shen-hui's *Hsien-tsung-chi (A Record of the Revelation of the Doctrine*, included in the *Records of the Transmission of the Lamp*, fasc. 30), *Analects of Shen-hui* of the Ho-tse Monastery preserved in the 28th fascicle of the Record of the Transmission of the Lamp, and A Treatise on the True Mahāyāna Doctrine of the Immediate Enlightenment by opening the Mind and Reveal the Nature discovered at Tun-huang. The content of Hsien-tsung-chi are mainly similar to those of the Fourth Chapter on Concentration and Wisdom in the Fa-pao-t'an-ching (or the Sūtra spoken on the High Seat, the Dharmaratna). There is also a manuscript discovered at Tun-huang in this century, entitled *Tun-wu-wu sheng-po-je-sung* (a Stotra on the Prajñā of Immediate Enlightenment of No Birth, Tun-huang MSS, S. 468, British Museum) of which the text is practically identical with the Hsien tsung-chi. In the Tun-huang MS of the Po-je-sung, no mention is found of the 28 patriarchs in India. But in the Hsien-tsung-chi, an additional sentence is interpolated which runs thus: "Since the passing away of the World-honoured One, this dogma of the Non-abiding Mind was transmitted in India through a succession of twenty-eight patriarchs, all preaching on the knowledge and insight of the Tathāgata" probably the Tun-huang manuscript is an earlier copy bearing the title of the "*Tun-wu-wu-sheng-po-je-sung*" which has been changed into "*Hsien-tsung-chi*" at a later date.

The *Po-je-sung* has said nothing about the tradition of the 28 patriarchs, but it contains the same story about the transmission of the robe as is recorded in the *Hsien-tsung-chi*. There is already this statement: "The robe certifies the transmission of the Dharma, and the Dharma gives significance to the robe. These two shall always go on side by side, and nothing more is to be transmitted. One who has not got the robe cannot propagate the Dharma, and one who has not got the Dharma shall not receive the robe." This tells that the tradition concerning the transmission of the robe was in fact initiated by Shen-hui.

As for the theory of the Ho-tse Sect, Tsung-mi has a summary in his General Introduction to the *Ch'an-yüan-chu-ch'uan-chi* (Treatise on the Origin of Ch'an), saying, "The saints tell us with one accord that all dharmas are like a dream. Hence we know that false thoughts are originally at rest and the worldly phenomena originally void. The mind thus framed on this voidness and eternal rest can always be understood through one's spiritual intuition. It is by this intuitive understanding that you find the true nature of yourself. The knowledge of this true nature, whether deluded or enlightened, lies within your own mind, independent of all conditions and all circumstances. This single word intuitive knowledge is the door that opens into all mysteries. It is simply because of the delusion without beginning that you become wrongly attached to this body and this mind as your 'ego' and thus give rise to such thoughts as desire, anger, and so forth. Provided with the guidance of a good friend, you will come to a sudden realization of this intuitive knowledge of voidness and rest ....Therefore even though one may have devoted oneself to ten

thousand practices, yet the catchword that one has to hold fast to is the freedom from thought".

Hence the system of Shen-hui is also called the Wu-nien-ch'an (tha Ch'an of thoughtlessness). He says, "Not to beget any thought is to be free from thought" (vide Letter to His Excellency T'o-pa in the *Andlects of Shen-hui*, fasc. 1, fragment). Again, "All dharmas have no goings or comings. The division of the anterior and the posterior is impossible. Hence I know that the freedom from thought is the highest vehicle" *Analects of Shen-hui in the Records of the Transmission of the Lamp*, fasc. 28). Although Shehui advocated the practice of the "thoughtlessness", yet, according to Tsung-mi's record, the Ho-tse Sect held the "intuitive knowledge" as the "door of all mysteries". This indicates that Shen-hui laid no less importance on the liberation through intuitive insight. The fundamental difference between the Southern and the Northern Schools lies in the fact that the latter stresses practice whereas the former intuition. The Northern School advocates the acquisition of wisdom through the practice of concentration *(samādhi)* whereas the Southern School rather includes concentration under the category of wisdom itself. In his reply to Wang Wei, Shen-hui says, "Master Huich'eng taught people to practice concentration first which will lead to wisdom. My opinion is not so." Again he quotes from the *Parinirvāna-sūtra* the following statement, "Over-emphasis on concentration with little wisdom will breed ignorance *(avidyā)*, whereas over-emphasis on wisdom with little concentration will breed erroneous views," and hence he advocates the equal importance of both *(Analects of Shen-hui*, fasc. 1, fragment).

Of Shen-hui's disciples who inherited his teaching, twenty-two are mentioned in Tsung-mi's Extracts from the Abridged Commentary on the Sūtra on the Perfect Enlightenment, eighteen in his *Tabular Table of the traditional lineage of the Masters of the Ch'an School, sixteen in the Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled During the Sung Dynasty* and various inscriptions, and eighteen in the *Record of the transmission of the Lamp up to the Ching-te Period.* Adding them together and eliminating the recurring ones, we get thirty-odd persons in total. The better-known of them consist of those in a succession to which Tsung-mi belonged. This succession began from Fa-ju (732-811) of the Fa-kuan Monastery of Ts'uchou, who was succeeded by Wei-chung of the Sheng-shou Monastery of Ch'eng-tu, who in turn was succeeded by Tao-yüan of the Ta-yün Monastery of Sui-chou. Tsung — mi was a disciple of Tao-yüan, and hence claimed to be the successor of Shen-hui in the 4th generation.

Among those who got approved by Shen-hui may be mentioned Wu-ming (722-793) of the T'ung-te Monastery of Lo-yang (Records of the Transmission of the Lamp records him as Wu-mind of the Wu-t'ai Mountain, and the Enlarged Record of the Ch'ing-liang Mountain says that he was a monk of the Fo-kuang Monastery of that mountain), Hui-chiao (708-799A.C.) of the Kuo-ch'ang Monastery of Ching — chou, Kuang-yao(716-807) of the Pao-chen Monastery of Ichou, Chin-p'ing (699-779A.C.) of the Hsi-yin Mountain of the Huai-an Prefecture, Lang of Fu-chou, Huai-ung of Ho-yang. Fu-lin (704-785) of Huang-pei, Chihrnan(715-805) of the Ling-t'ang-ch'uan Monastery of Hsüan-chou Yüan-chen (705-790)of the Wu-ya Mountain of Teng-chou, Shen-ying (693-767) of the Fa-hua Monastery of the Wu-t'ai Mountain, Tao-yin (709-778) of the Er-sheng Monastery of the South Mountain of Ning-chou, Hui-yen (718-796) of Li-chou, Ho-yü(704-784) of the Nan-yao Mountain, Ling-t' an (709-816) of the Hua-lin Monastery of Yang-chou , Kuang-fu (695-785) and Ch'eng-kuang (717-798) of Yang-ch'i Mountain of Yüan-chou, Wei-chung (705-782) of Huang-ling, etc.

The Records of the Transmission of the Lamp up to the Ching-te Period includes among Shen-hui's followers a Mayor of Lo-yang named Li Ch'ang. The above-mentioned *Chen-ts ung-lun* discovered at Tun-huang records a *Śramana* Tachao who while studying under Shen-hui had the chance of hearing the master's verbal instructions and receiving intimate delivery of his doctrine. Another work mentioned above, the Table of the Traditional Lineage gives a list of monks who inherited Shen-hui' s intimate teaching, e.g. Chi, Chi-yün, Mahāyāna, Ta-yüan, Yen, Heng-kuan, Hung-chi, Fa-I, Fa-hai, Ching-tsung, Chieh-t'o, Chien and others.

The doctrinal lineage of Shen-hui lasted about one hundred and fifty years and was discontinued at the end of the T'ang dynasty. In the 12th year of Chen ylan (796 A.C.), Emperor Te-tsung issued an edict bidding the crown prince to convoke a council of Ch'an masters to formulate the authorized principles of the Ch'an School. After examining into all its professed

descendant systems and branches, they finally established Shen-hui as the Seventh Patriarch, and accordingly composed formal laudatories on all patriarchs of the seven generations (Tsung-mi's Tabular Table). This event took place in the 35th year after Shen-hui's death. From the time of the Five Dynasties onwards, the prestige of Ch'an School was equally divided between and carried to further prosperity by the two systems descending respectively from Hsing-szu of Ch'ing-yüan and Huai-jang of Nanyao, both contemporary fellow-learners of Shen-hui; while the system of Shen-hui himself, the champion of the Southern School who had fought so strenuously for the establishment of its orthodox position, was gradually sinking into oblivion.

Lin Tzu-ch'ing

SHINGON.Shingon (Chinese. *Chien- yen*; Skt. *Mantra*), a major Japanese Buddhist sect propagating esoteric Buddhism founded by Kukai (s.v) in the beginning of the nineth century A.C. Shingon sect came to be known under several other appellations such as Shingon- dhāraṇi (Skt. *Mantra-dhāraṇi*) sect, Dainichi sect, Yoga sect and generally as Mikkyō (esoteric Buddhism.)

The cardinal doctrine of Shingon Buddhism rests on Kukai's interpretation of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra (Dainichikyō)* and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra (Kongōchōgyō)*, which are believed to be preached by the Mahāvairocana Buddha (Jap. *Dainichi*) himself, who is reckoned as the Dharmakāya or the Ultimate Reality.Since Kukai systemalized Indo- Chinese esoteric Buddhism on the basis of Mādhyamika, Yogāvacara and Huayan (Jap. Kegon) thought, Shingon doctrine still remains in its pristine form as there is no significant deviation from its original tenets.

Shingon has its roots in the Vajrayāna Buddhism, that was introduced in the eighth century A.C, from India to China (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Micropaedia, Vol. IX, U.S.A, 1982, p.149). Hence it manifests a close affinity with Hinduism and Lamaist Buddhism in Tibet.

In Shingon, Buddha Śākyamuni is treated as one of the many manifestations of Mahāvairocana Buddha. He had not expounded the eternal wisdom in his public preaching. Therefore, Shingon docrine is an attempt to elucidate this eternal truth expounded by Mahāvairocana Buddha (or the Dharmakāya) himself and embodied in the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara Sūtras*.In his treatise titled, *Transmission of Dharma* (Jap. *Fuhōden*), Kukai asserts that Vajrasattva. who had received these teachings contained in the two above mentioned *Sūtras* directly from the Mahāvairocana Buddha, enshrined them in an iron *Stūpa* in South India. Eight hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha, Nāgārjuna (Jap. Ryūmyō) managed to retrieve those *Sūtras* from the *Stūpa* and revealed them to the world. Esoteric Buddhism based on these two *sūtras* was widely taught at Nālanda in India in the seventh century A.C.

Prompted by Dharmagupta, the chief incumbent at Nālanda, a monk named Śubhākarasimha (637-735 A.C) travelled to China with those Sūtras and reached its capital Chang-an in 716 A.C. He was warmly received by the emperor Xuangong (712- 756 A.C) and his court. Assisted by Yixing (683- 727 A.C), Śubhākarasimha translated the *Mahāvairocna Sūtra* from Sanskrit into Chinese, paving the way for the study of esoteric Buddhism in China few years later. in 720 A.C. Vajrabodhi, another exponent of esoteric Buddhism from Nālanda arrived in canton and with the blessings of the imperial court embarked on translating the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* . In his task, Vajrabodhi was assisted by Amoghavajra (Chinese; Pu-K'ung:705-774 A.C), an erudite scholar, both in Sanskrit and Chinese. Amoghavajra's successor Hui-guo (746-805 A.C), the renowned head priest at Ching-Lung temple was the first Chinese exponent of esoteric Buddhism. It was under him that Kukai studied *Chien-yen* (or *Chen yen:Shingon*).

Having mastered esoteric doctrine under Hui-guo, Kukai returned to Japan and founded, in 816 A.C, the *Kongobu-ji* monastery at Mt.Koya. From there he started propagating Shingon Buddhism, which was also known as Toji mysticism or Tomitsu (the doctrine promulagated by To-ji temple) to distinguish it from Taimitsu, a somewhat similar mystic doctrine advanced by the Tendai sect.

Since its introduction from India by way of translations, Chinese esotetric Buddhism remained in a rather unsystematic form. The task of collating and systematizing it fell upon Kukai, who accomplished

it in a diligent fashion, complementing it with accompanying rituals and practices. He expounded esoteric doctrine on the basis of the *Mahavairocana Sūtra* and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. His thesis was that the Buddha Śākyamuni represented the mundane incarnation of the timeless Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana, who manifested esoteric doctrine. Śākyamuni was his *Nirmāṇakāya*, who preached all Buddhist teachings except esoteric Buddhism. Kukai's identification of Mahāvairocana with *Dharmakāya* was considered a great revelation, as it had been upto that time *Dharmakāya* was regarded as formless, timeless, voiceless and completely transcendental phenomenon. Since Mahāvairocana is the embodiment of *Dharmakāya*, he represented the eternal *Dharma* or the Ultimate Reality, which has neither a begining nor an end. It was by realizaion of this reality that the Buddha Śākyamuni attained enlightenment. Likewise all sentient beings in the world are endowed with qualities that enable them to attain Buddhahood.

At the midmost position of the esoteric Buddhist maṇḍala[1] is the Mahāvairocana Buddha, the great Luminous One. He is surrounded by numerous Buddhas, bodhisattvas, arahants and so forth. All things that exist in the universe are united in him and the final emancipation of all sentient beings rests on him. He is present within each and every person and enlightenment is to be attained by realizing him through the enlightened mind (*bodhicitta*), which lies latent in all sentient beings. Hence the ultimate aim of Shingon doctrine is to attain Enlightenment in this very existence (*Sokushin Jobutsu gi*).

As expounded by Kukan, the initial step of attaining Enlightenment is the preaching of *Dharmakāya* (Jap. *hossihinseppō*). The term preaching in Shingon Buddhism connotes a broad sense as it involves both oral and non-oral preaching and a lot of intricate symbolism. *Mantra*, (Jap.*Shingon*), the verbal formulas form an important component in preaching the *Dharmakāya*. The essence of the two *Sūtras*, *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara* are epitomized in the *mantra* and the preaching of these two *Sūtras* in *Mantra* form is of vital importance in Shingon Buddhism. However, this oral form of preaching is just one aspect of communicating with the Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana. The non- oral preaching is to be pursued by way of observing silence, gestures (*mudrā*),colour or form.

Kukai identified Reality (Jap.*Tisso*), with Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana, whose body comprises six great elements namely, earth, water, fire,wind, space and consciousness. As a whole, these six great elements represent Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana. Of these, the first five signify all material elements and the last,the spiritual element- the mind of Mahāvairocana. All things in the universe have come into existence on a result of constant interaction between the six great elements. "These six Great Elements create all Buddhas, all sentient- beings and all material worlds. There is no creator other than the Six Great Elements, which are at once the creating and the created. Mahāvairocana, consisting of the Six Great Elements, and abiding in a state of cosmic harmony, is one without a second and the totality of all existences and activities in the universe. ...All are in a state of constant transformation; no absolute difference exists between man and nature; body and mind are nondual" (*Kodansha, Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol.7, 1983,p.114).

In secret revelation of the *dharma* can be realized through special ritual means, employing body (*mudrā*), speech or mystical syllables (*mantra*) and mental concentration (*Yōga*). The *mudras* teach the practioners to recapture in their bodies the cosmic movements of the six great- elements by forming sacred gestures with their hands, arms and legs. The *mantras* (*dhāraṇis*) help them to manipulate mystical syllables that represent the six great elements and their combinations. *Yoga* is meditation on the *maṇḍalas*. It produces in the minds of the practioners secret images whose colours depict the six great elements in their constant engendering acts. Entry into the *maṇḍala* is by an initiation ceremony called *Kanjo* (Skt. *abhiṣeka*), that involves sprinkling of water. The practioners who masters these three mysteries will be able to decipher the secret doctrine of the Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana.

The *maṇḍalas* are of four types, namely *mahā maṇḍala*, *samaya maṇḍala*, *dhāraṇi maṇḍala* and *Karma maṇḍala*. In each of these *maṇḍalas*, Mahāvairocana is seen from four different perspectives. The four *maṇḍalas* represent Mahāvairocana's extension, intention, communication and action respectively. " His extension is the totality of the five great elements; his intention is affinity-love and compassion; his communication is the

revelation of himself as the preaching of the Dharmakāya and his action, all activities in the universe" (Ibid).

The ultimate objective of preaching the three mysteries is to realize the relationship that exist between the individual and the universe- the microcosm and the macrocosm. In other words, integration of microcosmic activities of body, speech and mind of the individual existence into the macrocosmic activities of body, speech and mind of the cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana. Realization of this intrinsic identity between the created objectives and the creating forces obliterates the distinction between one's own self and the *Dharmakāya*, which ultimately enable the individual to attain Buddhahood in this very body (Jap. *Sokushin jobutsu gi*).

As depicted in the paintings of the Diamond world (Jap. *kongō-kai*) and the Womb World (Jap. *taizō-kai*), Mahāvairocana has several manifestations. However, meditaion on any of the manifestations amounts to the same thing, for it is Mahāvairocana who is represented in all those manifestations.

Consolidation and propagation of Shingon sect in Japan in the early Heian period during the ninth century A.C., was mainly due to the patronage extended to it by the imperial court. The emperor embraced esoteric Buddhist rituals for court ceremonies like coronation and empowerment. The conciliatory attitude of the Shingon sect paved the way to building a mutual co-operation with other sects of Nārā Buddhism. Thus in 875 A.C, Shōbo (832-929 A.C) established the Tōnain- in sub- temple at Tōdaiji as a centre for the combined study of Shingon and Sanron schools. In the tenth and the eleventh centuries, during the Heian period, several new centers of Shingon Buddhism like Daikakuji, Daigoji, Kajūji and Ninnaji came into existence.

Shingon monks in those temples displayed a keen interest in developing innovative and complex ritual practices. Nangai (951-1045 A.C) became renowned for his rainmaking ritual, the efficacy of which he proved on eleven occasions when severe droughts hit Japan. Shigon School's orientation towards developing ritual practices was the salient feature during the Heian period. Consequently 36 lineages, each with a distinct form of *dhāraṇi* transmission emerged by the end of that period.

Esoteric Buddhism, which has its origins in India, absorbed into its *manḍalas* a large number of gods from the Hindu pantheon. This primeval tendency, coupled with the concillatory attitude of the Shingon sect, promoted absorption of Shintō gods into its fold. This process was further encouraged by the striking parellel that existed between the two faiths regarding their central figures- Mahāvairocana and Amaterasu. In Shingon, Mahāvairocana (Dainichi) refers to the 'Great Sun', whereas in Shintō, Amaterasu Omikami is identified with the 'Great Sun Goddess.' Development of Ryobo (Two Aspects) Shintō in the medieval period led to recognize Amaterasu as an incarnation of Dainichi, a status somewhat similar to Śākyamuni Buddha.

Further, Shingon promoted formation of Shugendō[2] by providing its theories and modes of practice. The headquarters of the Tōzan branch of Shugendō was located at Daigoji, a Shingon monastery in Kyōto. Moreover, Shingon Buddhism amalgamated into its faiths a class of local gods known as *Kami* by conferring on them the role of guardian gods of Buddhism. Another such instance was the absorption of the god Hachiman into Shingon Buddhism by Eizan in 1281 A.C in the performance of esoteric ritual practices. People held Hachiman in high esteem, as they believed that he possessed a power to protect them from mongal invasions.

Innovative studies on Shingon doctrine led to a major split towards the end of the Heian period. As a result two distinct sub- sects emerged. One sect was called the Old (*Kogi*) Shingon and the other the new Shingon (*Shingi*). Sometime later Kakuban (1094-1143 A.C), a faithful follower of Kukai pioneered a systematic interpretation of Kukai's doctrinal theses. It led to a serious controvercy that erupted between his monastery on the Mt. Kōya (Kōyasan) and the Kongō-huju, another stronghold of Shingon Buddhism. During the Kamakura period too there were several scholarly monks like Kakukai (1142-1223 A.C) and Raibō (1279- 1330 A.C) who brought out several doctrinal works and expositions on Shingon Buddhism.

Raiyu (1220-1304 A.C), who inherited Kakuban's erudity adduced a new theory that the esoteric Buddhist Sūtras were preached not by the Body of Mahāvairocana's intrinsic State (*honjishin seppō*), but by the body of Grace of Mahāvairocana

(*Kajishinseppō*). It aroused a violent controversy which forced Raiyu to abandon Mt. Kōya and set up the Negoroji monastery, which eventually became the headquarters of the new Shingon sect. This new sect came to be known as Shingi Shingon School. It was from the Negoroji monastery that Shingon Buddhism spread into the provinces of eastern Japan in the medieval and the early modern times.

Political turmoil that prevailed during the Muromachi and the Sengoku periods (1333-1600 A.C) had an adverse effect on Shingon sect. In 1585, the military commander Toyotomi Hideyoshi destroyed Negoroji temple. Consequently two new temples, Hasedera (Chōkokuji) and Chishakuiu were established by the followers of Kakuban. These two monasteries became the headquarters of Buzan branch and the Chizan branch of Shingon sect, respectively.

In subsequent times, religious policy adopted by Tokugawa Shogunate prohibited Buddhists from studying more than one discipline. Thus, a combined study with other esoteric schools, a characteristic that prevailed in the practice of Shingon Buddhism from its inception was forced to be discontinued in the early modern period. As a result, Shingon School was, continued to a Sectarian institution. A more serious blow was inflicted on Shingon during the Meiji period (1868-1912 A.C) when Buddhism was replaced by Shintō as the official religion. In 1868 Shingon School was debarred from performing esoteric rituals hither to conduted by them at the imperial court in connection with and the official functions. Moreover, worship of local gods in fusion with Shingon Buddhism was also banned.

Notwithstanding all these setbacks, Shingon School was able to exert a considerable influence not only on the general life of the people but also on Japanese art and culture. At present there are several sub-sects affiliated independently to the Shingon sect. Of those the most prominent are the Mt.Kōya, the Chizan, and the Busan Sub-sects. Amongst the old Shingon sub-sects are Toji, Daigo, Daikakuji, Omuro, Sennyūji, Yamashina and Zentsūji. In 1980, Shingon sect claimed 47 sub-sects scattered over 12,237 temples and around 12 million adherents (*Kodansha*, op.cit, p.115).

Shingon Buddhism started spreading beyond Japan as far back as the very beginning of the 20th century. In 1902 Hogen Yujiri, a lay Shingon adherent established a preaching hall in Lahaina, Hawaii to fulfil the spiritual needs of the Japanese immigrants there. However, his religious performances revolved round healing practices and he "Claimed that he had performed many miraculous cures through the limitless compassion of Kukai" (ed. Linda Learman, *Buddhist Missionaries in the Era of Globalization*, Hawaii, 2005, p.103). The first official Shingon mission to USA is recorded to have left Japan in 1909 under the Shingon priest Shutai Aoyama to administer religious services to the immigrant Japanese community in San Francisco. The first Shingo monastery in USA was opened in 1913 and it came to be known as Los Angeles Daishi Church. Shingon Buddhism has made a considerable headway in that country since its introduction and presently it counts a fairly large number of adherents, particularly amongst the Japanese immigrants. A good number of Shingon monasteries are found scattered over several parts of the country. However, when Shingon, like other Buddhist demominations there, faced the challenge of its adherents being converted into Protestanism, it had to adopt Syncretization as an strategy to overcome the threat. Thus, Shingon monasteries came to be termed as 'Churches' that conduct Sunday services. Amongst other forms of Syncretization are "... listening to organ music, singing hymns set to western musical forms and in some cases listening to choirs"(Learman, op.lit, p.109).

C.S. Ranasinghe

References

1 Maṇḍala is a ritual diagramme often painted as the Shingon altar and in painting and Sculpture.

2 A religious order that prescribes acetic practices in order to attain magic powers beneficial to Society. This order is Syncretic, fusing elements of ancient pre-Buddhist worship with doctrine, ritual and symbolism of esoteric Buddhism.

SHINRAN: (var. Zenshin,Shakkū : 1173-1263 A.C), was a Japanese philosopher and religious reformer who founded the *Jodō Shinshū* sect. (True pure land School) of Buddhism. In contrast to Tendai and Zen doctrines which concentrate on wisdom (*prajñā*) as means of realizing enlightenment. This School advocated devotion and reverence shown towards Amida (Skt.Amitābha) to achieve that goal. It stressed the importance of uttering Amida Buddha's name in reverence as a token of one's expression of absolute dependence on and gratitude towards his saving grace.

Born near Kyōto in 1173 A.C. Shinran was ordained as a novice Tendai monk (*dosō*) in 1182 at the age of nine years under the name Hannan Shōnangon - no-Kimi. As a *dosō*, he performed *nembutsu* (recitation of the name of Amida Buddha in services organized by the nobility on behalf of the departed relations.) He spent his first- twenty years studying Buddhism on Mt.Hiei, where the reputed Buddhist teacher Dengyō Daishi (s.v.) had set up a centre of the Tendai School. There he practiced the most regourous form of asceticism yearning to realize enlightenment, but without success. When he came down from the Mt.Hiei for hundred days religious retreat to be performed at the Rokkakudō (Hexagonal) temple in Kyōto, he met Hōnen (1133-1212 A.C), another celebrated Buddhist teacher, who founded the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect.

Hōnen convinced Shinran about the futility of practising ascetism to attain enlightenment. Instead he elucidated that anyone who calls the name of Amida Buddha shall achieve that goal, for the Name – call (*nembutsu)* is not a human contrivance, but a select way given in Amida's original (or Primal) Vow. Convinced by Hōnen's exhortation, he abandoned ascetic practices and in 1202, took refuge in the Original Vow. Once he became a trusted disciple of Hōnen, the latter entrusted him to copy his major treatise, *Senchaku hongan nembutsu shū* (Treatise on the selection of the *Nembutsu* of the original vow) and it proved to be a great source of inspiration for him.

Nevertheless, in 1207, in consequence of the general suppression of Hōnen's Pure Land movement by the government due to provocative behaviours by some of his followers, Hōnen was banished to Shikoku and Shiran was exiled to Echigo province (now Niigata Prefecture).While in exile he married Eshinni (1182-1268 A.C) and raised a family. Thus, Shinran is recorded to be the first Japanese monk to violate the precept of celibacy publicly.

After regaining his freedom in 1211, he moved with his family to Kanto region in Eastern Japan, where he became a peripatetic teacher of Pure Land Buddhism. In the next twenty year period, spanning from 1212 to 1232, he led an active academic and missionary life. While in Kanto region, he started compiling his magnum opus, *Kyōgyōshinshō* (Teaching, Practice, Faith and Attainment) in six volumes. Embodied in this treatise are his original contributions to Buddhist philosophy, with the interpolation of faith between action and attainment. In this work he stresses that what is necessary for one's attainment of birth into the Pure Land is faith conferred by Amida Buddha and not practice. He had a great success in proselytizing a large number of people in the Kanto region to his newly formed sect.

In 1235 he returned to Kyōto and spent the rest of his life there dedicating his time to preaching and writing. He refined and completed his *Kyōgyōshinshō* and composed a number of other works to make his teaching accessible to masses. Amongst his other important writings are : *Wasan* ((hymns), *Guto kushō* (An exposition of Buddhism on Amida's Vow) and *Yuishinshōmoni* (A Commentary on Seikasu's Book of faith) and *Jinen honi shō*(Treatise on the Ultimate Truth of Things). Though he was engrossed in his writings, Shinran continued to maintain a constant touch with his followers in the Kanto region through his letters and occasional visits.) . Of his letters, 43 are still extant and those provide his personality and attitudes.

When Shinran's wife and children moved to Echigo in 1250s, he remained in Kyōto with his youngest daughter Kakushinni (1224-83 A.C) who looked after him right to the end. The most moving incident of his life was when he had to disown his eldest son Zenran (1210-92) in 1256, as he tried to control his disciples in the Kanto region with a heretical interpretation of the faith.

Shinran passed away at the ripe old age of 90 years, in 1263, while chanting Amida"'s name. Most people still venerate him as an earthly manifestation of *Amida Buddha* or of *Kanron (Avalokiteśvara)* bodhisattva.

The School of Buddhism he founded, "Jōdo Shinshū, has become the largest School of Buddhism in Japan today" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 16, U.S.A. 1982, p.671).

Shinran's techings had a general appeal to people mainly due to the fact that it focused on faith (*shinjin*) on *Amida* Buddha and the practice of *nembutsu* on the sole means of birth into the pure land. *Amida* Buddha extends his saving power to all human beings irrespective of whether they were rich or poor, male or female, good or bad. Shinran profounded that all beings could intercommunicate with *Amida*, who ruled over the western paradise by repeating his name in reverence alone. Thus his teachings appear to run contrary to the orthodox tenents of Buddhism, which teaches attaining enlightenment through self-perfection.

As expounded by Shinran, Amida Buddha has vowed to bring all living beings to enlightenment. To attain that state, one should strive and fulfil his vows " particularly the 18th vow of the larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūhasūtra* (one of the triple Pure Land Sutras) in which Amida declares his intention to lead all sentient beings who recite his name to enlightenment and birth in the pure land. The working of the Vow arouses faith and creates confidence that one is embraced by *Amida's* compassion. While traditional Buddhist Schools understood faith as an inward spiritual movement through which people aspired to enlightenment, Shinran stressed that the root source of that faith was *Amida's* compassion manifested sincerely and truly in the mind of the person. Faith is therefore, not a human act, but transcendental reality coming to realization in the person". (*Kodensha, Encyclopaedia of Japan*, vol.7.Japan,1983,p.123).

C.S. Ranasinghe

SHINTŌ (literary meaning the Way of *Kami*) is an autonomous religious belief and practice found in Japan, closely interwoven with Buddhism, since its introduction to that country in the 6th century A.C.

Origin of Shintō dates back to prehistoric times of the Yayoi culture revolved round agriculture and shamanism prevalent in North Kyūshu in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. Unlike most of other world religions, Shintō claims neither a founder nor any official scriptures. It is based on the core concept of *Kami* which connotes different meanings in different contexts. Hence any translation out of context might prove inadequate or perhaps misleading.

How the term *kami* derived is not known and it has been traditionally translated by the Japanese to signify a superior and mysterious form that could be either creative or destructive in character. *Kami* are supposed to reside in natural elements, animals and certain human beings and responsible for causing ambivalent feelings of fear and gratitude. "Any natural object treated as a *kami* or a place indicating a *kami's* existence was marked off as sacred and a place of worship was created. This is the most basic level in the development of Shintō shrines and the demarcation of the sacred area is accomplished simply by placing a straw rope (*shimenawa)* around the site.." (*Kodansha, Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol.7, Tokyo, 1983,p.132).

Kojiki (Records of Ancient Matters') compiled in 712 A.C and *Nihongi* or *Nihon shoki* ('Chronicles of Japan') compiled in 720 A.C, are generally recognized as sacred books of Shintō, although they contain among other things, history, topography and literature of ancient Japan. Yet by interpreting the myths and religious practices described in them, it is possible to trace the fundamental tenets of Shintoism. Contained in these sources are narratives about *Amaterasu Ō-mikami* (Sun Goddess), the ancestress of the imperial household and stories about how her direct descendants unified Japan under their sovereignty. Japanese mythology describes how a number of *kami* emerged in the beginning and two of them, Izanagi and Izanami created the Japanese islands. Amongst the most notable *kami* were the ruler of Takama-no-hara (Sun Goddess) and Susanowa-no-mikoto (the ruler of the Nether World). The first emperor of Japan Jimmu Tennō is described as a descendant of the Sun Goddess, to whom the Grand Shrine of Ise is dedicated. It remains to be the most highly venerated Shintō shrine to this day.

Syncretization of local divinities into the fold of Buddhism was not a new phenomenon as it spread beyond India. This is quite evident in the case of Japan too.Once Buddhism got its position

consolidated among the people of Japan, the process of appropriation of *kami* into its fold began. It occurred in three distinct stages. First, *Kami* had to be subdued and converted as they were seen by the Buddhists as helpless, but dangerous beings. Therefore, *kami* had to be saved from their deluded existence and guided them toward enlightenment. The next step was to convert *kami* into Buddhism and treat them as its guardians, who were also responsible for peace and prosperity in their respective localities. The final stage was organizing *kami* into a hierarchical structure. Accordingly the topmost position was set aside for the deities of the twenty-two shrines favoured by the imperial court; for the *kami* in the middle rung were assigned the regional shrines while those at the bottom level occupied the village shrines.

In ancient Shintō there were two different world views of which one was about a three diamensional world and the other was about a two diamensional world. According to the former was the vertically arranged plain of High Heaven (*Takomohno-hara* or the World of *kami*) on top. Then comes the middle world *Nakatsu kami* (or the Present World). Located at the bottom was the *yomi* (the Hades or the Nether World). The second world view held that the world existed in horizontal order and constituted the present world and the eternal world (*Tokoyo).*

With the centralization of the political power towards the 7th century, Shintō began to develop as a national cult. Thus, the *kami* of the Imperial Household and guardian *kami* of powerful clans emerged as *kami* of the whole nation and the people. Offerings were made to them annually under the imperial patronage. It is recorded that at the turn of the 10th century, around 3,000 Shintō shrines were receiving offerings made by the state. However, with the decline of the power of the imperial regime, this system gradually deteriorated and finally collapsed.

How Buddhism began to hold Sway over Shintō

Buddhism which was first introduced to Japan in 538 A.C. began to make a steady headway mainly on the strength of its superior moral and ethical code. Though Shintō and Buddhism displayed certain antagonist tendencies towards each other at the outset, the differences were gradually patched up in the course of time. In the 8th century, the Emperor Shōmu Tenno (724-48 A.C) in his keenness to plant Buddhism firmly on the soil of Japan, proclaimed its identity with Shintō. In his effort to amalgamate Buddhism with Shintō, Shōmu was ably assisted by a Korean monk named Gyogi. To impress the native mind with the dignity of Buddhism, Shōmu, in collaboration with Gyogi devised to erect a colossal statue of Buddha at the Tōdaiji temple, which later came to be known popularly as the Daibutsu at Nara. That ambition, however, could not be fulfilled without the sanction of the Shintō priesthood. Therefore, to solicit their consent, Gyogi was sent to the shrine of Sun Goddess at Ise with a present of a Buddhist relic. The mission was a great success as, first in a dream to Shōmu and then in a definite message, the Great Sun Goddess consented to identify herself with Dainichi Nyorai, whose true essence was the Buddha Mahāvairocana. This event occurred in 743 A.C. laid the foundation for Japanese to discover in the gods of Shintō manifestations of deities of the Buddhists. This revelation enabled Shintō adherents to become Buddhists while continuing to be Shintoists at the same time. It marks the first official recognition of *kami* on par with deities in the Buddhist pantheon. This historic amalgamation of Buddhism with Shintoism paved the way for the emergence of a new school known as Ryōbu- Shintō which later played a prominent role in the history of Japanese Buddhism. This school, in reality, was more Buddhist than Shintō in its outlook and it exerted a powerful influence on Japanese people till the end of the 18th century.[2]

Taking advantage of the amalgamation of Buddhism and Shintoism, "Buddhist priests took charge of all the Shintō shrines except a few of the most important ones such as those of Ise and Idzumo. Many elements of Buddhist ceremony were combined with the native rites. The architecture and ornaments of the shrines were given a Buddhist character. For many centuries most of the Mikados, the high priests of Shintō, assumed the Buddhist tonsure..."(*ERE*. Vol XI, p.471).

Buddhism seemed to have made further inroads into Shintoism in the 8th century. *Kami*, who fell into distinct categories, namely, *amatsukami* (heavenly divinities like Amaterasu and Omikami) and *kunitsukami* (earthly divinities like Ōkuninushi no Mikoto and Oyamatsumi no Kami) like all other living beings, had to undergo suffering as they could not escape from the endless cycle of saṃsāra; hence help

was offered to them for their emancipation in the Buddhist way. "Thus, from the mid- 8[th] century, Buddhist temples were even built within Shintō shrine precincts, and Buddhist *sūtras* (scriptures) were read in front of *kami*. By the late 8[th] century, *kami* were thought to be *avatars* or incarnations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Bodhisattvas ' names were given to *kami* and Buddhist statues were placed even in the inner sanctuaries of the Shintō shrines. In some cases also Buddhist priests were in charge of the management of Shintō shrines" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia*, Vol. 16, U.S.A, 1982,p.672). All these facts testify how Buddhism engulfed Shintoism swiftly and systematically within a short span of time, since its introduction into the country in the 6[th] century A.C.

Buddhist-Shintō amalgamation was further strengthened during the Kamakura Shogunate with the introduction of Shingon Shintō (also known as Ryōbu Shintō) and Tendai Shintō.Shingon Shintō promulgated that the cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana was the principal source of the whole universe. On the other hand, Tendai Shintō preached that only the Buddha – nature was the source of all things. These two sects of esoteric Buddhism were responsible for introducing diverse Buddhist rituals of esoteric nature into Shintō and the transformation of *kami* and their inclusion within the Buddhist cosmology. Influence of esoteric Buddhism became quite evident particularly in rituals concerning *kami*. Buddhist Shintō became quite popular and continued to influence Shintō until the Meiji restoration.

Emergence of pro- Shintō and anti- Buddhist Movements

While Buddhism was tightening its grip on Shintō, an anti- Buddhist movement to rescue Shintō from its clutches and to make it a pure Japanese version was seen raising its head slowly. Watarai Shintō formulated in Ise in the 13[th] century was one such anti- Buddhist movement. It preached that the basis of all beings including the Buddhas and bodhisattvas was the *kami* of the universe. It was, however, only towards the latter part of the Edo period that purely autonomous Shintō movement began to emerge. That movement, founded by Yoshida Kanetomo (1435-1511) in Kyōto, came to be known as Yoshida Shintō. It incorporated various aspects of Watarai Shintō and some Taoist elements. According to it, the source of all things and beings in the universe was the *kami*, Taigen Sonjin (the Supreme Being). Its teachings stressed the importance of one's inner purification as such a purified heart becomes the abode of *kami*.It has been noted that the influence of Chinese thought was unmistakably present in the Watarai as well as Yoshida schools.

During the Edo period in the 17[th] century, there arose a great revival of Chinese learning in Japan which attracted educated classes. A keen interest was shown in studying Confucianism at the expense of Buddhism. Schools tried to interpret Shintō from the standpoint of neo- Confucianism, which became an official subject of study for warriors and also from that of the Chinese Wang Yang-ming school of philosophy.

Scholars emphasized the unity between Shintō and Confucian teaching. Yoshikawa Koretaru (1616-94) and Yamazaki Ansai (1618-82) were the two representative scholars of Confucian Shintō. They added Neo- Confucian interpretations to the traditional theories handed down from Watarai Shintō and each established a new school... "One of the characteristics of Yashikawa's theories was his emphasis on political philosophy. Imperial virtues (wisdom, benevolence and courage) symbolized by *Sanshu- no- Shinki* ('Three Sacred Treasures') and national ethics, such as loyalty and filial piety, constituted the way to rule the state.Yamazaki Ansai further developed this tendency and advanced both mystic pietism and ardent emperor worship" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica, op.cit*,p.672).

Revival of Shintō movement reached its zenith towards the end of the 18[th] century. Advocates of the new movement discarded the confucian interpretations and stressed the importance of the beliefs and life attitudes of their ancestors as elucidated in the Japanese classics, the *Kojika* and the *Nihonji*. Mabuchi, Motoöri Noriga and Hirata were the chief exponents of this new school of thought, and they succeeded in disparaging all Buddhist elements associated with Shintō. "But this was, in reality, a reactionary movement. The older faith was wholly inadequate to meet the spiritual wants of a nation long familiar with the religious thoughts of India and China- both far richer in spiritual and ethical purport than Shintō" (*ERE. Loc.cit.*)

Separation of Shintō from Buddhism

It was during the Meiji era (1868-1912) that Shintō began to develop as a separate and independent religious entity.Government promoted Shintō to the status of a state religion and revived the system of national shrines dating from the 10th century. Seperation of *kami* and Buddhas was effected on the orders of the government.

This was done primarily to reinforce the divine status of the emperor, who was represented as a *kami*. Spurred by the movement called *Kokugaku* (National Learning) and spearheaded by nativist scholars like Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843), some members of the Meiji regime strived to set up a Shintō- oriented government based on the rule of the legendary emperor Jimmu. As the movement to separate *kami* from Buddhist elements gathered momentum it came to be known as *Shinbutsu bunri*. This repression of Buddhism assumed such a relentless proportion during the early Meiji period, some called it *Haibutsu Kishaku*, meaning ' abolish the Buddha and destroy 'Śakyamuni'. This movement led to the disintegration of Shintoism and Buddhism, which co-existed peacefully in syncretised form since the early part of the Heian period (794-1185 A.C).

Shinbutsu bunri clearly defined the Buddhist elements such as images of *kami* syncretised into Buddhism, Buddhist scriptures offered to them, architectural elements, etc. These were separated from Shintō and sometimes destroyed. On the contrary, Shintō elements were redeemed, glorified and revered. " Many local shrines were developed; the *kami* enshrined in several others were replaced by *kami* listed in the Kojiki (Records of Ancient Matters') an eighth- century text that had become the bible of the nativists" (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol.II, U.S.A, 1985, p.767.). Under the dual Shintō or *Ryobu Shintō* system, Buddhist priests enjoyed many privileges and were controlling a large number of Shintō shrines. However, the Meiji government removed them from their positions along with the Buddhist images that were kept in Shintō shrines. As custodians of those shrines, Buddhist priests were replaced by officers appointed by the state, who were quite enthusiastic in propagating new religious nationalism. This form of nationalism, in which Shintō enjoyed exclusive imperial patronage, came to be known as ' State Shintō'. It was used as a means of spiritually unifying the people of Japan.

This vigorous anti- Buddhist movement[3], however, was short-lived, and began to decline by 1871. After a short reversal, Buddhism reorganized itself to face such vicissitides that might crop up in future and bounced back with more vigour as a potent religion, closely related to both culturally and socially to the life of the Japanese people. On the other hand, Shintō suffered a serious setback at the end of the world war II, when the Supreme Commander for the allied powers ordered the then Japanese government, which was guided by the ultra nationalist Shintō ideals, to abolish state Shintō. " All financial support from public funds and all official affiliations with Shintaō and Shintō shrines were also discontinued. State rites performed by the emperor were henceforth to be regarded as private religious practices of the Imperial family." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica, op.cit.* p.676).

Enumerated among several forms of Shintō emerged towards the end of the Meiji era were two sects of significance. One was called *Remmonkyō*(the Lotus-gate doctrine), which compared its doctrine to a lotus growing in the mud. The other with a lofty moral code was known as *Tenrikyō* (teachings of the Heavenly Reason). These, however, are not pure forms of Shintō, but doctrines developed on concepts burrowed from Indian and Chinese sources.

An interesting feature to note is that the majority of present day Japanese, as it was in the medieval times, are both Buddhists and Shintoists at the same time. They prefer to hold their wedding ceremonies in Shintō style and funeral functions in Buddhist style. A traditional Japanese home is said to have two family altars- one for their Shintō tutelary *kami* and the goddess Amaterasu Ō- mikami, while the other is a Buddhist meant for their family ancestors. Shintō, as a religion in its pristine form, is practically non- existent to-day. " It cannot compete with Buddhism which has of recent years awakened to new life." (*ERE. Loc.cit.*)

Buddhist Influence reflected in Shintō Architecture

An unmistakable influence of Buddhism is evident in Shintō architecture. In the beginning, Shintō shrines did not have any buildings. At festival times, people

gathered at a sacred site and built a temporary shrine to invite *kami*. These prototypes are believed to be dated back to early agrarian period in Japan about 300 B.C. Specimens of this type of buildings are found in the Suki and Yuki halls constructed as part of the ceremonies for the formal enthronement of an emperor. Later, more durable shrines arose, where *kami* were believed to reside permanently. The *honden*[4] (main shrine building) of the Grand Shrine of Ise and Izumo Shrine in Shimane prefecture are two archetype specimens of this kind, where the ancient architectural styles are still preserved.

Since the introduction of Buddhism, the nature of Shintō worship underwent several changes due to its influence and it was well reflected in architecture as well. " shrine buildings adopted elements from the Buddhist temple vocabulary... Metal and sculptured-wood ornaments were added, often using the same decorative motifs as Buddhist temples. The most-important shrines increased the number of important buildings within their precincts, and the *honden* itself was expanded to provide a roofed area for the worshipers. These changes occurred during the Nara period (720- 794) and Heian periods.." (*Kodansha, Encyclopaedia of Japan,op,cit*,p.133).

An elaborate form of shrine construction was developed after the 9[th] century, imitating both Buddhist and Chinese architectural styles as well as techniques. Thus, the curving roof style was adopted and painted timbers were frequently used. Whatever developments happening in Buddhist architecture had its repercussions on the Shintō architecture. In various shrines dedicated to the war God Hachiman, a separate building for the worshipers was added just in front of the main shrine building following the model of the worshipers' hall (*raido)* found in Buddhist shrines. Similarly, the feature of joining the main hall (*hondō)* and the worshipers hall in Buddhist shrines is found in the main Shintō shrine at Yasaka in Kyōto.

Influence of Buddhism in Shintō Art

Shintō art is almost exclusively centred on the worship of *kami* and appeared quite inornate in the beginning. It was, however, only after the introduction of Buddhism in the 6[th] century that Shintō art assumed some elaborate proportions. " Buddhism provided both the impetus and the artistic resources for the creation of Shintō statues and paintings, and made significant contributions in the field of architecture. Through contact with Buddhism, there developed a heightened awareness of an image's potential as a devotional aid and of the shrine as the focal point for both individual and communal devotions... Shintō art owes a great debt to Buddhism."(*Kodansha, Encyclopaedia of Japan, op.cit.*,p.134). Images of *kami* were not used in Shintō worship before the introduction of Buddhism into Japan. In comparison to Buddhist Images, the images of *kami* fall far behind in respect of quality and artistic refinement. Shintō images are kept in the innermost part of the *honden* and unlike the images placed in Buddhist shrines, they are not meant for the direct worship by the adherants.

Shintō bijutsu is the term used to signify all forms of Shintō art pertaining to *kami*. The term, however, used to distinguish paintings and statuary forms of art were: *Shūgō bijutsu* and *Sijaku bijutsu*. A typical example of *Shugo bijutsu* which manifest explicit Buddhist influence is the representation of the *kami* Hachiman portrayed as a Buddhist monk. Buddhist influence is further evident in *suijaka bijutsu* paintings and statues, which depict *kami* as incarnations of Buddhist deities.

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References

[1] Shintō being a somewhat archaic, polytheistic religion believes the existence of *kami* practically in every aspect of nature and rules seas, mountains and hold sway over outstanding personalities. Scenic mountains and deep forests are venerated as abodes of *kami*. Thus, active volcanos like Mt. Fuji and Mt.Aso are venerated. They are also believed to inhabit ponds, waterfalls, the confluence of rivers, gigantic rocks and huge trees. Moreover, ideas such as growth, creation and judgment are also attributed to *kami*. Thus, in Shintō *kami* are treated as an omnipresent phenomenon.

[2] In subsequent times several sub-sects such as *Yui-itsu Shintō, Deguchi Shintō* and *Suwiga Shinto* branched off from the Ryōbu-Shintō

[3] This crisis is described by some as a blessing in disguise for it paved the way for a subsequent reform movement that occurred within Buddhism .

[4] *Honden* is the most important shrine building in a Shintō shrine, in which a sacred symbol called *shintai* (*kami* body) or *mitame – shiro* (divine spirit symbol) is enshrined. Though this object is normally a mirror, but sometimes a wooden image,a sword or a similar object replaced it. Worshipers were forbidden to see it and only the chief priest was allowed to enter the *honden*.

SHUGENDŌ : (Literary means the way of cultivating Super natural power) is a religious order in Japan, which represents a syncretization of Buddhist,Shamanist, Daoist and indigenous pre-Buddhist Japanese elements. It is centred on acetic practices performed in mountains to acquire magic powers. Its practioners are known as *yamagushi'* or *shugenja*, who believe that the enlightenment could be achieved when the distinction between the knower (subject) and the known (object) are extinguished.

The origin of the practice is traced back to the pre-Buddhist rituals and practices that prevailed in Japan. Certain festivals and rites were held to celebrate the descent of the agricultural deities from the mountains in the spring season and their return to the same abodes after the autumn harvest. Further, mountains were also regarded as the habitations of the dead. When Buddhism was introduced to Japan around the 6[th] century A.C, it underwent certain transformations by assimilating certain indigenous religious practices. Perhaps those might have influenced certain Buddhist ascetics to resort to mountainous areas to practice rigorous ascetism. These pioneer ascetics, known as *hijiris*, were wandering Buddhist ascetics, who had "renounced monastic life to practice in the depths of certain monasteries the ascetic disciplines of fasting, immersion in cold water and the recitation of a holy text such as the *Lotus Sūtra (Hokekyō)*. By these means they sought to acquire the power to vanquish spiritual beings causing sickness, to render themselves impervious to hard and cold and to enable the soul to leave the body and travel to heaven and hell" (*Kondansha, Encyclopaedia of Japan*, vol 7, Japan, 1983, p.182).

Of the *hijiris*, who were also treated as healers and thanmaturges, the most- famous was En-no-Gyōja (also known as En-no-ozunu) lived in the 7[th] century A.C. According to the 8[th] century chronicle *Nihon-shoki*, he was the historical founder of Shugendō and is held as a semi- legendary figure who acquired his magical powers through ascetic discipline.

In the early *Heian* period (circa 9[th] century), most Buddhist ascetics formed themselves into groups and followed prescribed ascetic precepts under the guidance of instructors called *sandatsu*. Most of those Buddhist ascetics who were associated with the esoteric School entered, in particular, the mount *Hiei* and the mount *Kōya*, the headquarters of the *Tendai* and *Shingon* sects respectively. Eventually several other mountains located all over Japan, such as Mount Hakusan, Mount Fuji, Mount Ishizuchi, Mount Hiko developed their own Shugendō traditions, with its own pantheon of deities, own circle of other sacred sites and own society of Shugendō practitioners.

However, It was not until the 10[th] century the Shugendō came to be recognized as a separate religious sect. it's existence became conspicuous when an institutional structure was formed " its members being affiliated with either the Tendai sect or the Shingon sect. The Shingon branch or Tōzanha claims to have been organized by the monk *Shōbō*(834-909 A.C) and the *Tendai* branch or Honzanha by *Zōyō* (1032-1116 A.C) (*ibid)*. In this way the older shamanistic and mountain ascetic practices were incorporated within the teachings and practices of tantric Buddhism and Shugendō came to represent a large portion of the dominant syncretistic world view of medieval Japan (Ed.Robert E. Buswell, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* vol.II, U.S.A, 2004, p.773).

Shugendō remained to be an extremely secret teaching until the 10[th] century. It was transmitted orally to those disciples who had fulfilled initial rituals. Those rigid esoteric traditions observed with due solemnity have now become obsolete together with the covert rituals and intricate symbolism. However, some Sugendō- related practices like circumambulating the peaks on mount Hiei and certain traces of earlier rigid rituals are still extant, but in an overt and publicized fashion. Another interesting transformation was that Shugenja, who was originally a wandering ascetic has now started to lead a sedentary

life in the society as *oshi* (teacher) or *kitāshi* (a holy person who offer prayers.

In 1873, Shugendō was proscribed by the Meiji regime in its campaign to purify Shinto from its extrinsic elements. Shugendō clergy was compelled to identify themselves as either Buddhist monks or Shinto priests. It, however, managed to survive incognito in certain parts of Japan and when the ban was lifted in 1945 under the terms of supreme commander Douglas Macarthur's 'Religious Bodies Law', a rapid revival ensued in most parts of Japan. There are several officially registered groups of Shugendō followers in Japan today and many activities such as Yoshino-Kumano pilgrim to Omine range and seasonal retreats at Haguro have been resuscitated.

Buddhist aspects of Shugendō Rituals

The principal ritual connected with *Shugendō* is revolved round *nyūbu* or *mineiri* (entering the mountain).Mountain symbolizes the sacred 'Other world' represented in the esoteric Buddhist *maṇḍala*. Climbing the mountain symbolizes moving from an unholy state to a hallowed state. In other words in Shugendō, mountains are identified with the cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana (*Dainichi*) and entering the mountains symbolizes integrating with the Buddha.

The process of climbing and the highly ritualized pereginations in the mountains enlivens the Buddha-nature latent in the disciple, which eventually enables him to attain Buddha hood in this life itself — the ultimate and the most sublime goal. A salient feature of Shugendo is the reinterpretation of traditional Buddhist concepts like the realms of existence (from hell to Buddha) and its six *pāramitas* (perfections), in relation to physical and spiritual progress made by ascetics as they proceed in their ascent of the mountain. Moreover, "cosmological and symbolic significance was assigned to Shugendō geographical sites based on the configuration of the womb realm (*taizōkai)* and diamond realm (*Kongōkai) Maṇḍalas*" (ed. Robert E. Buswell, loc.cit.).The mountains are thus identified with the body of the cosmic Buddha Mahavairocana.

Incorporated into the Shugendō worship are such basic Buddhist practices as meditation and recitation of the *Sūtras*. Apart from the traditional objects of Buddhist worship like the Buddha, bodhisattvas and the guardian deities, some non- Buddhist divinities like the fierce looking Fudō (*myoo)* too have been syncretised into the faith.

Shugendō owes Shingon Buddhism much of its theories and rituals and even today the headquarters of its *Tōzan* branch is located in the *Shingon* temple *Dai-goji in Kyōto*.

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Reference

1 Yamagushi is always sought as an exorcist and healer.

SHWEDAGON, Located at Rangoon is the most famous pagoda in Myanmar. According to tradition, it was initially built in 585 B. C., during the lifetime of the Buddha, thus claiming a great antiquity.

The legendary account describes that the Buddha had offered eight of his hairs to two Bon merchants, who on their return home enshrined them in a vault dug on the Dagon hill. Having placed a golden stone slab, they erected on it "a golden pagoda enclosed with silver, tin copper, lead, marble and iron brick pagodas up to a height of 44 cubits" (Aung Tang, *Shwedagon*, Rangoon, 1957, p. 21).

However, until the 14th century its history was shrouded in obscurity as there are no epigraphical or any other records to know about its original structures or encasements. In 1372, the king of Hanthawaddy (Pagan) Binnya U, visited the pagoda and renovated it as it was in a dilapidated state. Since then several successive kings and queens of both Mon and Burmese renovated and regilded it till it reached its present size. The queen of Pegu, Shin Shinsawbu (1455-62 A.C.) is recorded to have gilded it from top to bottom with gold leaves equal to her weight. Her brother Binnyagyau raised its height to 302 feet. However, it was the king of Ava, Sinbyushin who is credited to have raised it to its present height of 326 feet in 1774 A.C. He also embellished the pagoda donating a new finial (*hti*). Later king Mindon too offered a new finial. It is recorded that general members of the royalty

have incrusted the finial with enormous rubies and diamonds in successive periods (Sujata Soni, *Evolution of Stupas in Burma*, Delhi, 1991, p.40).

Shwedagon, which represents a final phase of architectural evolution in the *ceti* structure in Myanmar, is regarded as the best specimen of a stupa with multiple encasements (*ibid*). From its humble beginings as a vault on a mound, eventually it has developed through the ages to be a magnificent, resplendent edifice of gigantic proportions.

Located on the 190 feet high Dragon hill is the marble paved extensive table-land covering an area of 14 acres. The Shwedagon main stupa, which measures 1421 feet in circumference, is erected on it. Its octagonal base is lined with eight ancilliary stupas on each side, totalling altegether 64 such stupas. Rising above the terraces are the circular gilded rings or spires that lead to the finial (*hti*). These spires suggest that they represent the tired umbrellas found in the early Indin stupas like Sāñchi. A sphin (*manothiha*) stands on each corner of the stupa. Also found around the stupa are planetary shrines assigned for the seven days of the week.

Four main entrances located on four sides provide passage to the pagoda. Each passage is a long severed stair–hall (*zaung-dan*), at the foot of which two gaint *chinthe'* lions stand on both sides as its guardians Located opposite the stair-halls are four main shrines dedicated to the four Buddhas of the present aeon.

The platform around Shwedagon pagoda abounds with shrines and temples erected during recent times, including those built by Chinese Buddhist and diverse merchant guilds. Also found at the site are objects of worship representations of divinities and *mats* (*spirits*).

There are two noteworthy gigantic bells (*mahā ghaṇṭā*) at Shwedagon. One, which measures seven feet in height and weighs 23 tons, is a donation by the king Singu in 1779. The other known as *mahā sadda ghanṇṭā* (the bell that makes a great sound) has been donated by King Tharawaddy in 1848. It weighs forty tons and claims to be the second largest bell in Myanmar.

C. S. Ranasinghe

SIAM, (Presently Thailand) : To write a satisfactory history of Buddhism in Siam it would be necessary to include for our survey the whole of South-east Asia, an inseparable conglomeration into which the Thai made their entry comparatively late. I am using the word *Thai* to cover the whole race, of which the Siamese of the country now officially called Thailand, are only a part. The terms Siam and Siamese must, therefore, remain to signify that section of the great race, which settled in the central part of the peninsula from the 12^{th} century of the Christian era. This home of the Siamese extends roughly over the valleys of the Mênam Čaophyā and the Mêkôn (Mekong).

Buddhism came, however, to south-east Asia much earlier, dating back to the missionary movement of Asoka (q.v.). In his missionary effort the Emperor sent the monks Sona and Uttara to Suvarṇabhūmi. The identity of this locality, though generally conceded to have been to the east of India, has been much disputed. It seems safe to assume that Suvarṇabhūmi covered the whole of the south-east Asian peninsula[1]. When it comes, however, to the question as to which was the centre of this region the problem becomes more difficult of solution. The Burmese and some Indian scholars identify this with Thatôn of the Môn since it was nearer India. The Siamese, basing their claims on the extensive finds on the site of the ancient pre-Thai city on the site of Nakon Pathom, of antiquities of the Mauryan pattern such as deer and wheel motifs and the quotations of *Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā*, are inclined to believe that this was an old port on the Gulf of Siam. They, therefore, claim its identity with Suvarṇabhūmi especially on account of the prevalence of place-names bearing a similar meaning such as *U-T' oṅ* "the cradle of gold", and *Sup'anburi*, "the city of gold", near equivalent of Suvarṇabhūmi in a Siamese transition. Whatever might have been the race that received Buddhism from the missionaries of Asoka, it would seem that they were replaced in their habitats in both cases by the Môn, who were in turn replaced, respectively, by the Burmese and Siamese of more modern days. In any case it seems certain that the type of Buddhism thus introduced was the one known to most by the name of Hīnayāna or Theravāda Buddhism, the type in fact prevailing in the days of Asoka.

Mahāyāna and its conversion of Srivijaya and Kambūjā: Already at the time of the Buddha's death, there arose a difference of opinion among his disciples as to the permanence or otherwise of the regulations governing the holy Brotherhood of the Saṅgha. One section, led by the principal disciples, were in favour of adhering strictly to those laid down during the life-time of the Master; whilst the other was inclined to a principle whereby modifications should be admissible to suit the progress of the times. This, in fact, was the reason for summoning a Council of the Order soon after the Master's death. The latter school of opinion eventually developed into what is now known as Mahāyāna-the Greater Vehicle. Its influence lay generally to the north, in time spreading over the Himlayas to China, whence it went further to Korea and Japan as well as developing into an individual cult of Lamaism in Tibet. It, moreover, spread to the south of India and over the Indian Ocean to the south-east archipelago which became the empire of Śrivijaya (VIIth to XIIIth centuries). The latter was probably instrumental in spreading Buddhism from its centre in Sumatra up to the south-east peninsula of Asia[1] and across the China Sea to the mainland of Asia, where Kambūjā, the ancient Khmer empire, stood. It was enthusiastically embraced by her influential sovereign, Sūryavarman I (1002-1050). From both of these points Mahāyāna spread into the central valleys[1] of south-east Asia, those of the Mênam C̄auphy and the Mêkôṅ, though it was but a light veneer over a species of orthodox Buddhism from the Mon of Burma.

Theravāda: Turning now to the other school of thought, known by the Mahāyānists as Hinayāna-the Lower Vehicle and called by its adherents *Theravāda* the Dictum of the Elders, i.e., the Orthodox School it was at first influential in east and south India, thence spreading to Ceylon and Burma and the greater part of south-east Asia. The first wave came possibly with Asoka's missionaries though its vestiges are slight. With the advent, however, of Anoratha, (q.v.) of Pagan, a Burmese by nationality, Theravāda Buddhism was embraced by him from the Môn whom he had subjugated. Anoratha zealously spread the new creed over the central plain of south-east Asia, where its influence is still felt in the Lānnā country, now forming the north-western provinces of Siam, as well as around Lopburi, the seat of the Môn administration of Dvāravati.

The Thai:
(a) *Nan C̄ao-*

The Thai race has been definitely traced to have had its early habitat, at least, in South China, where considerable remnants are to be found to this day. These remnants, though speaking Thai and aware that they were not Chinese, had, up to quite recently, no reminiscence of a common ancestry with their brethren elsewhere. Chinese records of the old Kingdom of Nan C̄ao tell us that the Thai lived there in a well-ordered system of administration and land tenure, a counterpart of which has been handed down through history almost to the modern days of the Bangkok regime. With regard to their religion we have no definite knowledge, beyond that a kind of animism, quite foreign to the spirit of Buddhism, must have prevailed among them. Of either Theravāda Buddhism or Mahāyāna from China there is no definite evidence.

(b) *Their migrations.*-We know that a great number of the Thai migrated south from an early date, as yet undetermined. It is suspected that migration commenced some 12 centuries ago and was a gradual process which took some centuries. There seemed to have been no direct pressure from any quarter, though it is tempting to believe that it was caused to a certain extent by their inability to stem the harassing tide of Chinese cultural, if not military, pressure. Those who were willing or bound to submit to Chinese culture remained and are to be found there even to this day. There were no doubt that there were several successive stages in their migrations. It is thought that the earliest migrators swung to the south-west. They are now represented by the Shans, whom we in Siam call the *Thai Yai*, i.e. the elder Thai. Another section, perhaps, were ancestors of the people of the Lānnā country. They settled down and founded centres like Chieṅsèn, Chieṅrāi, Chieṅmai and P'ayao. Yet another section settled down further to the east and maintain a tradition that they descended from heaven in a gourd and emerged out of it at Mūaṅ Thēn, since renamed by the Vietnamese as Dien Bien Phu. They were the ancestors of the people of the Lānchān country around the modern centres of Luaṅ-prabāṅ and Viekand. All these peoples came under the influence of Anoratha's Theravāda Buddhism at some stage or another.

(c) *Sajjanālai-Sukhodaya.*- Meantime another influx of Thai people, perhaps a subsection of the Thai Lū, worked their way south-westwards as far as

the upper valley of the Caophyā settling down over its northern plains under the suzerainty of the Khmer empire, whose culture they probably accepted including the alphabet and Mahāyāna. They were no doubt influenced also by Theravāda Buddhism which Anoratha had been spreading in the west. As the Mon of Pagan in the west deteriorated to such an extent that the Thai of Lānnā asserted their independence in the north, the Thai of Sukhodaya further south took advantage of a similar waning of Khmer power to set up the independent state round Sukhodaya which was known for a time as Sajjanālai-Sukhodaya and then simply Sukhodaya. This was in 1260 of the Christian era. Under their third sovereign, Rāmakamhēň, this state became very powerful, her territory extending to the northern frontier of the empire of Śrivijaya in the peninsula now known as the Malay Peninsula. The latter was already tottering to her fall. The pressure from her eastern tributaries of Mahapahit on the one hand and the Moslem settlers' creation of trouble in the northern tip of Sumatra on the other combined with the blow dealt at her tributary of Nakon Sri Dharmarāj by Rāmakamhēň of Sukhodaya to cause her final collapse and with it the elimination for good of her cult of Mahāyāna in this part of the world.

Rāmakamhēň also introduced Sinhalese Theravāda Buddhism into his territory from Nakon Sri Dharmarāj by inviting the "Venerable Preceptor, learned in all the Three Baskets (the Tipiṭaka)" to Sukhodaya, of which event he made much. Thus we have the following information from his inscription[4].

"To the west of this city of Sukhodaya there is a monastery of the Forest Monks. King Rāmakamhēň founded and offered it to the Venerable Preceptor, learned in all the Three Baskets, in erudition excelling all other monks in the whole land. He hailed from Nakon Śri Dharmarāj."

Rāmakamhēň indeed lost no time in supplanting Khmer cultural influence with new ideas which prepared the way for a regeneration of the nation. He evolved, for instance, a new script which nevertheless arose out of the Cambodian of the Khmers. The lapidary record of this reform states:

"Formerly this writing in Thai had not existed. In 1205 Saka (1283 Christian Era), year of the goat, King Rāmakamhēň made an effort and put his heart into evolving these characters of the Thai alphabet and they are now in use as a consequence of the King's effort."[5]

A further influx of Sinhalese Theravāda Buddhism took place later, in 1361, when King Lithai, grandson of Rāmakamhēň delegated learned men to go and invite from the Mōn country the "Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāj, the one possessed of a high code of morality, learned in all the Three Baskets, a native of Laṅkā with conduct like unto that of the purified Saints (*khīṇāsavā*) of old". The advent of this venerable monk, whose name was Sumana, was a triumphant entry into the king's land, for it is thus described: [6]

"At the time when the venerable monk had reached half of the way to the city from Nakon Pan, the king Instructed builders to erect monastic quarters in the Mango Grove to the west of Sukhodaya. Roads were levelled and strewn with sand and looked fine from all side as if they had been constructed by Viśvakarma, the celestial artificer. Upon their arrival fruits, floral offerings, candles, incense and "plants of plenty" embellished their ways of approach".

The monastic guests were then invited to pass the period of the rains in that centre, at the conclusion of which the King himself applied and was admitted amid grand ceremonies into the Holy Brotherhood. On this occasion he vowed that his action had not been dictated by any reward in the way of worldly ambition but by the wish to be in a position in some future life to attain to Buddhahood so that he would be thereby enabled to lead mankind over the misery of human existence.

The implant of Theravāda Buddhism from Ceylon upon Sukhodaya was not just a fleeting phase, for, even to this day, there are vestiges of it in the realm of architectural and plastic arts. In the former case there was evolved a type of *Stupa* or reliquary which was neither the *prāṅ* topped with a *gopura* as the Khmers were wont to build and found among the ruins of the city, nor the type of Mōn with its superimposed square-bases (like the *Stūpa* of Wat Kūkūt at Lampūn), nor like the Burmese *Stūpa* found in abundance at Pagan. This particularity of Sukhodaya architecture consists of a base surmounted by what looks like a

kaṭa or funerary urn, an example of which may be found at the monastery of the Great Reliquary at Sukhodaya[7]. Another type of monastic architecture which has survived (and been imitated in more recent days) is the double *sīmā* or boundary stones marking the extent of an *uposatha* or formal assembly halls where the incumbent clergy carry on the routine of their communal business. It has been explained that when they settled down to propagate their doctrine, the Sinhalese monks in Sukhodaya had the extra, *sīmā* fixed by the side of the old *sīmā* to indicate that the halls had been properly demarcated in accordance with their orthodox procedure. In the plastic arts, an original type of the Buddha image came into being. It was a consummation of art and devotion, believed to have arisen out of a desire to put into shape the ideals of the superman as recorded in Sinhalese traditions of Buddhism. The famous image of Phra Buddha Jinarāj, the 'Lord of Victory', at Pisnulok is the example *par excellence* of this type of plastic art. A model of this prototype is to be found in the main chapel of Wat Beñamabopit, which was built in the reign of king Chulalongkorn. Two other images, contemporary with the original 'Lord of Victory' both now at Wat Bovoranives, and the gigantic 'Sakya Seer' in the *vihāra* of Wat Sudasna Facing the Swings, are among the best examples of this phase of Siamese plastic art, indicating not only the artistic sense of the Siamese of the northern state of Sukhodaya, but, what is more important for the consideration of our topic, their devotion which gave expression to what almost seems a spiritual inspiration.

Let us now turn to the practice of Buddhism. Thus the stone of Rāmakamhĕn[8] says:

"People in this state of Sukhodaya are inclined towards charity and to observe the precepts. King Rāmakamhĕn of Sukhodaya as well as his household and his court ...men or women, they all have faith in the religion of the Buddha; they observe the precepts through the duration of the rains, after which they present the *kaṭhin* during the stipulated month thereafter. In this ceremony they present, by way of offerings, moulds of cowries, of betel, of flowers, also cushion seats and beds, as well as the usual accessories of the *kaṭhin* amounting to two millions each year. For this presentation of the *kaṭhin* they go out to the park (on the hill); and on their return to the city the cortege stretches from the park right up to the edge of the plain, which becomes resonant with the sound of music and chariots. Everybody is free to play, to laugh and to sing."

It is evident that their Buddhism, however devoted they were to it, was not by any means austere. It was, moreover, tempered by reminiscences of their old animism, brought down no doubt with them from the north. Thus from the same source:

"To the south of this city of Sukhodaya...there are monasteries and sanctuaries, wherein monks reside; there is a dam...there is a spring by the hill; there is the spirit of the hill, greater than all the other spirits. Whichever monarch rules this (state of) Sukhodaya, if he renders proper respect and due offerings thereto, then this state is stable and prosperous; if however he renders improper respect and offerings, the spirit neither protects nor respects him; and the state comes to calamity."

Our inscription goes on to say[9]:

"King Rāmakamhĕn of this state of Sukhodaya had, in 1214 (1292) year of the dragon, planted palms for 14 harvests and ordered workers to fashion this stone slab and place it in the midst of the palms. Venerable monks were invited to sit and deliver sermons on holy days to public congregations. On other days King Rāmakamhĕn sat giving official audiences."

The golden age of Buddhism commenced by King Rāmakamhĕn reached its zenith in the reign of his grandson, Liṭai the Pious, who has left many inscriptions to tell us of the progress of the Sinhalese Buddhist movement. There is, besides, an old treatise, believed to be the only existing book of the period which has survived to our days. It is stated in the preface that this learned monarch wrote the treatise. Unlike old works of even three or four centuries later, this book contains references to the authorities from which the royal author drew his material. Since no translation into a foreign language is known to have been published, it may be of interest to scholars to say something of these authorities in order to be able to realise the scope of Buddhist learning in those days. Our quotation includes the whole preface, as it was written in the old book and is thus historically interesting:-

"As to the chronology of this *Trābhūmikathā* the book came into being on Thursday, the full moon of the fourth month in the year of the cock, the 23rd of the era...King Litai, the son of Lelitai of Sri-Sajjanālaya-Sukhodaya ...this King Litai who was the grandson of King Rāmakamhêṅ, and he had reigned in Sajjanālaya for 6 harvests when he wrote the *Traibhūmikathā*. Wherefore did he write it? He wrote in order to preach the *Abhidharma* to his mother[1]. On what authorities did he draw for (the composition of) this *Traibhūmi-kathā*? He drew some (material) from the four Commentaries, some from the Commentary and Ṭikā of the *Abhidharmāvatāra*, some from the *Abhidharmasaṅgaha*, some from the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, some from the *Papañcasūdanī*, some from the *Sāratthappakāsinī*, some from the *Manorathapūrani*, some from the Commentary and the Ṭikā of the *Vinaya*, some from the *Dhammapada*, some from the *Mahākathā*, some from the *Madhuratthapakāsini*, some from the *Dharma-Jātaka*, some from the *Jinālaṅkāra*, some from the *Sāratthadīpanī*, some from the *Buddhavamsa*, some from the *Sāratthasaṅgaha*, some from the *Milindapañha*, some from the *Pāleyyaka*, some from the *Mahānidāna*, some from the *Anāgatavamsa*, some from the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, some from *Lokapaññatti*, some from the *Mahākalpa*, some from the *Aruṇa-vati*, some from the *Samantapāsādikā*, some from the *Cakshanābhidharma*, some from the *Anutikāhindharma*, some from the *Sārīrikavinicchaya*, some from the *Lokūpapatti*.

"Thus had he drawn little of each from all these treatises and combined the information into a whole to which he gave the name of *Traibhūmikathā*."

The treatise goes on to another problem, somewhat reminiscent of the one which has often puzzled Western scholars of King Harsa's Sanskrit writings:

"The question may be asked again as to how King Litai, being a scion of the royal family, could have written such a learned treatise as this *Traibhūmikathā*? The answer is: His Majesty has been conversant with the sacred lore of the Three Baskets, having learned it from venerable monks such as the Ven. Anomadassī, the Ven. Dharmapāla, the Ven. Siddhattha, the Ven. Bomsa, the Ven. Paññāṇadassana, as well as from learned men of the Court, to wit Upasen and Adrāya. He also learned by correspondence with the Ven. Buddhaghosa living in Haripuñjaya".

Then the preface concludes:

"Whoever aims at attaining heaven and *nibbāna* should listen to (the reading of) this treatise with attention and without carelessness. In such a way would he be able to meet (in a future life) the noble Maitriya who will be descending to our world to become the Omniscient[11]".

The progress of Buddhism in Sukhodaya is easy to trace. In the earlier inscription we see a simple faith and a normal ethical standard universally but cheerfully accepted from the highest in the land to the lowest. Within a few decades the King, with no doubt a considerable proportion of the intelligentsia, was a learned profounder of Buddhist philosophy to the extent of first writing a classic treatise on cosmology and religion and later assuming the monastic robes. It may be noted, too, in passing that in the meantime neighbours took advantage of King Litai's absorbing interest in religion with the result that the boundaries of Śri-Sajjanālai-Sukhodaya were somewhat diminished, and within the next generation, when Sukhodaya art and culture were at their apogee, the state lost her independence to her southern neighbour, Ayudhyā.

(d) Lānnā.-Before going on to Ayudhyā, the natural successor of Sajjanālai-Sukhodaya, we shall have to take a look at two other Thai states of the period, for they, no less than the Thai of Sajjanālai-Sukhodaya or of Ayudhyā, were responsible for the spread and progress of Buddhism in their respective localities and even influenced Buddhist communities around them to some extent.

The first of these is Lānnā. The Lānnā country was up to quite recent times identical with the Siamese provinces forming the Bāyab, or north-west Circle. Like Sukhodaya it had already known Theravāda Buddhism of the type introduced by King Anoratha of Pagan. King Mairāi, the hero of Lānnā and founder of Chieṅmai, had been its staunch supporter. Among the mounuments he built was Wat Chienmai, in the north-east corner of the modern city of that name. His reign of some 50 years had contributed much not only

to the material but also to the spiritual progress of the Lānnā state. It was however Kūnā; his great-great-grandson (1355-1385) who introduced Sinhalese Theravada Buddhism which gave great impetus to the Master's philosophy there. He had heard of the new school of thought in the south and was anxious to know of it. Learning of the fame of the Sinhalese monk Sumana, who was then residing in Sukhodaya, and especially of the relics of the Master which the monk possessed, he sent an embassy to King Litai of Sukhodaya, bearing an invitation to the monk to go north and there to propagate his doctrine of the so-called forest-monks, as the Sinhalese school of monasticism was known. The request was willingly granted. The new school took root, with the consequence that there was a resurgence of zeal and devotion in the north, as testified by contemporary monuments such as those of Wat Phra Yün at Lamphūn, at first constructed to house the relics brought by Sumana, though they were actually placed in Wat Suan Dok of Chieṅmai. Other *chefs d'oeuvre* were Wat Pādaeṅ at the foot of Doi Sudeb and the Great Vihāra of the Seven Spires to the north of Chieṅmai[12].

It was, however, not only in the field of monuments and architecture that this spirit of religious zeal manifested itself. In literature, too, there arose between the middle of the XIVth to the XVIth century a number of intensive works on religious history and exegesis. As with the mediaeval Christian scholars in Europe who wrote in Latin, so the Lānnā scholars wrote their devotional works in Pāli, made however to suit local circumstances by considerable modifications from the standardised classical Pāli of the Tipiṭaka. There was for instance the *Jinakālamālini*, written by the monk Ratanapañña, of Wat Pādaeṅ in Chieṅmai, which was dated 1516. It was written as of history of Buddhism from the time prior to the Buddha's birth, coming down then through the life and mission of the Master, then the three successive synods after his death, the introduction of his teaching into Ceylon, its progress there, then its spread to Pagan and its final entry into the Lānnā country. In spite of numerous inaccuracies of detail and often salient facts, it may perhaps be conceded that the general scheme of its narration is fairly reliable[13]. Then there is the *Sihiṅha-Buddharūpanidāna*, often known shortly as *Sihiṅganidāna*, a history of the famous image from Sīhala, i.e., Ceylon, also in a similar type of mediaeval Pāli, by the monk Bodhiramsi of Chieṅmai or Lamphūn in the beginning of the XVth century[14].

His also was the *History of Queen Cāmadevī*[15], again in a similar type of Pāli, bringing in many incidents of the history of Buddhism in India, Ceylon and the Lānnā country down to the reign of King Sēn-mūaṅ-mā of Chiṅmai (1385-1401).

Of the non-historical works, many have gone into oblivion. Among those still maintaining their own down to modern times were the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, commentary of the *Maṅgala Sutta*, but several hundred times its length, which remains one of the most widely read works in Siam, Lao and Cambodia because it is one of the prescribed books of the monastic syllabus. Its date is 1524, and was written by the monk Sirimaṅgala of Chieṅmai who also wrote a *ṭīkā* of the *Saṅkhyā-pakāsaka*; and the famous life of the Buddha, called *Pathamasambodhi*, of uncertain venue and chronology. Epigraphical records of Buddhist activities also exist of the same state though very few are of any importance from the religious standpoint. Most of them have been examined together with other Thai literature in Pāli by M. Coedès[16].

It may be summed up that the character of the Sinhalese Buddhist movement in Lānnā is distinguishable by its fairly considerable literature as compared to those of Sukhodaya and even of Ayudhyā. It may be argued, of course, on behalf of Sukhodaya that its duration was not much more than one century and in the case of Ayudhyā that there is always the possibility of its literature having perished in the sack of the capital in 1767, for those were days when, in the absence of printing, most manuscripts existed in single copies and were probably kept in the royal library within the palace.

The Sīhalapaṭimā - The influence of Sinhalese Theravāda Buddhism may be gauged by the history of the famous image of Sīhala, of which there are no less than three replicas, all claiming authenticity of origin. One is enshrined in the former Royal Chapel of the old dynasty of Nakon Sri Dharmarāj; one is in the National Museum of Bangkok and the third occupies a place of honour in the special chapel of Wat Phra Siṅh in Chieṅmai. We shall not go into the problem here as to which is the real image, for that is a problem of plastic art and very hotly disputed among experts[17]. It must be admitted nevertheless that the Sinhalese

chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, makes no mention of it at all. The Lānnā country, in any case, must have taken more interest in it than any other claimant further south, for one of her scholars at least took the trouble to write its history in Pāli, as mentioned above[18]. The history of this image is in any case worth making a digression into, for it confirms or clears up several points in the history of the land.

Tradition has it that the first likeness of the Buddha was cast in Ceylon at a fabulous date. Thus the image became known as the Buddha of Sihala, which was shortened into Sihiṅga, and in the north further abbreviated into Siṅh. The Lānnā histories of the period usually called it the Sihalapaṭimā, i.e. 'the image of Sihala'. To continue with local tradition, the King of Sukhodaya, probably Rāmakamhēṅ, in conjunction with the King of Nakon Sri Dharmarāj, sent an embassy to Ceylon asking for the image of Sihala. One cannot help wondering how the Sinhalese monarch could have so readily parted with such a valuable treasure, just because it was 'asked for' by another monarch from over the seas. According to tradition, however, it was sent over but was lost in a shipwreck. The image, made of metal, floated nevertheless to its destination, presumably the mainland of Malaya, at that time a part of the kingdom of Nakon Sri Dharmarāj. It was then acquired by the King of Sukhodaya, who was the overlord of the southern kingdom. A later king of Sukhodaya, said to have been the grandson of Litai, moved his court to Pisunlok near the border of Ayudhyā, taking the venerated image with him. At his death, the governor of Supan, uncle of the founder of Ayudhyā, known in Siamese history by his later title of King Boromarājā I, succeeded him. After his accession to the throne in succession to his nephew, the son of that founder came up and took away the image to Ayudhyā. It was later stolen and restored to the northern state and installed at Kampênpejra. A wax replica of the image, made at this stage, roused the admiration and greed for glory on the part of Prince Mahābrohm, governor of Chieṅmāi and brother of King Kūnā of Chieṅmai. He therefore came down to Kampēnpejra at the head of an army. Through the intervention of a monk who negotiated for an amicable settlement, he obtained possession of the image, which was taken then to Chieṅmai, where again a replica of it was made. It remained in Chieṅmai at Wat Phra Siṅh throughout mediaeval history.

The Lānnā state later deteriorated and became a bone of contention between her more powerful neighbours of Burma and Siam. In 1796 the Burmese again tried to take possession of Chieṅmai. When they were beaten off, the image was brought down to Bangkok, where it may be seen occupying a place of honour in the private chapel of the Palace to the Front, which has now been turned into a national museum.

Chieṅmai, however, still maintains her contention that the genuine image of Phra Siṅh is the one in the special chapel of the monastery of that name-Wat Phra Siṅh-in the old city.

(e) Lānchān -Under the sub-heading of *Migrations, (§b)* mention was made that a section of the Thai had settled further east, where the modern kingdom of the Lao stands. Of their history prior to the XIVth century we have only the names of their monarchs and very little else. This genealogy goes back to the legendary hero, named Khun Borom, who 'descended from heaven in a gourd' to found their kingdom. Authentic history may be said to commence with the time of Fā Num, their national hero. His father had been exiled from Wieṅ and our hero was born in exile in 1316 while in what tradition describes as Cambodia. There he was educated and was given one of the daughters of the local king in marriage. By his father-in-law's help he was enabled to regain the kingdom of his forefathers in the Lānchān country by marching up the Mēkōṅ to Chieṅdoṅ-chieṅtōṅ, where he first set up his nucleus. He then descended upon Wieṅ and, the capital of Lānchāṅ, whence his father had been exiled and, by vanquishing his relatives who had been responsible for his father's disgrace, established his rule over the whole country, extending even across the Mēkōṅ to its right bank as far as Korat on the plateau. Returned from his conquests, he went through the anointment of sovereignty in Chieṅdoṅ-chieṅtoṅ. A mission was sent to Cambodia (*sic*) to seek cultural guidance, bringing back another famous image known as the Phrabāṅ, which gave its name to the capital-Luaṅ Phrabāṅ. The introduction of the effigy of the Phrabāṅ points to a fresh influx of Theravāda Buddhism into this country from the south, especially when tradition has it that it was brought from Kambūja. This term, now identified with Cambodia, was rather loosely used for the group of southern states around the valleys of the aophyā and the MêkMā. At any rate it is evident that a fresh draft of Theravada Buddhism was

introduced into the Lānchān state about the time of Fā Num which has lasted through the centuries to modern days.

The Thai of Lānchān, - In modern political terminology the "Lao"-were no less religious than their brethren elsewhere. Their literary efforts in this field were considerable and prove their serious attention to religion. There is, for instance, a collection of apocryphal *Jātaka* tales in three versions, Lānchān, Chieṅmai and Cambodian. Of the first two it has not been decided by scholars as to which was the original. The third is obviously more modern, having come into being after the classical period of Khmer culture when the religion of the Khmers was still Hinduism and Mahāyāna. The Pāli name of the collection-which of course was written in that classical language- was *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, meaning the 'Fifty Tales'. In Lānchān and Lānnā the collection was also called in Thai the "Hāsib Chāt", which means the same. The stories were obviously folk-tales, many of which have given inspiration to several Siamese dramatic romances, such as the *Golden Conch, Samudaghos, Sudhon* etc. Lānchān literature also had voluminous semi-historical romances such as the *Rāma Jātaka* and the metrical *Life of King Huṅ*[19]. A fairly exhaustive summary of this literature has been made in French[20].

(f) Ayudhyā.-As has been said above, the political eclipse of Sukhodaya was brought about by another Thai kingdom-that of Ayudhyā-her immediate neighbour to the south. This became known to the world as Siam. The name was, in fact, by no means new, having already been in use by the Chinese; and the XIIth century bas-reliefs in the gallery of Aṅkor Wat has a short description of a foreign contingent called *Syāmkuk*.

Ayudhyā obviously inherited Buddhism of the Sinhalese Theravāda School from Sukhodaya. In the four centuries of her supremacy, however, to judge from scanty records surviving the sack of her capital in 1767, her interest in Buddhism was not so much from the point of view of its lofty doctrine and philosophy as in the maintenance of its relics by royal and popular endowments and the observance of rites and ceremonies. There was no movement comparable, for example, with Sukhodaya's introduction of a more austere practice of the "forest-monks", as the Sinhalese school came to be known ; nor was her religious inspiration deep enough to give rise to any particular form of plastic art, similar to that known as the school of Sukhodaya. It produced nothing comparable to the beautiful moulding and serene expression of the effigies of the Buddha Jinasīha 'Lord of Victory' in Pisnulok and its sister effigy of the Buddha Jinarāja 'Victorious Lion of the Buddha' now in the main chapel of Wat Bovoranives in Bangkok, both works of the Sukhodaya School. Ayudhyā's support of Buddhism was nevertheless active and practical. Several royal monasteries testify to the zeal of her people and are still magnificent in their decay and neglect. Wat Buddhaisvarya, for instance, on the left bank of the river, and a much later monument on the right bank-believed to have been inspired by the Hindu sanctuaries of the Khmer empire-called Wat Jayavardhanārām are proofs of her practical support. Within the island of the city itself, there are extensive ruins of the Chapel Royal of Phra Sri Sarbej in the palace and the Great Reliquary (Mahādhātu). Within this period the State took an active part in the administration of the Holy Order, though refraining from every interference with its doctrine. The monks of the Sinhalese School became definitely classified as the "forest-monks". These were later transformed into the "town-monks", while no doubt a small number of recluses were retained as "forest-monks". The "town-monks" were called the *gāmavāsi* in contradistinction to the forest-monks who were *araññavāsi*. The head of the "town-monks" bore the title of Somdeč Phra Vanarat and performed the duties of the chief executive of the Holy Order. When Prince Naresvara proclaimed national independence in 1592, he brought down with him from Burma an aged Mon monk who had informed him of the planned treachery of the Burmese king to end the prince's life. He installed the monk as head of the north section of the Saṅgha with the title of Patriarch-(Saṅgharāja) while the former head, Somdeč Phra Vanarat, also became a Patriarch with jurisdiction over the south section[21].

No record is left of popular Buddhism as practised within this period. Royal support was now and then chronicled, such as the building of monasteries and other acts of merit. Three of Ayudhyā's kings were pre-eminent in this direction. King Boromatrailokanāth (1468-1508), whose work in standardising the administration was very considerable, was none the less energetic in his effort

of supporting the spiritual side of Siamese life. Besides taking up monastic vows himself for a period of eight months, he built the *vihāra* of Wat Cūlāmani in Pisnulok and generally embellished its precincts. The king also sponsored a royal version of the Mahājāti in 1482. King Sondharm (1620-1628), said to have been a Buddhist scholar, also sponsored a royal version of the same, as well as a royal version of the Canon of the *Tipitaka*, and built the shrine of a newly discovered footprint of the Buddha near Saraburi, whose popularity continues to this day. The third monarch was the king known now as "His Majesty of the Sublime Urn", a term equivalent to saying "the late King" because, it is presumed, that that part of Ayudhyā history was written shortly after his death. He reigned from 1732 to 1758. Under him the culture of Ayudhyā bloomed its last, prior to the destruction of the capital. There was a series of monastic reconstructions in and around the capital and considerable literary activity. His, however, was a time when the temperament of the governing classes was on the decline. Superstition was very rampant. A foreign missionary records that one of the high princes became so devoted to alchemy that he lost his teeth by continually holding within his mouth liquid mercury, in the belief that one could thereby acquire supernatural power to fly to paradise.

Ayudhyā under "His Majesty of the Sublime Urn" made a name, however, by having had the opportunity to contribute largely to the revival of the doctrine in Ceylon at a time when monasticism there had so deteriorated that efforts were made by her rulers to resuscitate it with outside help. According to the late Prince Damrong[22], the type of Sinhalese Theravāda Buddhism, which spread over the seas to the east and reached our land in the days of Sukhodaya, may be said to have been standardised by the Council of the Saṅgha sponsored by King Parakkamabāhu the Great of Ceylon (1153-1186 A.C.). In the interval of time the fortunes of Buddhism in Ceylon, especially that of the Holy Brotherhood, fluctuated. By the first half of the XVIIIth century, it had so deteriorated that efforts were made by successive sovereigns to revive it with assistance from foreign *Saṅgha*, such as those of the Mon country and of Siam. According to a Ceylonese account,[23] ... by the increase in the number of...shameless priests and by the oppression of unbelieving Parangis (westerners or 'faraṅs' and Damilas (Tamils), the faith was on the brink of destruction. .." Things were, however, rectified for a time, but later worsened again. The same authority goes on to say, "So far from begging from door to door they regarded the eating out of their almsbowls as a disgrace... in fact, they were priests in nothing but the use of the name."

It was to rectify this State of affairs that King Kittisri, the "Royal Lion", (1747-1781) sent a mission in 1750 to Ayudhyā. It was, in fact, a third mission, the first two, sent by his predecessors for the same purpose, having been shipwrecked. The primary object was to obtain a quorum of monks from Siam, who had gone through a correct ordination, so that the quorum would be able to create a new, correctly ordained nucleus of monks who would again purify the Sinhalese Saṅgha. This third mission proved successful. The Sinhalese king's mission was borne in state into the city; the mission was received by the Prime Minister, Čaophyā Jamnān- boriraks, and duly entertained. It was received by "His Majesty of the Sublime Urn" in formal audience and shown around the sights of the city, such as the monasteries of Buddhaisvarya and of the Great Reliquary where it was received by the Patriarch of the Kingdom. It witnessed royal processions to present the *kathin* and also the water-festival; it visited the Footprint of Saraburi and the Reclining Buddha at Wat pāmok, and was presented on departure with considerable Pāli literature. A Siamese ecclesiastical delegation under the abbot, Phra Upāli, accompanied it in complying with the Ceylon King's request, but the ship in which it travelled was caught in a storm and obliged to return home.

Two years later; the same sovereign sent another mission headed by the same Phra Upāli. It was received in Ceylon with every honour and hospitality, went into residence during the rains at the monastery of Pubbārāma in Kandy and performed a ceremony of rectification of the boundary of its *uposatha* in order to ensure the correctness of the ordination which was to be performed there. The mission remained in Ceylon for three years and performed some 700 ordinations for monks and 3000 for novices. It was then relieved by another delegation in 1755. This delegation was again shipwrecked off the coast of Ceylon, though several of its members were rescued, including its head, Phra Visuddhācārya. Monks of Ceylon who were ordained by these delegations and their Sinhalese

pupils became and still are known as the Syāmavamsa, i.e., the Siamese School of the Saṅgha. Its history has been written in Ceylon and is known as the *Syāmopasampadāvata.* It was written by the Sinhalese thera Buddharakkhita, of the monastery of Pubbārāma, in Kandy. The second delegation came back in 1758, the last year of the reign of "His Majesty of the Sublime Urn".

Regeneration: *(a) Cultural Chaos.*-The fall of Ayudhyā 1767 left a void in Siamese political life, since its pivot, the sovereign, was no more. The reigning king took refuge in ignominious flight and finally starved to death. The ruling classes were either killed or missing, possibly disappearing in their effort to be out of the scene of chaos. The Order was, perhaps, not directly affected; but, depending as it did on lay almonry, it found no more support from that direction and became more or less disintegrated. In far off centres, however, like Pejraburi, it was practically untouched. Ayudhyā was abandoned and in flames, to be later a scene of plunder by the Burmese as well as by everybody else. Phyā Tāk, one of the leading generals of the last regime, took flight to set up his own nucleus down the east coast of the Gulf. With the help of his old-time friend, Nai Toṅduaṅ, who later became King Rāma I of Bangkok, he re-established law and order within a few years, ruling the whole country from Dhonburi on the right bank of the Čaophyā river where the Naval quarters now stand. A brave and able leader, he was yet highly temperamental. He was, moreover, extremely religious. His religion was, however, largely diluted with superstition. Unfortunately, he lost his reason after 7 or 8 years of hard work in restoring the national independence. He made strenuous efforts to better religious conditions, but his reforms were along his own ways of thinking. He had, for instance, all monks go through ordeals of long diving to test heir purity and moral standard. With the deterioration of the powers of his mind, he left affairs of state to his generalissimo, Čaophyā akri, and took to reforming the Saṅgha in earnest, with the result that a large number of monastic sycophants complied with his whims and fancies. At the end of his 15 years' reign, though Siam regained much of her pristine standing in the political field, her cultural status was sadly wanting.

(b) Restoration of the Saṅgha.- Čaophyā akri had made his name in the preceding reign as a military leader. He was doubtless generally trusted, for he was Universally acclaimed king when the king of Dhonburi had been imprisoned by Phyā San, who usurped the throne while the generalissimo was away on a campaign in Cambodia. His constructive ability had not yet had an opportunity to manifest itself. The push and dash of the conquests of the king of Dhonburi, even after he had ceased to lead his armies in person, were attributable to Čaophyā Surasih, the brother and close comrade-in-arms of the generalissimo, who supplied the elements of wise counsel and a genius in administration of the army. Soon after he succeeded to the throne, Burma made two more big attempts to subjugate Siam on an extensive scale. No less than nine armies, so the records say, invaded the country in the first war through every one of the entries which were in use, but they failed. The failure was perhaps due to faulty timing. Rāma I's military prestige was then established once and for all, there being no more serious wars on any front. The king at once turned his attention to a cultural revival.

The Saṅgha occupied his first attention. His initial step was to finance from his privy purse a new and complete edition, written on palm leaves, of the Buddhist Canon or the *Tipiṭaka.* It was soon found, however, that this edition had been made in a hurry from unreliable texts. A Council of the Saṅgha was therefore summoned in 1788, six years after he had acceded to the throne, to revise and collate whatever texts could be found in Siam or among her neighbours. The Council met at the seat of the Patriarch, now known as Wat Mahādhātu, and worked for five months. The magnitude of the work may be gauged by referring to the latest edition of 1925-8, consisting of 45 volumes, each of an average of 500 octavo pages.[24] The revision on this occasion resulted in what has come to be known as the *Tipiṭaka chabab thoṅyai*, i.e. "The Great Gilt Edition", written on palm-leaves and still kept in the Library of the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha, in the palace in Bangkok. The Council of Revision was officially regarded as the *ninth* of the Buddhist Councils, for a Royal Proclamation, dated B.E. 2332 (1788), recounts the following historical data:

"Shortly after the death of the Buddha his chief disciple Kassapa called together the first Council to standardise the doctrine. It took place in the cave of Sattapaṇṇi at Rājagaha.

A hundred years after, the monks Yasa and others called together the second Council to settle on points of the doctrine at Vesāli.

After a lapse of 218 years from the death of the Master, the monk Moggaliputta Tissa called a third Council under the patronage of Asoka the Great at Pātaliputta.

These three Councils were accepted by all Theravāda Buddhists.

238 years after the death of the Master, King Devānampiya Tissa of Ceylon sponsored the fourth Council there, with Mahinda, the son of Asoka, as presiding monk.

King Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya of Ceylon sponsored the fifth, 433 years after the Master's death, when the *Tipiṭaka* which had hitherto been handed down orally was written down in Sinhalese.

The Sinhalese *Tipiṭaka* was translated back into Pāli by the scholar Buddhaghosa in Ceylon during the sixth Council, under King Mahānāma, 956 years after the Master's death.

A seventh Council was again called and sponsored by King Parakkamabāhu of Ceylon under the presidency of the monk Kassapa, 1587 years after the Master's death.

In B.E. 2020 King Tiloka of Lānnā sponsored the eighth Council at Wat Bodhārām, now known as Wat Cedyod in Chieńmai for revision and collation.

The present one sponsored in Bangkok in 1788 (B. E. 2331) would then be the ninth.

It will, it is hoped, not be considered redundant to note in passing that while the first three Councils were accepted everywhere in Tharavāda circles, Mahāyāna Sects did not accept the third, substituting for it the Council of Kaniska, held in the north of India. Even Theravāda Burma has not accepted all the four Sinhalese Councils, reckoned above as the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh. The reason may not be far to seek. The Pāli term used for these Councils was *Saṅgāyanā*. It meant chanting. The first four Councils carried on their task by chanting because the scriptures were handed down orally. The practice of Chanting separate parts of the *Tipiṭaka* still survives in Siam under the terminology of *suad čen*, which means *chanting in diffusion*. It corresponded, but on a smaller scale, with the practice of the old Councils, and was also the method adopted at the recent Burmese Sixth Council. The later Sinhalese and the Siamese eighth and ninth Councils were not technically on the same system for they did real work of revision by collating all available texts; they then wrote down the collated text.

It was natural that the King's systematic mind would have prompted first a code of morality by which a standardisation of the conduct of the *bhikkhus* could be established. He then set out with energy to see that his lay subjects as well as members of the monastic orders behaved as good Buddhists. His effort in this direction is evidenced by the innumerable decrees governing the conduct of monks and the laity, and by the support by the administration to the power of the ecclesiastical authorities, upon whom devolved the responsibilities of such administration. His was the duty to protect the Saṅgha, not necessarily only against external encroachments but also from the monks' own failings. In the first two years of his reign he had already issued seven of the series of ten royal decrees, the *Kotmai Phra Saṅgh*, intended to clear the Saṅgha of the moral depravity into which a period of political tumult had brought them. One decree, for instance, required that every monk or novice, on leaving his preceptor, should have an identification paper; another required every abbot to keep a register of all monks under his jurisdiction and to be responsible for their conduct. In support of these decrees, government officials were required to see that they were strictly observed by every one concerned. The climax came later when, according to the tenth decree, dated 1801, some 128 profligate monks were rounded up, made to disrobe and conscripted for hard labour as a punishment. Their offence was:

"Certain monks, taking advantage of their honourable standing, are so shameless as to descend to all kinds of low behaviour, such as drinking intoxicants. ...wandering out at night to see entertainments, rubbing shoulders with women ...engaging in loose talk....boarding Chinese junks in order to obtain fanciful objects of merchandise, thus rendering themselves objects of scorn and ridicule to

foreign unbelievers.... Some go to Phrabād where they while away their days in flirting with women excursionists and adopt at night the highwayman's life or attend low and undignified entertainments..."

It seems evident that superstition still had a hold on the public mind all along more especially towards the end of the Ayudhye period, when it was no doubt rampant because of the unsettled times and of the dynastic rivalries which caused successive eliminations of legitimate leaders. It probably became worse during the cultural chaos that followed the fall of Ayudhyā. Rāma I had, therefore, to issue several decrees as a counterbalance, a characteristic one being the following:-

"Men are nowadays drifting in greater numbers away from the Three Refuges towards perdition. It was the saying of the Master that the Three Refuges formed the acme of all morality, difficult of keeping pure because their safeguarding depended on the valuation of their virtues. Men's mind must not go astray to other refuges....such as spirits and genii. A liberal man even if he wished to honour such (non-Buddhist) agencies as the tutelary spirits, would do so by regarding them as benevolent ones which might ward off misfortunes but he would never value them over and above the virtues of the Three Gems. A less informed man when faced with misfortune as a result of his own past misdeed, might come to think that the Three Gems were no longer able to give help and thus forsake them for superstition. He is thus rendered a headless trunk destined for perdition."

"It is therefore commanded by His Majesty that henceforward, should there be altars of spirits of whatever species, even those of such a spirit as is known to be the guardian of the realm, it is the duty of the officers of the administration that they may be repaired and honoured (by the people as of yore) but not to such a degree as to overstep the honour rendered to the Three Gems. And no sacrifice by killing is permitted of living animal.....; and on the contrary men should perform meritorious acts by liberality and good conduct and dedicate the result of it if they like to the tutelary or other spirits."

This attitude against superstition was certainly definite but has not been kept up in later times[23].

The king's injunction regarding the standard of observance of Buddhism by the people was characteristic of the popular mind. To the average Siamese, whether in the days of Ayudhyā or in the period under consideration, liberality and good conduct were the main planks of his religious platform. He did not go deeply into its philosophy, for that was regarded as belonging to the realm of the monastery. His connection with religion began when, at puberty, his or her tuft of hair knotted above the head was cut off, amid ceremony if the parents could afford it. The child had to sit listening to long benedictions chanted by a chapter of monks usually at his own home. A girl was not required to take a personal part in religion further than this for some time. A boy, however, in place of going to school which had not yet come into existence, was expected to take the vows of the novice, *sāmaṇera*, which were not very onerous. When he came of age, he would receive ordination as a monk, *bhikkhu*, which inculcated a strict life in the monastery for a period of the rains or longer, if he was so inclined. Now he became an "accomplished" man, fit for marriage to a well-bred girl who fancied him. As a householder, he would occasionally celebrate functions of liberality by holding religious services of benedictions presided over by monks. The grown-up master or mistress of the house would also now and then or even at regular intervals offer rice and condiments at his or her door early in the morning to monks who walked by for the purpose of giving an opportunity to the laity to perform acts of liberality by presenting them with food. Every week was usually held a service in the monastery when sermons were listened to by the congregation, who brought food for the monks. It was more or less a social event also. At death the heirs or relatives of the dead celebrated services with a hope that the resultant merit would somehow accumulate in favour of their dear one who had left them.

As to philosophical aspects of Buddhism, there is a large literature dating from this period. It includes not only philosophy but also history, prosody and translations from the Pāli. As this phase of Siamese Buddhism is being dealt with elsewhere in this *Encyclopaedia*, no attempt is being made here to describe it, beyond a quotation or two from the series of Royal Interrogations made to the *bhikkhus*[24], from time to time by the sovereign, usually as a result the daily sermons to which king Rāma was in the habit of listening every evening of his life.

"In 1146 (1785 A. C.), year of the snake, Sunday the first of the waning moon of the first month, His Majesty the King commanded in the Hall of Dusidābhirom Luan Sri Varavohār to convey the following interrogation to His Holiness the Patriarch and the abbots:

"Our Lord the Buddha fixed the age of Buddhism at 5000 years. And at the end of that period the relics of the Master would come to an end, thereby indicating the limit of our religion. Now, should, at the aforesaid time, there be still *in situ* images of the Lord, or monuments, or the Tree of Wisdom, and should any one impair or destroy them, would he be committing an act of sin ?"

The reply, enumerating the names of the abbots who had share in it, quotes a text from the Pāli and paraphrases it as follows :

"When learning will have disappeared, the practice of Buddhism would likewise disappear; and a knowledge of the causes and effects would disappear; and monasticism would disappear; and the holy relics would disappear. On the day of the completion of the 5000 years, all images, monuments, etc., would disappear in succession. Any monument which would be left would not be covered by the Master's injunction. Being few in number, they would not be known as such by man, having been hidden by supernatural hands with stones and creepers protected by thorns to prevent man from getting near enough to dishonour them...there will in fact be no wrong in harming them, since they will no longer be Buddhist monuments."

Another Royal Interrogation, of King Rāma III, dated C.S. 1188 (1827) is of interest on account of its practical application of the Doctrine to problems of administration of the day. It put three questions to the Sangha, the first of which may be summarized thus:

"The King, reflecting on his efforts to practise the virtues of good conduct and liberality......has doubts about fishery dues and excise duty as being likely to impair his correct livelihood. He therefore commands.....his Grand Chamberlain and Interrogation to His Holiness the Patriarch and all ranks of abbots....

"Ever since the establishment of the regime in Ayudhayā all these hundreds of years, it has never been recorded in history that any of the sovereigns who have reigned over the kingdom had been an unbeliever, each having been a man of scholarship and deep insight. The abbots on their part, to whichever rank they belonged, have also been scholars of the *Tipiṭaka*. Did they not on any occasion discuss between them whether these dues were morally justified? They have, on the other hand, upheld the dues as being traditions of the administration. The king has been giving the problem careful consideration.....and cannot find authority for regarding them not morally justified. Any yet if they were to be looked upon as being immoral, because they inculcate the taking of lives and the sanctioning of the habit of taking intoxicants, then how was it that past sovereigns, all of them endowed with wisdom and insight, upheld the practice of collecting these dues and taxes?"

The reply from the Sangha was to the effect that the sovereigns of the past must have known well enough that in these decadent days men were full of lust, anger and delusion. Were the rulers to try to correct them by bodily penalty for acts of taking lives and inebriation, the lot of those culprits might be unduly severe. They, therefore, decreed fines for these offences in the form of fishery dues and excise taxes. One cannot help wondering how far the Royal Interrogator was satisfied mentally.

The Buddhist hierarchy at this period was organised along lines which were preserved up to about a century ago. The doctrines were the exclusive responsibility of the Sangha whilst the affairs of its administration, which needed lay support, were in the hands of an Ecclesiastical Department of the Government, acting in the name of the sovereign. It had full power even to disrobe a monk, if found guilty of any of the offences given in the *Vinaya* as disqualifying him from membership of the Holy Brotherhood. At the head of this hierarchy was the Patriarch. The office was often separated into one of the Right and one of the Left, for convenience of jurisdiction. Under the Patriarch, if there was only one, were the jurisdictions of the north, the south and the centre. At the head of each was a high abbot of the rank of a *Somde*, who had his own staff chosen by himself. Each of the heads of these

jurisdictions had under him a number of abbots who, like their superiors, were appointed by the sovereign. There was also an independent jurisdiction of the Môn clergy who, being far less numerous, were superintended by a Môn abbot but not as exalted in rank as the *Somde*. The abbots were of four different grades: those of the lowest grade were for the most part promoted from among monastic scholars who had passed the ecclesiastical examination of the Scriptures classified into nine grades. Examinations were oral; each candidate was given a passage or more drawn from closed slips by the candidate himself without being able to see its contents, which were chosen from prescribed Pāli texts. These texts were mostly from manuals written by monks of ceylon, like the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa, and Commentaries like the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, the text of the *Tipiṭaka* itself was reserved for advanced research.

That Buddhism was flourishing during the period is testified to by the fact that its monuments and art treasures are to be found in abundance. Space permits only passing mention here. The Chapel Royal in the Grand Palace was built by Rāma I. It is a beautiful creation in multicolour, housing the famous palladium of royal Bangkok, the so-called Emerald Buddha, made of a single piece of jade, measuring 48.3 by 60 cm. The image is believed to have been of northern workmanship. It is now an object of veneration for Buddhists from far and near, irrespective of nationality. A visit on an *uposatha* day, when it is open to the public, would show the international veneration in which it is held, Burmese and Shans in their national costume being usually noticeable side by side with Siamese. In its beautiful grounds are many other monuments, among which may be mentioned the "Pantheon" on the platform to the north of the Chapel Royal, housing statues of past sovereigns of the Cakri dynasty, and the gallery of murals depicting the story of the first reign version of the Rāmakien. Wat Phra Jetubon, directly south of the Palace, was formerly Wat Pothārām and, renamed after the famous Jetavana of Sāvatthi in India, was rebuilt from old ruins by Rāma I and generally repaired by Rāma III. It contains everything that a monastery should have, with the addition of a series of inscriptions containing all the texts of every branch of knowledge of the time of its general repair. For this reason it has been called a 'University in stone'[37]. On the west bank of the river is the majestic *prāṅ* or *stūpa*, of Wat Arun, the so-called 'Temple of the Dawn'. It is seen to best advantage from the east side of the river;

*(c) **King Moṅkut's monastic reform*** - In 1824, King Rāma II died without indicating his wishes as to the succession to the Throne. The legitimate successor was young Prince Moṅkut, then 20 years old, who like all contemporary young men of good family, had just entered Holy Orders and taken up residence under his preceptor, the Patriarch of the Saṅgha, at Wat Mahādhātu near the Grand Palace. There was an elder brother, Kromamun Cesdābodin, 37 years old, on whom his royal sire had been relying a great deal for the conduct of state affairs, especially those involving an exercise of the royal prerogatives such as the consideration of petitions and of judicial cases of final appeal. He had also been in charge of the growingly important duties of the Minister of the Port, which corresponded with a combined portfolio of foreign affairs and commerce. He was, however, not born of a royal mother and thus not technically eligible for succession to the Throne. Nevertheless, he enjoyed wide popularity, no doubt as a result of his influence in state affairs and also of his own genial personality. He was, therefore, chosen king by the Council of the Lords of the Realm and is referred to here under the modern title of Rāma III. The legitimate successor was unknown as a statesman and was without experience. Prince Moṅkut wisely made no complaint, and, instead of resuming the householder's life at the end of the prescribed period of monastic life, remained indefinitely in the monastery. Like most members of the Royal Family who took monastic vows just for the duration of one rainy season, the young prince sought instruction at first not in the scriptures but in courses of meditation. Being of an earnest disposition, he took his studies very seriously at Wat Smorai, now known as Wat Rājādhivās, then considered as being outside the city and exclusively devoted to the 'forest-monks' specialising in meditation. Discouraged, however, by the pedantic attitude of those who practised meditation, he returned to Wat Mahādhātu and took up the study of the scriptures as a 'town-monk' whose sphere of duties was teaching. He passed the ecclesiastical examinations up to the fifth grade but decided not to go beyond it. The King, his elder brother, ever interested in affairs of the Saṅgha was pleased at the brilliant scholarship of his brother, and

promoted him an abbot and a public examiner of the holy scriptures. His studies again disappointed him, for the more knowledge he gained from original sources in Pāli, the more he became convinced of the gross ignorance of the clergy with their rationalisations. He decided to abandon the sham of sanctity and made a vow that he would relinquish his monastic status within 15 days unless he could come across a standard of monasticism which would convince him of the justifiability of monastic life. Then, by chance, he met and got to talking over monastic life with a Mōn abbot from Dhonburi, by the name of Buddhavaṃso, who related to him the Mōn ideals of monasticism. The young Prince found that the Mōn clergy still preserved the true spirit of a monastic life which was in his opinion unblemished by irrationalism. Elated by the knowledge that a correct understanding and practice of the Master's teaching and ruling were not dead, he at once changed his way of monastic life to conform to what he had now learnt from the Mōn. Prince Moṅkut never did things by half. In order to clear his conscience; he sought new ordination from the Mon monk and his associates. He went back also to Wat Smorai with a few of his close friends among the monks of Wat Mahādhātu and there established the nucleus of a new school of thought, which became known in later days as the Dhammayuttika. Its distinctive feature was a stricter interpretation of the *Vinaya*. It involved a new style of wearing the robes, the conduct of ordination strictly following rules prescribed in the *Tipiṭaka*, and a general tightening up of discipline, such as not hoarding food or money and, above all, a critical study of the original Pāli Scriptures. The formal laying of the foundation stones of the *uposatha* hall of assembly of Wat Smorai marked the inauguration of the new school of thought, in 1833.

Though conservative quarters of the Royal Family and the nobility frowned upon the Mōn influence thus exercised upon the prince's convictions, and several of the higher princes made no attempt to hide their disapproval, the king, his elder brother, encouraged him in most of his points. His encouragement went so far as to take the shape of an offer of a royal monastery to establish his new school of thought at Wat Bovoranives, whither the prince was carried on a chair of state in triumphal progress with all the trappings and honours usually accorded to the heir to the Throne. The honour was, of course, not accidental; for Rāma III recognised that Prince Moṅkut, though devoted to a monastic life, was still the next highest in the land and would in all probability be his successor when the time came.

The Dhammayuttika system being thus officially recognised, Prince Moṅkut began to regularise its practice and to lay down a regular course of studies with its nucleus at his seat of Wat Bovoranives. He travelled widely to spread his doctrine but he was liberal in his attitude not only towards the old practices of what is now known as the Mahānikāi, or the Majority School, but also towards all religions. On one occasion, when approached by an American Presbyterian friend for his permission to address the Dhammayuttika clergy on Christianity, he cheerfully consented, on condition that the Presbyterian should also teach his monks English and provided a hall within the precincts of his monastery. It is said that, although the result aimed at was not realised, the monks received the advantage of learning English though none were proselytised.

In 1850 King Rāma III died. Prince Moṅkut was invited to relinquish his monastic vows and ascend the Throne. His 27 years' experience of monastic life became an asset, for it had given him a familiarity with all classes of people and an intimate insight into their life and needs. Thereby he was enabled to take a liberal view of the problems of administration.

After his departure from the monastery, the Dhammayuttika movement continued to flourish steadily though unaggressively. It was adopted by the new intelligentsia. Years afterwards, in the fifth and sixth reigns, it spread to Cambodia and the Lao country, where the hierarchy of the monastery included a Dhammayuttika section. Some of the kings of Cambodia were ordained as Dhammayuttika monks, sponsored while they were still princes by the king of Siam, and took up residence at Wat Bovoranives.

A happy coincidence was the fact that one of king Moṅkut's sons decided to devote his life to religion. He was Prince Manusyanāg, who became known as Kromaluan Vajirañān and was eventually appointed Supreme Patriarch of the kingdom. Like his father, he was a genuine reformer, with not a little impetuosity. He organised the administration first of the Dhammayuttika school, and then of the whole Saṅgha, and enjoyed the respect of all monastic societies,

including the Majority School and the Vietnam Mahayana Sect. To him, too, is due the credit of organising, in co-operation with king Chūlalongkorn, (1868-1910 A.C.) a system of popular education for Siam. It is true that long before his time, the monastery had been a seat of learning for boys. The method was for individual monks to accept boys as apprentices and to educate them in the letters, going on later to religious knowledge. The advantage of this system was personal attention. A receptive boy was not merely able to read and write, but, through the atmosphere in which he lived, became automatically framed in a moral surrounding, being thereby morally equipped to a certain extent. By the time of king Chūlalongkorn towards the end of the XIXth century, such a system could not satisfy the rapidly growing need for popular education. The king, therefore, appealed to Prince Vajirañān and together they created the foundation of popular education, which was later entrusted to a properly organised department of education of the government.

One of the happy consequences of the movement was a regeneration of the old Majority School. The latter had raised no objection to the new School at first and did not seem to take much interest in reforms whatsoever. Under Prince Vajirañān's rule as Supreme Patriarch towards the first decade of the XXth century, they began to adopt some of the strict observances of the Dhammayuttika monks. The prince's sympathetic handling of the relationship between the Majority School and that of the Dhammayuttlka was acknowledged to be one of real statesmanship. This new regeneration of the Mahānikāi monks was greatly encouraged by King Chūlalongkorn who built for them near his new Dusilt Villa the beautiful Wat Beñamabopit, a gem which combines the conventional ideals of Siamese art with modern architectural science. Many of these monks of the Majority School went so far as to wear their robes in conformity with those of the Dhammayuttika monk and might have gone further in their conciliatory spirit, had not outside influences intervened to promote a rift which is threatening to develop.

It may by pertinent here to quote a valuation of this new Dhammayuttika movement by a neutral critic[28] who is neither an adherent of the school nor even a Buddhist:

"....It was not the doctrine as usually preached in those days, for that contained much that was contrary to common sense. It should be the Buddha's own doctrine, stripped of all apocryphal matter. So the first duty of the new sect must be devotion to study in order to determine exactly what that was.

"A critical study of the text, not in the spirit of faith, but in the light of reason, should give the answer. For it was plain enough that they contain two very different veins of thought. One of these... is rational and humanistic. The Buddha is a human being, a wise and gentle teacher. The dourine, lucidly exposed is both a philosophy and a system of ethics. It maintains that no individual-whether animal, man or god (if gods exist)-is permanent. Each is a compound, putting together of elements such as form, matter and mental qualities ; in each individual, without any exception, the relations of the component parts, constantly changing, is never the same for any two consecutive moments. No sooner has separateness, individually, begun than dissolution, disintegration begins too. The single aim of mankind should be to abolish suffering. Belief in God is of no importance, while prayers for divine intervention are both useless and distracting. For the only way to abolish suffering is to do good and refrain from evil. Men must do good, not in order to reach heaven or to please God, but in order to be happy themselves and make others happy; they must refrain from evil deeds not because evil deeds are sinful but because they cause suffering to both victim and doer...

"The other vein of thought in the scriptures is pietistic and transcendental. The Buddha has become a kind of super-god who performs miracles with ease..

"In a touching passage, which was surely genuine, the Buddha had authorised a certain skepticism. He had begged his disciples not to accept any belief merely because it was handed down by tradition or preached by some respected teacher-even himself; they must test every belief with their own powers of reason. This was the criterion Prince Mongkut and his followers used, and the reconstruction of the true doctrine followed naturally. The miracles were exaggerations, the accounts of gods and demons simply parables that had become confused with historical record, the absurd cosmography a spurious insertion

"When the errors were stripped away, the Doctrine re-emerged as a moral system of incomparable beauty. It was this Doctrine to which the reform sect must adhere. A particular way of wearing the Yellow Robe, a particular way of carrying the begging-bowl-these were the external badges of the sect; but Infinitely more important was devotion to learning, freedom from superstition, zeal for restoring the great ethical and moral principles to their proper place. In this sect there was no selling of spells and love-philters...Prince Mongkut and his followers gave morality a fresh meaning, making its most serious aspects known to the people at large in terms they could easily understand-this Buddhism was to be the heritage of the whole people, not merely the monks."

As for its reaction, Griswold says:

..The reforms did not please all Buddhists. Some conservative monks held to the old practices from conviction, some from selfinterest. Prince Mongkut had no authority to change the church as a whole. But the reform sect, partly because of its intrinsic superiority and perhaps even more because of Prince Mongkut's personal magnetism, attracted many of the best minds. And little by little, the rest of the church was forced to take note of its example and to correct its own most glaring deficiencies.

"After Prince Mongkut became King in 1851, he took care not to favour the reform sect over the church in general. He wanted people to do right because they believed in doing right, not because they were commanded to do so..."

(d) Modern Times.-Aspects of Buddhism in modern Siam may be considered from both external and internal angles. The external aspect is made up of two principal factors. Firstly, the economic pressure on life in general, an effect of world conditions. Up to this period, the Brotherhood had been dependent on the laity for its everyday needs; the latter, appreciating the personal sacrifice of the monk in relinquishing all worldly possessions, had been willing to support him not only in regard to his everyday needs personally but also in the upkeep of the monastery and its monuments. The ability to maintain itself through lay liberality depended naturally on individual incumbents or the congregation of each monastery .The staple food, rice, is no longer grown solely for home consumption, large profits being made from its export, yet, to the credit of the average Siamese, this has not lessened to any great extent his liberality in support of the Saṅgha. The second factor is the large increase from immigration of non-Buddhist elements into the population of Siam. One would have expected that this might result in a lessening of the standard of religious ideals. The custom of young men entering the Order for a time, the custom of household celebrations of anniversaries and some other customs have somewhat decreased. Knowledge, however, of religion has decidedly increased owing to a growing interest in spiritual matters promoted by a more general learning of the scriptures which was inaugurated by Prince Vajirañāṇ for monks as well as laymen and laywomen.

Turning now to the internal aspect of the practice of Buddhism, we find that in the administration of the Saṅgha the latter obtained from the state the right to govern itself in the time of the said Patriarch who organised a Council of Elders, called the *Mahāthera-samāgam*, which co-ordinated the work of administration. The three big jurisdictions have been increased to four by the addition of that of the Dhammayuttika monks. The heads of the several jurisdictions with their deputies form the Council. Within the last two decades, since the inauguration of the democratic form of temporal government, the Saṅgha has received its constitutional form of government from the temporal authorities. This has been modelled on the temporal government with the important difference that its legislature is appointed instead of being elected. Whereas the old Council of Elders constituted the highest executives of ecclesiastical government, carrying on its executive work on its own responsibility in joint session, the new order has an appointed legislature with supreme power over the executive and a Patriarch with very limited powers. In education the Saṅgha has made considerable progress. Besides the King Monkut University initiated by the Dhammayuttika School of thought, there is now a "University of King Chūlalongkorn" at Wat Mahādhātu, exclusively manned by the new movement of the old Mahānikāi School. At both universities there are provided greater facilities for the study of the holy scriptures as well as most of the liberal arts. Monastic missions to neighbouring, especially Buddhist countries, are being sent abroad to India, Ceylon and Burma. The 2500th

anniversary of Buddhism has given impetus to the international relationships of the Siamese Saṅgha in several aspects.

Thus, while there have arisen factors which might check the progress of Buddhism, they have been counterbalanced by tendencies of education since the time of Prince Vajirañān and his immediate successors. Greater numbers of men and women have taken advantage of the extension of the ecclesiastical syllabus to permit the laity to sit for some of the lower grades, success in which would qualify them to privileges in connection with entry into the Civil Service and to part exemption from such obligations as military service. Attendance at sermons in the monastery on *uposatha* days, which was at one time inclined to fall off in the cities, has now revived. Though old time liberality in the form of elaborate household services on occasions of anniversaries or of obsequies rites is getting rarer, economic factors have not prevented an increasing tendency to raise funds in the form of trusts for the upkeep of monasteries, for scholarships or for the residence and food of the Brotherhood.

No attempt is made here to describe ceremonies of the Saṅgha, for that will be -dealt with in another article in this *Encyclopaedia*.

There is yet the moral side of Siamese Buddhism of the present day which should be included in this article. It would include such topics as superstition and principles, the interpretation of some of which would seem to be at variance with those of some of the other Theravāda countries. Superstition is a survival of old animistic beliefs from the simple pre-Buddhistic days. The Siamese find it just as hard as their brethren of other religions and of supposedly far more advanced cultures, to be rid of it altogether. The Buddha, as it is well known, was decidedly against it, but it is still among us, though there are signs that it is losing ground among intellectuals. The same remark will apply to pilgrimages as a spiritual step towards gaining merit in religion and the un-Buddhistic but justifiably human desire to pray as to a divinity to anyone held in respect, including the Buddha himself. The modern intellectual Siamese certainly pays deep reverence to the image of the Master in order to honour his memory, and besides him there are also the Teaching as well as the Brotherhood, the Saṅgha as a whole. .

As a result of closer contact with the outside world, certain observances have come to the fore and some of them have Undergone compromises. The wearing of shoes in a religious building was considered in the East as not being polite or respectful, whilst the Western attitude was quite different. In Siam, monks generally went without footwear outside the monastery. Dhammayuttika monks observe this ruling strictly, even to the extent of discouraging junior monks having footwear within the monastery. King Chūlalongkorn's sartorial reforms in lay, official circles adopted a compromise, since Siamese official life was closely shared by Westerners, including diplomats, who naturally preserved their own protocol very strictly. The King, who was supported in his attitude on this question by the Supreme Patriarch, ruled that since it was the Westerner's standard of decorum that when he entered his own church, his house of God, he was always carefully shod as a mark of respect, and since the Buddha was not known to have raised any objection to wearing shoes in sacred places under such circumstances, shoes would be admissible in Siam in all sacred places. The criterion of respect was, after all, the wearer's mental attitude rather than his external dress.

Another principle to be modified, on account of contact with the West, was the attitude towards intoxicating drinks. It was hardly practicable to forbid toasts and the polite drinking of Wines or even of spirits among the official laity whose duties involved social contact with Westerners. After all, the Buddha's wording of the principle was an undertaking by the individual, not a command of the Master, that he would "refrain from intoxicating drinks... which are the basis of carelessness". So long as he did not allow himself to lose his balance over drinks, he would not be acting contrary to the spirit or *intention* of the ideal. The growth, however, of immoderate drinking among later generations, since the time of that king, makes one doubt the justifiability of this compromise.

Another principle which has occasioned considerable discussion among students of Buddhism is the problem of national defence. The modern Siamese attitude, based on the undeniable necessity to maintain national independence, especially in the days when Siam's neighbours toppled over one by one into the precipice of colonialism, was stated by the Supreme Patriarch at the time of the first World War, thus[19]:

"...People who live in different countries in close neighbourhood must inevitably have disputes and quarrels, either on account of territory, or of the rights of the subjects thereof, or of commercial rivalry, and so forth. Even people of the same state, having disputed between themselves and not having anyone to adjudge their quarrels, must inevitably use their own strength in fighting to obtain their own desires. Even though the world has grown so civilised, that people now know many means for adjusting differences of opinion, such for instance as asking a third party to arbitrate between the two parties in dispute, yet people still prefer to use their own strength to decide issues, as is instanced by the present war in Europe.

"Such being the case, each nation finds it necessary to organise some of its own citizens into a class, whose duty it is to fight against its enemies. ...

"Therefore war must be prepared for, even in time of peace, otherwise one would not be in time and one would be in a disadvantageous position...

"Our Blessed Lord hath taken the preparedness of a country that is not negligent as an illustration in the following saying:

"*Nagaraṃ yathā paccantaṃ guttaṃ sāntarabāhiraṃ*

" *Evaṃ gopetha attānaṃ khaṇo mā vo upaccagā*

" *Khaṇātītā hi socanti nirayamhi samappitā* "

"As towns that are situated on the borders (of a state) must be prepared both inside and out, so be ye prepared likewise. Let not any opportunity escape you, for those who have let opportunity pass by will be completely full of sorrow..."

Finally, there is the important doctrine of transmigration, which we see from history as having been a principle not particularly initiated by the Buddha but accepted as a matter of course from contemporary thought such as is enunciated in the *Upanisads*. Although it is generally accepted here, a limited circle of the modern intelligentsia is inclined to adopt a new interpretation, which has been thus worded by the neutral observer whom we have already quoted:

"By his judicious selections and rejections, Prince Mongkut had created a new Buddhism-or, as he more modestly thought, revived the original doctrine. He was fond of saying that there is nothing in it that conflicts with modern science. But what of the belief in transmigration, which seems so fanciful to westerners? He did not reject it but gave it a more philosophic interpretation. He could point to the laws of physics to show that given causes produce given effects. If these laws govern the material universe, was it not reasonable to assume that similar ones govern the moral domain, so that every deed, whether good or evil, is inevitably followed by its appropriate consequence, either in this life or the future? Though there was no "soul" to be reborn, the "energy of action" was everlasting[30]...... See **Plates IV-IX**

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Dhaninivat

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1. cf., by way of an opposite opinion, Le May: *The Culture of South East Asia*, p. 42, where he thinks it must have been somewhere in Indonesia.
2. As evidenced by the Reliquary of Jaiyā, etc.
3. As evidenced by the sanctuaries of P'imai and perhaps of Sakol Nakon.
4. Coedès: *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Vol. I, pp. 41 and 46

5. *ibid.* pp. 42 and 48.

6 . *ibid.* pp. 91ff.

7 . Coedès: *L'art siamois de l'époque de Sukhodaya in Arts asiatiques* I, 4, 1954, pp. 281-302.

8 . Coedès: *Inscriptions* pp.45-6.

9 . The slab was given the name of Manaṃsilā. It is now kept in the precincts of the chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok.

10 . The passage about authorship is dubious. The original sentence in the Siamese published version of 1914 ran thus: " King Letai, son of King Lelitai... this King Letai was the grandson of Rāmakamhĕṅ." at is obvious that the Letai referred to is Litai.

11. *Traibhūmikathā*, or Phra Ruan's *Traibhūmi*; publ. in the original Saimese in R.S. 131 (1914), 244 pages; Phya Anuman's retelling of it reviewed in Engl. in JSS. XLIII, 1 (1955) pp. 73-5.

12 . cf. Hutchinson's *The Seven Spires*, in JSS. XXXIX,, 1 , 151, pp. 1-68

13. Coedès: *Documents sur l' Histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*, BEFEO. XX pp. 4-11 , introd.; pp. 36-72 text; and pp. 73-113 translation. Also Siamese text and translation in a volume to itself, Sobhon Prress, R.S. 127 (1909).

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16. Coedès: *Note sur les ouvrages palis composés en pays thai*, in BEFEO XV, 3, 1915, pp. 39-46.

17 . cf. Luaṅ Boribāl's *Review of the Problem of the Sihiṅga Image* B.E. 2477 (1934), Phra Chand Press, ill. 27 pages, in Siamese.

18. *supra* note 14.

19 . See Bibliography.

20. See Bibliography.

21 . It was Somde Phra Vanarat who petitioned the same King to pardon the army commanders who had been sentenced to death for failing to keep up with the King's pace. They had thus left the royal party to face the enemy from Burma, whose leader, their Crown Prince, was engaged in single combat and killed, thereby causing the enemy to take to flight.

22 . Prince Damrong: *The Establishment of the Saṅgha in Ceylon* in Siamese. p. 79.

23. cf. P.E. Pieris' English translation from the Sinhalese of an article entitled *King Kirtisiri's Embassy to Siam in Saka* 1672 (1750 A.D.), in JRAS. Ceylon branch, Vol. XVIII, 1903, p. 3.

* The Sect is also referred to as The Syāmopāli Vaṃsa and in Sinhalese, Siyam Nikāya- The monastery mentioned in the article as Pubbārāma is actually called Puspārāma (Pāli Pupphārāma and in Sinhalese, Malvatta). *G.P.M.*

24. The Tipiṭaka edition sponsored by H.M. King Prajabhipok in dedication to his royal brother and predecessor, Rāma VI, 1925-8.

25. Cf. *The Code of the Three Seals*, pp.... 417ff.

26. *Royal Interrogations* (in Siamese) Part I, Thai Press, Bangkok, R. S. 131 (1912).

27. See JSS. XXVI, 2. p. 143, for a description of the inscriptions.

28 . Griswold: The Real King Moṅgkut of Siam, XLV, 1.

29 . Prince Vajirañān's *The Buddhist Attitude towards National Defence*, tr. into English by "one of his disciples", (H.M. King Rāma VI), 1916.

30 . A. B. Griswold: *loc.cit.*

SIDDHĀRTHA- Ven. Paṇḍitācārya Walāne Sri Siddhārtha, (1811-1868 A.C.) was the fore-runner of the Pirivena education system in modern times, and he was one of the few erudite monks of the period, who ventured to keep the torch of learning burning continuously during the dark period under the colonial rule. He is credited for producing two eminent pupils, Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumaṅgala and Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka who ushered in a new era in traditional Buddhist learning by establishing two great Pirivenas Vidyodaya, and Vidyālaṅkāra respectively.

The early part of his life is obscure. It is learnt that he was born to an important family of Walāna in Panadura in the month of March 1811. The names of his parents are not available. The earliest reference to his childhood is that he accompanied his grandmother to the temple on her way to offer flowers, where the incumbent monk Ven. Giddava Gunarathana noticed him to be a fortunate child suitable for ordination. Ven. Gunaratana took charge of the child from his parents with their consent at the age of seven and prepared him for the ordination. When the child was twelve years of age, that is in 1823 he was ordained at a ceremony at Maha Aruggoda Indasarāmaya. He was then entrusted to Ven. Nedimāle Revata of Galgoda Vihāraya, Panadura for further education. In 1831, when he reached the prescribed age, he received his higher ordination at the Malwatta chapter under his teacher Ven. Revata referred to above.

There were no avenues or facilities for the monks to pursue higher studies at the time. Erudite monks were very rare. The books were in manuscript form and not freely available. Thus chances of a monk proceeding to higher studies was a rare phenomenon. But Ven. Siddhārtha was very fortunate. He was sent to study under Galle Medhankara Nāyaka Thera, of Pelmadulla Purāna Vihāraya, the chief high priest of the Low Country and the Adams Peak, and who was foremost among the learned monks of the day. But his learning was interrupted due to the sudden death of Ven. Medhaṅkara and he had to return to his temple. But when Ven. Induruwe Sumaṅgala, the pupil and the successor of Ven. Medhaṅkara resumed teaching, Ven. Siddhartha came back to Pelmadulla to continue his studies.

After completing studies at Pelmadulla Ven. Siddhārtha, one of the few erudite monks in the country now, commenced teaching both monks and laymen at his own temple in Walāna. It should be noted that during this period there was no place where monks or laymen could pursue their religious studies, other than Vanavāsa Vihāraya in Bentara, where a small number studied under Ven. Bentara Atthadassi. Among those monks and laymen who studied under Ven. Siddhārtha at the Walāna Temple were famous monks like Ven. Udugampala Ratanapala, Baddegama Saranaṅkara, Ven. Werahera Sobhita, Ven. Mālewana Sobhita and Ven. Batuwantudāwe Devarakkhita.

Ven. Siddhārtha's long cherished motive was to establish a complete library to be used by all as books were very rare at the time. It was at this juncture that he came to Ratmalāna to spend the "Rainy Retreat" (*vassāna*) on an invitation of Don Porolis Lekam Appuhamy. He made Ratmalāna his permanent residence and started his teaching service once more with the assistance of Buddhist Businessmen in Colombo such as Jayasooriya Arachchige Tedonis Perera Appuhamy and Don Philip De Silva Epā Appuhāmy. In fact Paramadhamma Cetiya teaching institution was established in a vacuum.

It was at Paramadhamma Cetiya that Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumaṅgala and Ratmalāne Dhammāloka who established Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara Pirivenas, studied under Ven. Walāne Siddhartha. Among the other prominent erudite monks who studied under Ven. Siddhārtha at Paramadhamma Cetiya, Ratmalana were Ven. Suriyagoda Sonuttara who was in charge of the Oriental Library in Kandy, Ven. Buddharakkhita the High Priest of the Kelaniya Temple, Ven. Sumana the High Priest of the Aṭamasthāna, Anurādhapura, Ven. Baduraliye Dhīrānanda who later became the Mahā Nāyaka of the Kotte nikāya, Ven. Aruggoda Sīlānanda who later became the head of the Paramadhamma Cetiya Pirivena. Since he was the teacher of many *paṇḍits* he was called the "Paṇḍitācārya", the teacher of paṇḍits.

As he was the most prominent among the learned monks of the day, Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha was to play a leading role in the *Tripiṭaka Saṅgāyanāwa* held in Pelmadulla during this period. In fact he was to lead the monks of the Siamese Nikāya who participated at the *Saṅgāyanāva*. But unfortunately he had to return to Colombo, after the inaugural session, due to his failing health, entrusting his place to his able pupil Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumaṅgala.

It is said that Ven. Siddhārtha put up a magnificent building at the Paramadhamma Cetiya premises, which is extant up to date, apparently for a *dharmasālā* or a library, for the construction of which he had to make requests for funds. He was such a strict disciplinarian, he purposely avoided staying even one night in it, for he collected funds not for his personal comforts. It is also learnt that he was well built and possessed a good personality. He did not appear for a photograph while he was living. His photograph was taken when he died, which is preserved up to date. He did not live long and died in February 1868 when he was just 56 years old. According to the records his death has taken place soon after his return from the Pelmadulla *Saṅgāyanāwa*, and there has been a rumour that he was poisoned at Pelmadulla. But his close pupil Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala refuted the rumour. He says that his teacher was ailing even before going to Pelmadulla (*Sri Sumangala Caritaya*, by Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda Part I Colombo 1947 p. 80).

Panditācārya Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha Thera is generally accepted as the pioneer of the pirivena education in modern times in Sri Lanka. It is from the Paramadhamma Cetiya premises that this learning started spreading to other parts of the island.

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(2) *Samipātitaye Baudhacāryayo* – Ven. Polwatte Buddhadatta, Colombo 1950 (Sinhala)

(3) *Wehelle Dhammadinna Swāmindra Ithihāsaya* Ven. Kirielle Ñanawimala, Colombo 1975 (Sinhala)

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SIDDHATTHIKĀ: Siddhatthikā, is one of the six schools of Buddhism said to have originated, according to the Pali *Mahāvamsa* (5.11-12), in the post 2[nd] century period of the Buddhist era. According to the commentary of the *Kathāvatthu* (p.53). They were one of the four schools designated Andhakas, which had arisen later. As this designation very clearly indicates these four schools must have originated in the Andhra region in eastern India, which could boast of a number of very popular Buddhist centres as Nāgarjunikonda and Amarāvati. While two of these four schools, the Pubbaseliyā and the Aparaseliyā are attested to by inscriptions dated from the 2[nd] century A.C. the names of the Rājagiriyas and the Siddhatthikas have so far not been discovered in inscriptions recovered from the region. It is also significant that the names of these two schools have not been included in any of the lists of schools of Buddhism provided by North Indian writers like Vasumitra and Bhavya. Were they two schools without much popularity outside Andhra? However, it is interesting to note that according to Mrs Rhys Davids[1] quite a number of views attributed to the Andhakas are described by the commentator as "held at the present day" showing that they, including the Siddhatthikas, were a set of active schools even in his own day.

Dube[2] classifies the Rājagirikas and Siddhatthikas among the Mahāsaṅghika sects which emerged in the Andhra country, possibly in the 3[rd] or 4[th] century A.C. Paramārtha has attributed the origin of the Mahāsaṅghikas in the Andhra country to one Mahādeva who retired to the hills having observed some new tendencies among the members of his Mahāsanghika sect. From these originated the Caitikas with whom were connected the Pūrvaśailas and Avaraśailas and also probably the Rajagirikas and Siddhatthikas.

There is not much information about the Siddhatthikas even in Sri Lankan sources. However a very late Sinhala work (14 century A.C.) on the history of the Buddhist Schools in India and Sri Lanka, the *Nikāya saṅgraha*[3], has some information about this school and a few others, which, however is rather difficult to be verified. According to this work, after the purification of the Saṅgha by Arahant Moggaliputta Tissa, the purged heretics, in a fury, assembled at Nālandā and drew up plans to destroy the discipline and the doctrine (*dharma-vinaya*) of the Sakyan monkes. Since they were unable to do this without a knowledge of Buddhism, they went back to Patna and, concealing their true identity as heretics, got themselves admitted as monks to non-Sthaviravāda schools. They studied the Buddhist scriptures, distorted the teachings, and repairing to Kosambi, devised plans to distrupt Buddhism. Thus,

235 years after the Buddha, they formed themselves into six separate schools. These later increased into nine schools in all, viz Hemavata, Rājagiri, Siddhattha, Pūrva Śaila, Apara Śaila, Vājiriya, Vaitulya, Andhaka and Anya Mahāsaṅghika. Here the author has taken Andhaka as a separate sect from its four sub-sects given as separate schools. The chronicle also adds some intresting information regarding the literary activities of six of these schools. It attributes to each of these six schools a composition which, by their names, seem to indicate certain Tāntric characteristics. To the Siddhatthikas the composition attributed by the chronical is named Gūdha Vessantara. The chronicle also adds a list of Tantras and Kalpas said to have been produced by these schools. These works, considered to present counterfeits of the true teachings, were not accepted by orthodox schools. While the *Nikāyasaṅgraha* has given either Sanskrit or mixed Sanskrit names of these works the commentaries of Buddhaghosa have given the Pali forms of these names, e.g. Gūlha Vessantara. But the commentator has not named the schools to which they were attributed[4].

There are seven views, according to the *Kathāvatthu*, held in common by the Rajagirikas and the Siddhatthikas viz.

1. that things cannot be grouped together by means of abstract ideas (*Kvu*. VII.1)
2. That mental states are not connected with other mental states (*ibid*. VII.2)
3. That mental properties (*cetasikā*) do not exist (*ibid*. VII.3)
4. That giving is only the mental act(*ibid* VII.4)
5. That what is given here sustains (beings) elsewhere (*ibid*. VII.6)
6. That an Arahant cannot have an untimely death (*ibid*. XVII.2)
7. That everything happens through *kamma* (*ibid*. XVIII.3)

The Siddhatthikas also held the following view with the Sammitiyas, viz. that merit increases with utility

There are as many as seventy two views attributed to the Audhakas by the *Kathāvatthu* commentator. Since Siddhatthikas are also included under this designation one can assume that the Siddhatthikas also shared the same views with them (s.v.*Andhakas*, *Ency.Bsm*. Vol.1.p.602 *ff*; *DPPN*.)

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References

1 *Points of Controversy*, *PTS*, p.XXXIII *ff*.

2 Dube, S.N. *Cross Currents in Early Buddhism*, *Manohar*, 1980 p.64 *ff*.

3 Ed.Nanayakkara, Gunawardhana, Gunesena, Colombo, 1988, 8 *f*

4 Adikaram, E.W., *Early History of Buddhism*, Buddhist Cultural Centre, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka, 1994, p.98 *f*

SIGĀLOVĀDA SUTTA is the thirty first of the thirty four discourses of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the collection of the long discourses of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. Both the commentator Buddhaghosa (*DA*. III, 941) and the sub-commentator Dhammapāla (*Dīghanikāyaṭṭakathā Ṭīkā PTS*., p. 163) call it *Sigālaka Sutta*. It is one of the many discourses delivered by the Buddha to instruct the laity. Buddhaghosa has given it the appellation *gihi-vinaya* or 'Layman's Discipline', because, says he, nothing concerned with the training of the laity is left out of it (*DA*. 111 959). This, of course, is an overstatement as many elements on the subject, as for instance the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, or the physician and the patient, are found discussed in other places. However, without any doubt, this could be described as the most comprehensive of all the Buddha's sermons to the laity.

Unlike in many other discourses attributed to the Buddha, the *Sigālovāda* appears to be a very well planned sermon. One could even query whether it was an impromptu delivery. At the very outset the Buddha gives in brief four topics which are detailed within the course of the sermon. A householder, putting away the four defiling acts (*kammakkilesa*), refraining from doing evil through the four motives (*catūhi ṭhānehi*), not pursuing the six channels for dissipating of wealth (*cha bhogānam apāya- mukhāni*), covers the six quarters (*chaddisā paticchādi*). By following

this course of actions he has set out for the conquest of both this world and the next, and will be reborn in a happy abode after death. These main topics are detailed in the discourse. However one notices a topic not found here has been added in the detailed discussion as a sort of extension to the six channels for dissipating wealth. While the six channels include a section on evil friends who could contribute to the dissipation of wealth, this new section deals with both evil and noble friends. Is it a later interpolation?

An interesting feature of the discourse is that each main section after the introduction carries a sort of a summing up in verse. Sometimes, however, elements not found in the preceding prose sections have been added on in the verses. For instance, in the verses coming after the 'covering of the six quarters' are 'four articles of attraction' *(saṅgahavatthūni)* by which the parents should win the respect of their children. This is an addition to the duties of the parents given in the prose section. Therefore the aim of the verses may not be the mere addition of a summary of the prose sections but also filling certain gaps in the discourse.

A Brahmanical Ritual Re-interpreted:

The young man Sigāla, to whom the Buddha delivers the discourse is called a 'son of a householder' *(gahapati putta)*. The word *gahapati* 'chief of a household' is a term used in the discourses to designate a member of the third caste-the Vessa-especially those in the higher stratas of society like rich merchants *(seṭṭhi)*. The commentator says that the father of Sigāla was a very rich man who had left a fortune to him *(DA. ibid.* 941 f). The Buddha, who had set out on his alms round in Rājagaha, saw Sigāla, with wet hair and clothes, saluting the many quarters, viz the east, the south, the west, the north, nadir and the zenith. Queried by the Buddha as to the reason of his worship Sigāla tells him that he is carrying out his father's dying instructions to worship the six quarters. According to Buddhaghosa Sigāla's parents were devout Buddhists but were unable to persuade their son to go to the Buddha or any of his disciples and listen to their sermons. It would only put him into great inconvenience said Sigāla. So his father devised a strategy. On his deathbed he instructed him to worship the six quarters after the morning ablutions. Perhaps, he thought, he would attract the attention of the Buddha or a disciple, for they come into the city for alms in the morning *(DA. ibid.* 942). However the discourse does not give us any clue on the religious affiliations of Sigāla's family. It gives only the Buddhist interpretation of the worship of the six quarters practised by Sigāla.

Although it is never mentioned by the commentator, there is evidence in *Vedic* literature that the worship of the guardian deities of the quarters was a popular practice in India. The *'Atharva Veda'*[1], which in fact was the common man's *Veda*, in two of its hymns, called *rakshnamantras* (guarding runes) by Mrs. Rhys Davids, mentions the same six quarters. One of them says, "ye gods that are in the Eastern quarter, missiles by name, of you there the arrows are fire! Do ye be gracious to us, do ye bless us! To you be there homage! To you there hail! etc." The hymn twenty seven puts each quarter in charge of a deity viz. Agni, Indra, Varuna, Soma, Viṣnu and Bṛhaspati. The invoker consignes one's enemies to their jaws. The idea is also found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* and the *Gṛhya Sūtras* where sets of five, seven, and four quarters are mentioned.[2] From this we can understand the purpose of the ritual. Guardian deities of the several quarters are invoked to give their blessings and for the destruction of the enemies. Sigāla's ritual is called the covering or the closing *(paṭicchādana)* of the quarters. One could surmise that the purpose was the same as in the Vedic rituals. When the six gates are closed the man within is safe and secure.

The Buddhist re-interpretation of the ritual replaces the worship of the guardian deities representing the six quarters with the performance of duties in their respective capacities as i. children, ii. pupils, iii. husband or parents, iv. friends and associates, v. master or employer and vi. religious devotee, towards i. parents, ii. teachers, iii. wife and children iv. friends and associates, v. servants and workers vi. priests and recluses respectively, who are six social groups very intimately connected with the personal life of any individual in society. These six groups, representing the east, the south, the west, the north, the nadir and the zenith respectively, have to show their compassion towards the person who has fulfilled one's duties by them, by fulfilling their obligations to him. In this manner is maintained social harmony leading to wellbeing and prosperity. It would remove any causes for social disruptions or upheavals, ensuring security of all the members of the society. What was expected

from the ritual worship is here ensured by a sort of 'ritual of interpersonal duties'.

Following are the mutual duties as enumerated in the discourse:

From a child to parents:

1. To support them who supported him before
2. To perform duties incumbent on them
3. To keep up the lineage and tradition of the family
4. To make oneself worthy of one's inheritance
5. To dedicate gifs on their behalf once they are dead and gone

From parents to a child:

1. To restrain him from vice
2. To exhort him to virtue
3. To train him in a profession
4. To contract a suitable marriage for him
5. To hand over his inheritance in due time

From pupils to teachers:

1. To rise from their seat in respect
2. To wait upon them
3. Eagerness to learn
4. Personal service
5. To pay attention when receiving teachings

From teachers to pupils:

1. Being well-trained they train them well
2. To make them hold fast to that which is well held
3. To thoroughly instruct them in every art
4. To speak well of them among his friends and companions
5. To provide for their safety in every quarter

From husband to wife:

1. To respect her
2. To be courteous
3. To be faithful
4. To hand over authority
5. To provide her with adornments

From wife to husband:

1. To perform her duties well
2. To be hospitable to the kin of both
3. To be faithful
4. To watch over the goods he brings
5. To be skilful and industrious in discharging all her business

From friend to friend:
1. By protecting him when he is off his guard
2. By guarding his property on such occasions
3. By becoming a refuge in danger
4. By not forsaking in his troubles
5. By showing consideration for his family.

From master to servants and workers:

1. To assign work according to their strength
2. To supply them with food and wages
3. To tend them in sickness
4. To share unusual delicacies with them
5. To relieve them from duty at the proper time

From servants and workers to master

1. To rise before him
2. To lie down to rest after him
3. To be content with what is given
4. To do their work well
5. To carry about their praise and good fame.

From devotee to the religieux:

1,2,3. By loving deeds, words and thought
4. By keeping open the house to them
5. By providing them with their temporal needs

From the religieux to the devotees:

1. To restrain them from evil
2. To exhort them to good
3. To show compassion with kind thoughts
4. To teach them what they had not heard
5. To correct what they had heard
6. To reveal the path to heaven

By the performance of one's duties to these six groups by a layman, and their reciprocation by the performance of their own duties by him, the six

quarters representing the six groups are said to be closed or protected. In other words by closing the gates on each of the six directions the layman prevents any form of danger to reach him. Being protected on all sides he is safe and secure at the centre.

It is quite significant here that the six social groups who reciprocate the performance of duties by the layman is said to show compassion *(anukampati)* to him. On the other hand the act of performing his duties by the six groups is termed a form of worship *(etā disā namasseyya)*. These two reciprocal acts, worship and showing of compassion also represent the mutual relation between the devotee and the deities. In the religious context of Sri Lanka what the worshipper of a deity expects is the latter's compassion *(anukampā* or *karunā*. Thus the six groups replacing the six guardian deities are converted into a group of demi-gods. (s.v. Ritual, on Buddhist interpretation of the three sacred fires of brahamins).

In the *Sigālovāda Sutta* the closing of the six quarters comes as the consummation of the discourse. All what precedes could therefore be taken as the preliminaries leading to the final 'ritual'. Sigāla, before worshipping the quarters had a cleansing bath, may be in a river. Still with wet hair and clothes he performed the ritual. It was the usual custom of brahamins to perform some simple ritual like this after the morning bath. What the discourse expects a noble disciple to do first of all is to abstain from the four defiling acts. They are the first four evil acts restrained by the first four precepts of the *pañca sīla*. The use of the term *kilesa*, 'defilements' here is significant. The ritual bathing of brahamins, especially at sacred bathing fords, was meant not merely for the purification of the body. They expected to wash away their sins too by it *(S.* I, 182 f). In the *Vatthūpama Sutta (M.* I, 39) the Buddha says that if a person abstains from killing, theft, adultery and lying, he is clean and there is no need for him to bathe in sacred bathing fords. Washing away physical impurities could be done even by bathing from a well. Thus it is clear that bathing in Sigāla's ritual is replaced by the abstention from the four defiling acts. It is emphasized further by the admonition to refrain from evil acts done under the four motivating factors viz partiality *(chanda)*, hate *(dosa)* fear *(bhaya)* and stupidity *(moha)*. This is applicable to both domestic and social life of a person. These eight abstentions ensures and strengthen the purity of an individual's moral life and personal integrity in interpersonal relations.

In all rituals, especially so in Brahmanical rituals, there are certain tabus to be observed by the performers and the officiating priests. The *Gṛhya Sūtras* quite explicitly present these tabus in their codes of rules for various rituals[3]. The priests officiating at a sacrifice should be neither deficient in limbs, nor possess superfluous limbs. They should be young and should not eat flesh or have intercourse with a wife until the completion of the sacrifice, says the *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtras*[4]. The *Pārskara Gṛhya Sūtra*[5] says that after a Samāvartana ceremony the performer should not eat flesh for three nights, nor shall he drink out of a clay pot. He should avoid seeing women, Śudras, dead bodies, black birds and dogs. He should also not speak to such persons, eat funeral food, or food of a Śudra, or women during her impurity. These examples from *Gṛhya Sūtras* could be supplemented by certain examples from the *Pāli Nikāya* texts. The instance of a brahamin performing a sacrifice in his house trying to keep the Buddha, as a shaveling, out of the sacrificial grounds, is an excellent example for this *(Sn.* p.21). The *Kūṭadanta Sutta D.* I, 137f) gives the qualities that should be possessed by the performing king and the officiating priest of a sacrifice. These examples show that the idea was quite well known in India at the time of the Buddha.

In the *Sigālovāda Sutta* these tabus that could be seen in a Brahmanical ritual are replaced by the avoidance of the six channels for dissipation of wealth *(bhogānamapāya-mukhāni)*. Of course, in the Buddhist discourse, these six 'tabus' are meant to strengthen the economic basis of a layman's life. Without this economic strength he would not be able to fulfill his duties by the six social groups nor will he be able to ensure his own well-being. These six channels are (i) addiction to intoxicating liquors, (ii) frequenting streets at unseemly hours (iii) haunting fairs (iv) being infatuated by gambling (v) association of evil companions, and (vi) idleness. The discourse goes on to detail the dangers and perils of these six channels and how they lead to the weakening of one's economic base as well as one's status in society. In what seems to be a later addition, because it is not given in the gist of the subject matter given at the commencement, the discourse enumerates four persons who should be reckoned as foes in the likeness of friends, viz

rapacious persons, a man of words and not deeds, the flatterer and fellow waster. It goes on to name four persons who should be reckoned as friends with a sound heart (*suhadā*), viz the helper, one who is the same in happiness and adversity, the friend of good counsel, and the friend who sympathizes. All in all while the evil persons disguised as friends course decline both materially as well as spiritually the four true friends act for one's progress both materially and spiritually.

Taken as a whole one could see that Buddhists have converted a Brahmanical ritual, which places its trust in the compassion and assistance of guardian deities of the six quarters to secure safety and prosperity of their worshippers, being replaced with a more practical and down to earth course of action to achieve the same expectations of a householder. In the first place he has to secure one's personal ethical and social integrity by abstaining from four common evil actions and avoiding evil actions through the four motivating factors. Secondly he has to maintain the strength of his economic basis by avoiding six channels for dissipating wealth. The discourse has apparently taken for granted that the wealth possessed by such a person is righteously gotten. It does not try to detail the manner in which such wealth is gained for such instructions are given elsewhere.[6] In the present discourse only the accomplishment of protecting one's righteously gotten wealth (*ārakkhasampadā*) and the usefulness of noble friends (*kalyāṇamittatā*) are explicitly discussed. However the other two accomplishments, industry (*uṭṭhānasampadā*) and a balanced life (*samajīvitatā*) are also implicit in the discussions. It is with the righteously gained wealth, gotten through the strength of one's arms, sweat of the brow, through righteous means, that one is expected to fulfill one's duties by others such as parents, wife and children etc. Hence here too it is quite apt that the 'closing of the six quarters' comes after the discussion on the sections on factors for dissipation of wealth and on evil and noble friends.

The inter personal relations between the home dweller and the six social groups presented through the mutual duties is the final aim of the discourse. It is the most important part of the discourse replacing Sigāla's act of worship. Through the proper accomplishment of these relations the security and the integrity of society can be ensured. The importance of these relations can be clearly demonstrated in the words of Rhys Davids: "Happy would have been the village or the clan on the banks of the Ganges, where the people were full of the kindly spirit of fellow-feeling, the noble spirit of justice which breathes through these naive and simple sayings". Mrs. Rhys Davids adds, "Not less happy would be the village, or the family on the banks of the Thames to-day of which this could be said",[7] stressing the importance of the discourse in the modern western context.

There are two other points quite closely connected that have to be stated about this discourse. The *Sigālovāda Sutta* meant especially for home dwellers, does not anywhere mention the Nibbānic ideal of Buddhism. In fact it states, "he thus, avoiding these fourteen evil things, is a coverer of the six quarters; he has practised so as to conquer both worlds; he tastes success both in this world and in the next. At the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn to a happy destiny in heaven" (*Dialogues*, III, p. 1 74). Further more in the discourse the sixth duty of the religieux is to reveal the path to heaven and not the path to Nibbāna. Thus Nibbāna is not the envisaged ideal.

This ideal emphasized in the discourse was one common to all religions of India which believed in a life after death. It may have been a lower ideal than their final goal of total emancipation. However, it was there in all such religions including Buddhism. The discourse does not in any place mention taking refuge in the Buddha yet it states that it is the course of life that a disciple of the Buddha (*ariyasāvaka*) follows. Then it is quite possible that Buddhists have left it open for any one, to whatever religious persuasion he or she may belong, to follow at will. Above we saw Mrs. Rhys David's views about its applicability to British Christians on the banks of the Thames. Then the discourse quite obviously presents a course of religio-social ethics cutting across all forms of religious beliefs. The ideal of the victory in both worlds admirably suits such a universal ethic.

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References

[1] Whitney, Lanman translation, Havard Oriental Series 7, p. 131 f.

[2] *Dialogus of the Buddha* Pt. III p. 170

[3] s.v Rites and Ceremonies

[4] *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, SBE* XXIX p. 93

[5] *SBE* XXIX p. 318

[6] *A.* IV,281, 286, 322

[7] *Dialogues of the Buddha ibid.* p. 169.

SĪHALA SAṄGHA. The Pāli term Sīhala (Sanskrit and modern Sinhalese (Siṃhala) is the name designating the majority ethnic group occupying the island of Sri Lanka in the Indian Ocean. The *Mahavamsa*, the Pāli chronicle of the Sinhalese, gives the story of the legendary origin of the Siṃhala people and why they came to be thus designated (*Mhv.* 7.44). As the country of the Siṃhala people the island of Sri Lanka also came to be designated Sihaladīpa or Siṃhaladīpa (*DA.* 1.1.) from ancient times, both among the Sri Lankans as well as among foreigners. Buddhism was introduced to the island by a group of missionary monks led by Arahant Mahinda in the 3rd century B.C. The Pali *Tipiṭaka* and the Theravāda commentarial tradition were also introduced by the same monks. Soon a community of monks and nuns, who devoted their lives to the study of the Dhamma enshrined in the Pali scriptures according to the Theravāda commentarial tradition, and the practise of the Dhamma, grew up. While the scriptures were handed down to posterity by them in their original Pali, a series of commentaries grew up in the native language designated in Pali as Sīhala-bhāsā or Dīpa-bhāsā by the commentators. These were also however translated into Pali by a group of erudite monks, the best known among whom were from India. The translation of the Sīhala commentaries must have encouraged the study of Pali among the Sinhala monks and facilitated the study of Pali scriptures in foreign countries. Soon Pali became the *lingua franca* of the Theravāda world. Thus among foreign Buddhists Sri Lankan Buddhist Saṅgha came to be designated as the Sīhala Saṅgha.

After the establishment of Buddhism is Sri Lanka the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura became its first monastic centre. The community of monks and nuns gradually expanded throughout the island. Subsequently, however, dissensions in the Saṅgha divided them into three main sects. The Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri vihāra and the Jatavana vihāra in Sri Lanka came to be recognized as the three sub-schools of the Theravāda School. They had formed close links with communities of the Saṅgha in foreign lands and there are records of communities of Sīhala monks having establishments in some of these countries. Sri Lankan Buddhist monks, fighting against numerous odds, went on pilgrimage to sacred places in India, especially Bodh Gayā. They even established their monastic centres in some Indian cities and even in some other countries like Jāva. There has been a monastic centre serving as a residence of Sri Lankan monks at Bodh Gayā from very ancient times. Hsuen-tsang[1] in his travels, records that a king of Siṃhala built the Mahā Bodhi Saṅghārāma for the convenience of monks from Sri Lanka visiting the sacred place. It was outside the northern wall of the Bodhi tree. At the time of his visit there were, in this Saṅghārāma, more than a thousand monks belonging to the Sthavira School but studying the great vehicle. There was also an inscription of dedication set up by the king. Therefore this monastery must have had many Sīhala monks from Sri Lanka residing in it.

According to Taranatha[2] a group of Saindhava and Siṃhala monks once burnt a large number of Tantric treatises found at the temple of the Vajrāsana i.e. the Diamond Throne of the Buddha at Bodh Gayā and smashed up a large silver image of Heruka in the temple. They called these works of Māra and tried to convince pilgrims from Bangala that Mahāyāna was only a source of livelihood for those who follow the false views. They were asked to keep away from the so-called preachers of the True Doctrine'. When king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty came to know this he tried to punish the monks involved but was prevented by the teacher named Buddhajñānapāda. Ranaweera Gunawardhana[3] also cites evidence from another work of Tārānātha to confirm this. Here it is stated the king got a large number of Siṃhala monks executed for this act. But the Saindhava monks were saved by the compassion of the teacher who persuaded the king to desist from punishing them. Gunawardhana also cites evidence from Chinese sources and inscriptions for the presence of Siṃhala monks in Bodh Gayā. He surmises that the Saindhava monks referred to were Sammitiya monks from Sind. As they were also Hinayānists they must have worked in collaboration

with Simhala monks against Tantrayāna and Mahāyana. Gunawardhana[4] also shows that an inscription of the 12[th] century of King Laksmana Sena states that the management of certain grants to the chief shrine at Bodh Gayā made by him was handed over to the chief of the Simhala Saṅgha living there. A Tibetan monk named Dharmaswamin who came to Bodh Gayā between 1234 and 1236 saw there about three hundred Simhala monks. They were in charge of the main shrine and only they had the right to sleep within the sacred premises. We also can note here that, according to the Sri Lankan Pali chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* (xxxvii. v. 251f), the commentator Buddhaghosa was born at Bodh Gayā (Bodhimanda). He was converted and ordained by a monk named Revata probably a Sri Lankan. After his thorough education and training under the teacher he was dispatched to Sri Lanka to translate the Sihala commentaries into Pali.

A Parakrit inscription[5], datable in the 3[rd] century A.C., from Nagarjunakonda in East India, refers to the shrine house of the Bodhi tree at the Sihala Vihāra. It shows that a group of Sīhala monks was resident in this mainly Mahāsanghika stronghold in India. The same inscription refers to a group of Theriya monks of Tambapanni who had gladdened the people of several states in India and outside as Gandhāra, Kasmira Cina, Avaramta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsa, Yavana, Damila and Tambapannidipa. Whether these Tambapanni Theriya monks were Sihala monks living in the afore mentioned Sihala Vihāra is not clear. Yet since in the list of countries gladdened by them is included the name Tambapannidipa which may be a reference to the island of Sri Lanka, it is possible that they were not Simhala monks from Sri Lanka. Anyhow the reference to a Pali commentary called *Andhakaṭṭhakathā* by Buddhaghosa[6] shows that the "Theravādin monks of Andhra Nagarjunakoṇda in Andhra had ventured into the task of composing a commentary even before the time of Buddhaghosa. Probably these had close relations with Sri Lankan Sihala monks who had a base in that region.

An 8[th] century A.C. Sanskrit inscription from the Ratubaka plateau in central Java refers to the construction of an Abayagiri Vihāra for the Simhala monks[7]. This shows that the Buddhists of Java were well aware of the Abayagiri Vihara and the sect of Sri Lanka. Most probably there was a community of Simhala Buddhist monks belonging to this sect in Java.

These instances show that monks of both the Mahavihāra and Abhayagiri Vihāra had established centers in various parts of India and also various other Buddhist countries in south East Asia.

Thus the designation Sihala Saṅgha or Simhala Saṅgha could have been very well known among Indian and other Buddhist communities outside India from very early times. Yet we do not have much evidence for its use in the island itself. But in a work named *Sīmālaṅkāra*[8], by one Sīhala teacher named Vācissara of the Polonnaru period, we have evidence of some pride of their national or ethnic identity shown by Sihala monks. In his work this Buddhist monk is attempting to re-establish the veracity of the view points of Sihala monks criticized by certain Cholian authors of South India. He claims, in the work, to have proved the correctness of the Sīhala view. Those who have a good knowledge of the rules of discipline and wish for the perpetuation of the religion, says he, should accept the views of the Sihala monks which accord with the canonical and commentarial view. They should definitely reject the views of the Cholians which are against them (i.e. the canonical and commentarial views) and therefore false. But from the 12[th] century onwards the term Sīhala Saṅgha became quite popular, especially in South East Asia, with the official establishment of the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) of the Sihala tradition in Burma and later in Thailand and Cambodia.

Theravāda Buddhism, using Pali as its scriptural language, has been in existence in Burma from at least the 5[th] century A.C.[9] Some Burmese sources claim that the commentator Buddhaghosa was a native of Lower Burma who came to Sri Lanka to translate the Sihala commentaries into Pali. After completion of his work he is said to have taken copies of his work to Burma. However this information, not recorded in the Kalyāni inscription of Pegu which records all the accepted milestones of the history of Buddhism in Burma, is not regarded as a proven fact of history by many scholars. We do not have much evidence for a close association of Burmese and Sri Lankan Saṅghas prior to the 11[th] century A.C. Vijayabāhu I of Sri Lanka, who had, before becoming king, sought the assistance of king Anuruddha (Anawratha) in his struggle of liberation from Chola rule (*Mhv.* 58.8-10), is said to have got down from Burma (Rāmañña) a group of monks to restore the higher ordination

(*upasampadā*) in Sri Lanka (*Mhv.* 60.4-8). Even here some scholars think that these monks who came from Burma were Sihala monks who had taken refuge in Burma during the Chola occupation of the country[10]. If these monks were actually Sri Lankans then it proves that the religious relations between the two countries had advanced considerably during the period.

However the religious relations between the two countries reached a significant milestone in the reign of Parakramabahu I. A prominent elder from Pagan, the primate Uttarajiva, visited the island (1170-71) on pilgrimage with a group of pupils including a novice named Chapata during this period. Chapata received the higher ordination in Sri Lanka by a chapter consisting of monks from both countries which was an undoubted recognition that they both belonged to the same lineage. After completing his pilgrimage Uttarajīva and party left for Burma leaving the new monk Chapata behind for education. In Burma Uttarajīva was honoured as the First Pilgrim to Sri Lanka. After a thorough grounding in the Buddhist texts and the Sīhala tradition Chapata left for Burma as a fully trained member of the Sihala Saṅgha in 1181. In Burma he was received with honour as the Second Pilgrim to Sri Lanka.

But Chapata did not go to Burma alone. He thought that his teacher Uttarajīva would have passed away by then and that he would be out of place among the Burmese Saṅgha. He persuaded four elders (*theras*) to accompany him so that he could perform ecclesiastical acts separately and form a new fraternity of the Saṅgha. Significantly of the four members of the Sīhala Saṅgha that accompanied Chapata only one was an ethnic Sihala. The other three were foreign monks, ordained in Sri Lanka. They were Sivali Thera from Tāmalitti in India, Tāmalinda Thera, a native of Cambodia and Ananda Thera from Kañcipura or Conjeevaram. The only native of Sri Lanka was named Rāhula Thera. This shows that the Sīhala Saṅgha had outgrown its national or ethnic bounds and become truly international.

In Burma, this chapter of Sihala monks led by Chapata, with the patronage of king Narapatisithu, started to perform ecclesiastical acts without joining the Burmese Saṅgha. The king got a *sīmā* house constructed by bringing together many boats on the Irrawady River and requested them to confer the higher ordination on those who were willing to join them. According to the Kalyāni inscription this took place in 1181. This was the first occasion when an officially recognized Sīhala Saṅgha was established in Burma[11].

The Sīhala Saṅgha in Burma did not remain united for long. After the demise of Chapata dissensions started to appear in the fraternity. Rahula Thera left Burma and went to Malaya due to, it is said, of an affair he had with a dancing girl. The other three theras parted company due to disagreements on certain minor matters of discipline. This divided the Sihala Saṅgha into three branches. At the time of the establishment of the Sihala Saṅgha, the community of monks initiated by Shin Arahan from Lower Burma was already in existence. It came to be also called the *Purima Gaṇa* or the "Former Group" while the Sihala Saṅgha established later was called the *Paccha Gaṇa* or the "Latter Group"[12]. But these divisions may have promoted competition among the monks of different groups which would have in turn led to a rapid expansion of the Sīhala Saṅgha.

The Sīhala Saṅgha was soon introduced to Lower Burma in the reign of Narapatisithu himself. The leader of this introduction was an elder named Sariputta, a native of Padippajeyya near Rangoon. He had received his ordination in Pagan from Ven. Ananda of the Sīhala Saṅgha. Historical sources confirm that he had been decorated by the king with the title Dhammavilāsa. At the request of the king he went to Rāmañña to purify the religion there and, with royal patronage, popularized the Sīhala tradition in the region[13]. The older fraternity was also called the Ariyārahanta Saṅgha, may be after Arahants Sona and Uttara who, according to tradition, introduced Buddhism in the reign of Dharmasoka, in India. The establishment of the Sihala Saṅgha seems to have given a great impetus to scholastic activities in Burma. There was a phenomenal growth in the production of religious works in Pāli.[14]

Meanwhile the contacts between the monks of Burma and Sri Lanka also started to increase. Many elders from Burma, wishing to obtain the Mahāvihāra ordination of the Sihala Saṅgha, started to travel to Sri Lanka. According to the Kalyani inscription and the *Sāsanavamsa*, two Mahā theras of Martaban named Buddhavamsa and Mahāsami, better known as Mahānāga, had proceeded to Sri Lanka and obtained

the Mahāvihāra higher ordination. After returning home the two parted company and established two separate branches of the Sīhala Saṅgha in Martaban. It is not clear whether these two proceeded to Sri Lanka together. The formation of separate communities of the Saṅgha after coming back to Burma shows that they were acting independently. If so there is no reason to believe, as suggested by Hazra, that they were separated after coming back from Sri Lanka and that on some problem of monastic discipline. In addition to these two Sīhala Saṅgha fraternities there were the three established by followers of the Maha theras Ānanda, Sivali and Tāmalinda of the original Sīhala Saṅgha. Thus with these five there came to be altogether six sects in Lower Burma, the sixth being the Ariyārahanta sect, mentioned above, which was also known for some reason as Kamboja or the Korm fraternity.[15]

The reign of the king Dhammaceti marked the final triumph of the Sīhala Saṅgha in Burma. When he became king Dhammaceti found the religion in the country in the most deplorable condition. The Saṅgha was divided into at least six sects and the education of the monks was at a low ebb. The king could not find a single monk who could perform the ecclesiastical acts according to proper Vinaya rules. He even started to doubt the validity of the higher ordination conferred by them, and, therefore, conceived a great desire to reform and unify the Saṅgha. As he had firm faith in Sīhala orthodoxy he decided to send a religious mission to Sri Lanka to obtain the valid higher ordination held by the Mahāvihāra monks and reestablish it in Burma within a *Sīmā* legally demarcated.

The mission to Sri Lanka comprising twenty-two monks and twenty-two novices in two ships were led by the two elders Moggallāna and Mahāsivalī. They arrived in the island in February-March 1476 A.C. A chapter of twenty four Mahatheras led by the Vidāgama Mahāthera conferred the higher ordination of them in a *Sīmā* constructed on rafts moored in the Kelani river. Titles were also conferred on the twenty-two monks who received re-ordination. When these monks returned to Pegu a new *Sīmā* was established near Pegu. The king named it the Kalyani *Sīmā* to commemorate the *Sīmā* on the Kelani river in Sri Lanka. Ven. Suvannasobhana who has received his ordination in Sri Lanka earlier acted as the preceptor when the Burmese monks received re-ordination at the new *Sīmā*. 15,666 monks including some 800 leading *theras* received the higher ordination of the Sīhala tradition at the new *Sīmā* during the 1476-1479 period. Gradually this valid ordination was established allover Burma unifying the divided Saṅgha and reviving the sagging religion. This could be called the ultimate triumph of the Sīhala Saṅgha in Burma.[16]

Sīhala Saṅgha in Thailand

Theravāda Buddhism has been prevalent under the Dvāravatī rulers in the lower Menam valley from at least the 6th century A.C. Certain archaeological evidence show that they also had some contacts with Sri Lanka during this period. But as also shown by epigraphical evidence from old Proem in Lower Burma, The Theravāda Buddhism in Dvaravatī also seems to have been influenced by eastern or southern Indian centers rather than by Sri Lanka. When the Lower Menam Valley was annexed by the Khmers in the 11th century, the region also came under the influence of Mahayana and Brahmanism. An inscription of Suryavarman I of Cambodia found at Lobpuri shows that all these three religions were extant in the region. However Coedès believed that even under Khmer rule Buddhism remained predominant.[17]

According to the Pāli chronicle *Jinakālamāli*[18] of Thailand, a princess of Lavo, (Lobpuru) in the lower Menam Valley, went to Haripunjaya in the upper Menam valley on invitation and became its ruler. This was about 663 A.C. or 1206 years after the demise of the Buddha. Five hundred erudite monks well versed in the Tipiṭaka accompanied her. She is called Cammādevi or Camādevi. This legendary episode is regarded as the official introduction of Theravāda Buddhism to North Thailand.[19]

The first ever-recorded instance of contact between Thai and Sri Lankan Buddhists was in the second half of the 13th century. A king named Rocarāja, in the *Jinakalamāli*, of the Sukhodaya kingdom is said to have, along with the king of Siridhammanagara (Nakon Srithammarath), requested for, and received from the king of Sri Lanka a miraculous image of the Buddha that was in that country. This image which became very popular in Thailand and even in neighboring countries, was known as Phra Sihim or the Sīhala-Paṭimā. It became the bone of contention among various rulers of the country at the period

There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the identity of Rocaraja. Some think he was Sri Indrāditya, the founder of Sukhodaya and others take him to be Rām Khamheng, the greatest ruler of Sukhodaya.[20]

However, the first ever-recorded instance of a Thai monk receiving ordination, or rather re-ordination, according to the Sīhala tradition, is found mentioned in a number of chronicles like the *Jinakalamali* and the *Mūlasāsana*. According to the former work[21], a Thai monk named Sumana from Sukhodaya, who had his education at Ayojjapura (Ayodhya or Ayuthia) heard of a Sīhala monk named Udumbara Mahāsāmi living in Rāmaññadesa, i.e. Lower Burma. He went to him with a friend and received re-ordination from him. At the time the two of them were with the Mahāsāmi, the king of Sukhodaya Dhammaraja, identified as Lodaiya or Lothai (1317-1347 A.C.), requested him to send a monk who could perform all ecclesiastical acts of the Saṅgha. The Mahāsāmi complied by sending Ven. Sumana to Sukhodaya. The *Mūlasāsana*[22] helps us with more details. The friend of Sumana who accompanied him is named Anomadassi and both of them were pupils of the Saṅgharāja of Sukhodaya and had mastered the *Tipiṭaka* at Ayuthia. The Sri Lankan thera is named Udumbarapuppha Mahāsāmi. After re-ordination the two monks stayed with their preceptor for five years before they were sent back to Sukhodaya with instructions to comeback in five years. They went back to Martaban in 1341 or 1342 with eight other monks who also received re-ordination. The two senior monks received release from the obligation to live dependent on the preceptor (*nisamutti*) and the title Mahāthera. Having stayed there for three more months they left for Sukhodaya. There, Sumana took up residence in the Ambarukkhārāma monastery at Sukhodaya and Anomadassi took up abode at the Rattavana Mahāvihāra at Sajjanālaya. These two Mahātheras and the eight juniors popularized the Sīhala tradition at Sukhodaya and various other cities throughout the country.

Hazra[23] calls this work of Sumana the introduction of the Sīhala Saṅgha to Thailand. However one cannot be sure whether this could be called a proper establishment of the Sīhala Saṅgha in that country unless Sumana performed the ecclesiastical act of higher ordination (*upasampadā saṅghakamma*) with the other monks also had received re-ordination from Udumbara Mahāsāmi. But we do not get any information either from the *Jinakālamali* or the *Mulasāsana* to prove this. However we know that Sumana introduced the Sihala tradition to North Thailand in 1369 A.C. He was invited to the North by king Kilana of Nabbisipura (Xieng Mai or Chieng Mai) on the instructions of one Ven. Ananda. He was also a Thai monk re-ordained by Udumbara Mahāsāmi and sent to North Thailand by Udumbara Mahāsāmi at the request of the king who also wished for a monk who could perform all ecclesiastical acts. However, for some reason, he advised the king to seek the assistance of Ven. Sumana for this purpose. Perhaps he was not very sure of his capability or suitability for the task.[24]

Who was Udumbara Mahāsāmi?

Various scholars have expressed different opinions about the identity of Udumbara Mahāsāmi who was greatly instrumental in the introduction of the Sihala tradition to Thailand by sending there monks ordained by him. As Hazra[25] has quite rightly ventured to suggest, the name Udumbara was probably not the personal name of the prelate. Udumbaragiri, or Dimbulāgala in Sinhala, is even today a well known forest hermitage in Sri Lanka. During the Polonnaru period the chief prelate of this monastery, Mahā Kasyapa by name, played the leading role in the purification and the unification of the Sri Lankan Buddhist order of monks undertaken by the great king Parakramabahu I (*Mhv*. 78. 6, 16 etc.). Since this period monks of the lineage of Mahā Kaśyapa played important roles in the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka as representatives of the fraternity of forest dwelling monks. Their fame had spread to S. East Asian countries and leaders of these countries; both monks and kings often sought the assistance of these Sri Lankan monks to upgrade the conditions of Buddhism in their countries.

At the request of Parakramabahu I, Mahā Kaśyapa drew up a special code of conduct (*katikāvata*) for the Saṅgha.[26] Later, in the reign of Vathimi Vijayabāhu or Vijayabāhu III a fresh Katikāvata was drawn up by the Elders of the Village dwelling and forest dwelling fraternities led by Saṅgharakshita Mahāsāmi and Medhaṅkara Mahāsthavira of the Village-dwelling fraternity and the Mahāsthavira Medhaṅkara of Udumbaragiri, head of the forest-dwelling monks. A

third code was promulgated in the reign of Parakramabahu II (1236-1271 A.C.) by the monks of the two fraternities led by the Āraṇyaka Medhaṅkara Mahāsāmi, the pupil of the great thera Vanaratana Buddhavaṃsa. This Medhaṅkara Mahāsāmi was probably the same as the Mahāsthavira Medhaṅkara of the forest-dwelling fraternity mentioned earlier, but now raised to the position of Mahāsāmi at the demise of the Sangharakshita Mahāsāmi.[27] This code was promulgated in 1266 A.C. in the thirtieth regnal year of Parakramabahu II.[28]

Scholars like Prof. S. Paranavitana have identified Udumbara Mahāsāmi, who re-ordained Ven. Sumana from Sukhodaya, with the author of the *Lokappadīpakasāra*.[29] According to the colophon of this work it was written by the Saṅgharaja known as the Mahāthera Medhaṅkara, belonging to the lineage of the forest-dwelling Mahātheras of Sīhaladīpa. During this period he was dwelling in the golden monastery, built by the mother of the king of the city of Siriratana Uttama (Muttima? Martaban?), the 'lord of white elephants' (Setibinda). However at the very end of the colophon the author calls himself the Saṅgharaja, the teacher of king Dayārāja (*Mahāsaṅgharajenadaya-rajassa gurunā racitaṃ*).[30] This Dayaraja must undoubtedly be king Lideyya or Luthai of Sukhodaya who came to the throne in 1347 A.C.

Two inscriptions[31] of this king, also known as Śri Suriyavaṃsa Rāma Mahādhammarajādhirāja, one in Khmer and the other in Thai, refer to the invitation sent by him to Mahāsāmi Saṅgharaja of Sri Lanka, his arrival in Sukhodaya and installation at the Ambavanāramaya and the ordination of the king. However owing to protests made by the people the king decided to resume kingship on the advice of the prelate. But unfortunately the inscriptions do not mention the personal name of the prelate. Probably it was the custom in Thailand not to mention the personal names of prelates as also of kings. Yet scholars have identified him with the SaṅgharajaMedhankara, the author of the *Lokappadīpakasāra* and Udumbara Mahāsāmi who came to Thailand from Martaban.

Some scholars have suggested that Udumbara Mahāsāmi was a native of Burma who had received re-ordination in Sri Lanka and returned to his native country. They have shown that the kings of Sri Lanka used to confer titles like Sāmi or Mahāsāmi on prelates from foreign countries. But as pointed out by Hazra[32] the title Mahāsāmi was quite well known in Sri Lanka and historical records speak of many Sinhala prelates who held that title. Another scholar, may be basing on Thai sources, has shown that Udumbarapuppha Mahāsāmi (it was another form of the name Udumbara Mahāsāmi) referred to in the *Mūlasāsana* was a Sinhalese monk named Anumati, the disciple of the Mahathera Kāśyapa, the Saṅgharāja of the Udumbara Arañña fraternity of Ceylon. This elder Anumati came to Martaban in 1331 A.C. with twelve monks who went to Ceylon to receive ordination and to study religious texts at Udumbaragiri Vihāra. He established the Araññavāsi Sīhala bhikkhu Saṅgha in Martaban, and gave his full support for the development of Theravāda Buddhism there. The king and the people fully appreciated his work and the king conferred on him the title Udumbarapuppha Mahāsāmi.[33]

Mahākaśyapa Mahāthera of Udumbaragiri lived in the reign of Parakramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C). According to the above statement Anumati arrived in Martaban in 1331, nearly one and half centuries after the death of that king. One cannot accept the statement that he was a direct disciple of Mahākaśyapa. But he could have been a member of the same lineage. Moreover Mahākaśyapa Mahāthera was never known as a Saṅgharāja in Sri Lanka. But it could be a Thai rendering of a Sīhala name. In that case it should be an alternative name of Medhankara which definitely was a well-known name used by Sihala monks.

But then who was this Medhaṅkara, author of the *Lokappadīpasāra* identified with Udumbara Mahāsami? Was he the Medhaṅkara Mahāsāmi, pupil of Vanaratana Buddhavaṃsa, who played the main role in drafting the code of rules of conduct known as the Dambadeni Katikāvata in the reign of Parakramabahu II (1236-1270 A.C.)? Probably this Mahāsāmi was the chief (Mahasthavira) of the forest-dwelling fraternity in the preceding reign, i.e. 1232-1236. So, according to the regulations of the above code, he should have been more than forty years of age at the time. Later, between 1236-1270 he was raised to the position of Mahāsāmi and was holding that post in 1266 when the Dambadeni Katikāvata was promulgated. He must have been at least seventy years of age at the time.

Medhankara, the author of *Lokappadīpakasāra* went to Sukhodaya in 1347. If he was the same as the Mahāsāmi Madhaṅkara of the Dambadeni Katikāvata he should have been at least one hundred and fifty years at the time, a humanly impossible thing. Therefore it is certain that Udumbara Mahāsāmi, if he was the author of the *Lokappadīpakasāra*, was not the Mahāsāmi Medhaṅkara of the Dambadeni Katikāvata. Moreover the author of this work calls himself Mahāthera and not Mahāsāmi. Had he been a Mahāsāmi from Sri Lanka be would not have been so modest as to call himself by a lesser title. Therefore it is quite probable that the author of this work was a much younger Madhaṅkara belonging to the forest dwelling fraternity of Sri Lanka.

Close relations between Srī Lanka and Thailand continued after the establishment of the kingdom of Ayuthia in the middle of the 14[th] century A.C. Kings of Ayuthia patronized the Buddhism of the Sihala tradition. For instance Boromarāja built a monastery named Lankārāma at Ayuthia for Thai monks. One Dhammakitti thera, the author of the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, stayed in the monastery. He had gone to Sri Lanka, obtained the higher ordination and studied under Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi of Gaḍaladeni before retuning to Thailand.

It was in the reign of Parakramabahu VI of Kotte that a group of thirty nine monks from Chieng Mai, Cambodia and Ramañña received higher ordination from a chapter led by the Saṅgharaja Vanaratana at Kelaniya in Sri Lanka. The ceremony was conducted in 1423 in a *Sīmā* on rafts joined together at the Yāpāpaṭṭhana on the Kelani River. The group consisted of twenty-five monks from Chieng Mai, eight from Cambodia and six Mon monks from Rāmañña. After the ordination the monks went on pilgrimage to worship the Tooth relic, the Sacred Foot Print of the Buddha and the other fifteen holy shrines in Sri Lanka. When they returned home they took with them two senior elders named Mahāvikkamabāhu and Mahāuttamapañña, probably to act as preceptors, and also some relics of the Buddha. They were received with great honour by the king of Ayuthia and the higher ordination was first conferred by them on two Mahātheras named Sudhammakovida and Silavisuddhi. From there they toured the whole of Thailand conferring higher ordination on Thai monks at various important centers such as Sajjanālaya, Sukhodaya, Haripuñjaya and Nabbisipura (Chieng Mai). This can be regarded as the final establishment of the Sihala Saṅgha in Thailand.[34]

Sihala Saṅgha in Cambodia and Laos.

Cambodia and Laos were the other two south East Asian countries which must have come under the influence of the Sihala monastic tradition. But their relations with Sri Lanka are not so clear as in the case of Burma and Thailand. Cambodia was a Hindu and Mahāyāna country prior to its conversion to Theravāda. The reign of Jayavarman VII (1181-1218 A.C.) marks a significant era in the history of Buddhism, in that country. The king and his family were followers of Mahāyāna. Many inscriptions left by him in Cambodia and in neighboring regions annexed by him and his predecessors, to the Khmer empire witness to the great importance the king has given to Mahāyāna and also his services to his people probably under the influence of Mahāyāna principles.[35]

References to relations between Sri Lanka and Cambodia surface in the 12[th] century in the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A.C). The *Culavamsa* (LXXVI vv. 19ff) gives an account of a dispute that had arisen between the kings of Sri Lanka and Burma when the latter had seized certain goods and a royal princess sent to Cambodia from Sri Lanka. It is surmised that the Sīhala princess sent to Cambodia was intended to be a bride to Jayavarman VII who was the crown prince at the time.[36] The story of Chapata the Burmese monk who introduced the Sihala monastic institutions to Burma in the same period also shows certain connections between the Buddhists of Sri Lanka and Cambodia. One of the Elders taken by Chapata with him to Burma was a native of Cambodia. This Elder named Tamalinda is called a royal prince by the Kalyāni inscription of Pegu. He was, according to Coedés a son of Jayavarman VII.[37] If so it is good evidence to acknowledge among Cambodians about Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka.

Inscriptions of king Nissankamalla of Sri Lanka also show that the king maintained friendly relations with this country. A reference to a class of bird catchers called Kāmbodi and the naming of one of the gates of the then Sri Lankan capital Polonnaru as Kāmboja-vāsala or the Cambodian gate are significant. The opinion expressed by Prof. S. Paranavitana that these

Kambodi bird-catchers were Khmer or Cambodian people from that country and Bell's view that they were Cambodian mercenary soldiers employed by the king of Sri Lanka are open to inquiry. Nissankamalla is said to have given them gold, cloths and other provisions and requested them to refrain from their occupation of caching birds. It is also surmised that the naming of a gate Polannaru as Kāmboja-vāsala was due to the existence of a Khmer settlement close by.[38]

We have evidence for the existence of what appears to be Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia at least from the end of the 13th century A.C. Chou Ta Kuan, a member of a Chinese Mongol mission to Cambodia in the reign of Indravarman III (1295 A.C.), has left an important description of the country. He refers to three separate religious sects existing in the county at the time. viz Pan-ki, Pa-sseu-wai and The'ou-kou or Chu-ku. The descriptions of the religieux called Chu-ku given by Chou Ta-kuan shows that they were probably Theravāda monks. They shave their heads, wear yellow skirts for the lower part of the body and cover only the left shoulder with a yellow robe. They go about bear-footed. In their temples they have only one image, which looks like Sakyamuni Buddha, made of clay. It is coloured red and decorated with vermillion and blue. All bonzes eat fish and meat but do not drink wine. They offer the same to the Buddha. There is no kitchen in the temple. They eat one meal a day prepared in the home of a host. They read palm leaf books. The prince consult them in grave affaires. Many scholars have concluded that the description is of Hīnayāna monks. Charles Eliot says the term *chu-ku* is Siamese (Thai).[39] This is the period when the Sukhodaya kingdom of Thailand was coming under the influence of the Theravāda tradition with the efforts of kings like Rām Khamheng. With the efforts of Thai kings to extend their dominions at the expense of the Khmer territories it is natural that the influence of Thai Theravāda Buddhism would have seeped gradually into Cambodia.

According to an inscription of Sri Srindravarman or Indravarman III, dated in 1308 A.C., set up after his abdication in favour of the *yuvarāja* who was his relative, he ascended the throne of Yaśodharapura in 1296 A.C., and donated a village named Sirindaratanagāma to a Mahāthara named Sirindamoli. Hazra thinks that since the title Mahāthera was quite popular in Sri Lanka, this Mahāthera probably had some connection with Sīhala Buddhism. L.P. Briggs was of the opinion that the introduction of Theravāda to Cambodia took place under Mon influence rather than under Thai influence.[40] The inscription of Indravarman III referred to above is written partly in Pāli and partly in Khmer. Perhaps this is the first Pāli inscription found in Cambodia and it indicates the prevalence of Tharayāda in that county. Another Sanskrit inscription of Indrajayavarman (1308-1327 A.C.) also contain several Pāli words.

There is also a legend related to the accession of probably Indravarman III. According to this legend a certain king of Cambodia, who was fond of eating a certain type of a rare sweet cucumber, had put in charge of one T-Chay a patch of cucumber. He had orders not to allow any outsiders into the patch. The guardian was given a spear by the king to carry out his duty. Unfortunately due to his intense desire for the fruit the king had to sacrifice his life through his own guardsman. He speared the king to death when he stole into the cucumber patch to eat the fruit he desired so much. T-Chay was selected by the royal council to succeed him and did so after marrying the late king's daughter. These two kings have been identified with Jayavarman VIII and his successor and son-in-law Indravarman III. It is believed that Jayavarman VIII's anti-Buddhist policies led to a palace revolution which caused a revolutionary change in the dynastic history of the country by bringing to the throne the first Hīnayāna Buddhist king of the country. Probably this was the beginning of the Theravāda Buddhist history of Cambodia.

The *Jinakālamālī* records that when a group of Buddhist monks from Nabbisipura in upper Thailand went to Sri Lanka to receive the higher ordination from the Sīhala Saṅgha, eight Cambodian monks led by Mahāñāṇasiddhi joined them. Along with Thai monks they also received the higher ordination in Sri Lanka. But the chronicle does not say anything about their activities after returning from Sri Lanka. But it is quite possible they introduced the Sīhala tradition to Cambodia.[41] This event took place in 1423 A.C., a period of political turmoil in the country, since it was at war at the time with both Thailand and Champa. A fifteenth century inscription from Eastern Cambodia refers to a monk named Lankā….Srīyasa who is said to have done a lot of work to popularize Buddhism

and that he taught the Dhamma to royal princes. The king conferred the title Swāmi Sīlaviriyāddhika Bodhisambhāra....Saṅghaparicāra Mahāpurusha on him. Whether this monk was a Sri Lankan is not known. He could be a native of Sri Lanka or a Cambodian monk who had returned from Sri Lanka and was hence known as Lanka.... Sriyasa etc.[42] Anyhow reference to monks with the title Lanka definitely shows close relations of Cambodian Theravāda with Sihala Buddhism.

Sīhala Tradition in Laos

According to the *Mūlasāsana* eight Buddhist monks accompanied the elders Sumana and Anomadassi when they went to Udumbarapuppha Mahāsāmi in Martaban for the second time. All these eight monks received re-ordination from the Mahāsāmi before returning to Sukhodaya three months later. This event took place in 1341 or 1342 A.C. In Sukhodaya these eight monks, now belonging to the Sīhala Saṅgha, started to propagate their tradition at various centers in Thailand and other nighbouring countries. One of them, the Elder Suvaṇṇagiri, is said to have established the religion in Luang Pra Bang and received the title Mahāsāmi from the people. Probably this was one of the first contacts with the Sīhala tradition the region of Laos had.[43] Whether any monk of the group from Nabbisipura and Cambodia who received higher ordination in 1423 in Sri Lanka tried to propagate the Sihala tradition in this region is not clear.

There is evidence that Cambodia, in the reign of Jayavarman Parameśvara (1327-1353 A.C.) played an important role in the propagation of Buddhism in Laos. Paul Le Bonlanger states that this Cambodian king helped a young prince named Fa-Ngum from Lang Chang in Laos, who had sought refuge in the Cambodian Court with his father Phi-Fa, to establish an independent kingdom of Lan Chang with its capital at Moung Chava (now Luang Prabang) in 1353 A.C. Luang Prabang and Vien Chang were under the Sukhodayan hegemony up to the middle of the 14[th] century when Sukhodaya had started to decline. As a result Fa-Ngum was able to rule an independent kingdom in Laos during this period.

According to Laotian chronicles Fa-Ngum was brought up by Mahā Pasaman Chao (P'ra Samana?) a Cambodian monk. According to Finot, Mahā Pasaman was probably an alternative name for Mahā P'ra Samana. If as argued by Hazra, this Mahā Pasamana was identical with P'ra Sumana or Samana of Sukhodaya, who brought the Sīhala tradition from Udumbara Mahāsāmi in Mārtaban, then the Sīhala tradition must have been established in Cambodia during his time and through him in Laos too.[44] Earlier we saw that one of his juniors, Suvaṇṇagiri propagated the Sīhala tradition in Luang Prabang.

The establishment of the kingdom of Lan Chang in Laos, which included both Luang Prabang and Vien Chang, by Fa-Ngum opens a new chapter in the Buddhist history of Laos. L. P. Briggs thinks that owing to the efforts to Fa-Ngum's queen, who was the daughter of Jayavarman Parameśvara of Cambodia, Hīnayāna Buddhism was popularized in Laos. The Wat keo inscription of 1602 states that Buddhism was not so well-known in Lan Chang at the time and a religious mission was requested for from Cambodia. A Buddhist mission consisting of four Mahā theras came to Laos. They were led by Mahā Pasaman, the old teacher of Fa-Ngum. The other Elders were P'ra Mahādeva Lanka Cao (Chao), the elder brother, P'ra Mahādeva Lanka the younger brother, and Mahā Nandipañña Cao. It states that they all came from Lankā to Cambodia. If they were actually Sri Lankan monks, they must have played a big role in popularising Sīhala Buddhism in Cambodia and Laos.[45] Although the inscription is dated in 1602 the event referred to should have taken place in the middle of the 14[th] century A.C.

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SĪHALAṬṬHAKATHĀ :

Preliminaries: The term *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* (q.v. *Mahāṭṭhakathā*) refers to the commentaries written on the Pāli canon in the Sīhala language which formed the basis of Budhaghosa's Pāli commentaries. The tradition attributes its authorship to Arahat Mahā Mahinda, who introduced Buddhism to the island of Lanka. Buddhaghosa's commentaries themselves describe the origin of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* thus:

> *Atthappakāsanatthaṃ aṭṭhakathā ādito vasisatehi pañcahi yā saṅgītā anusaṅgitā ca pacchāpi*
> *Sīhaladīpaṃ pana ābhatā atha vasinā mahā mahindena ṭhapita sīhalabhāsāya dīpavāsinaṃ atthāya*
>
> (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini* p. 1)

"The commentaries were rehearsed by five hundred arahats and further rehearsed later for the elucidating the meaning (of the scriptures). They (commentaries) were brought here by the arahant Mahinda and kept in the Sīhala language for the sake of the inhabitants of the island".

This takes the origin of the Sīhala commentaries to the first Buddhist Council held at Rajagaha, three months after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, where five hundred arahants participated. Accordingly it was the same commentaries that were brought to Sīhaladīpa by arahant Mahinda.

In the meantime *Dampiyāaṭuvāgāṭapadaya* a Sīhala glossary to the Pāli Dhammapada commentary (circa 9[th] century A.C.) states that the commentaries maintained in the Māgadhi language that belong to the period of the Buddha were translated into Sīhala language by the teachers of the "Hela Dipa" (Island of Sihalas).

Magadha basin vetamin ā Buduketi apiwā Hela diva ājuro helabasin tubūha.

(*Dampiyāapivāgātapadaya*. Ed. M. Vimalakitti and M. Sominda, Colombo, 1960 p. 5, Sinhala Script).

The above statement refers to the accepted tradition that the further elucidation or the commentation of what the Buddha taught in brief, commenced when the Master was still living, for which ample evidence is found within the *Suttapiṭaka* itself.

Arahat Maha Mahinda's establishment of the commentarial tradition in the island: As stated in the *Dampiyāapivāgātapadaya*, the tradition says that Arahat Mahā Mahinda himself translated Pali commentaries to Sīhala language or the language of the inhabitants of the island. However, it is more realistic to presume that Arahat Mahinda himself taught the local monks the art of writing commentaries for the Pali scriptures in their own language Sihala. They mastered the art of composing commentaries for the Pali canon in Sinhala within a short period. When Buddhaghosa came to the island in the 5th century A.C. having undertaken the task of translating the Sīhala commentaries to Pali he found a fully developed commentarial literature in Sīhala language under the custody of the Mahāvihāra monks. At the same time the island of Lanka became famous as the place where the authentic commentaries to the Theravāda canon are preserved in pristine purity. This fame spread beyond the shores of Lanka.

Significance of Arahat Mahinda's establishment of the commentarial tradition in the island of Lanka: At this juncture, it is necessary to examine the significance of Arahat Mahinda's establishment of the commentarial tradition, no sooner he introduced the *sāsana* to the island. It appears that the far-seeing thera was aware of the threats the *sāsana* will have to face before long. The wrong interpretation of the teachings of the master has already led to the disintegration of the *saṅgha* into various sects. In that context the preservation of the authentic interpretation of the Buddha's teachings was the need of the hour. Arahat Mahinda knew that it is threatened with extinction. Therefore he took necessary steps to establish the authentic commentarial tradition immediately after the establishment of the *sāsana* in the island. The danger of the extinction of the genuine exegetical tradition which was foreseen by Arahat Mahinda has already taken place by the time of Buddhaghosa (5th century A.C.).The exegetical tradition has already vanished from Jambudīpa. Ven. Revata, Buddhaghosa's teacher addressing his pupil says:

"pālimattam idhānitam natthi aṭṭhakathā idha" (*Mhv*. xxxvii 127)

"The texts only have been preserved here (Jambudīpa). No commentaries are available here."

After briefing him thus Revata directed Buddhaghosa to proceed to the land of the "Sihala" and translate them into "Māgadhi" (*magadhānam niruttiyā parivattehi* loc. cit.) and it would be for the well being of the whole world (*sa hoti sabbaloka hitāvaha* loc.cit.). Eight centuries before Buddhaghosa the Arahat Mahinda brought the exegetical tradition from Jambudīpa to Laṅka and transplanted it here before it was lost in its place of birth. The timely action taken by the wise thera saved the authentic exegetical tradition from getting lost for ever. This explains why arahat Mahinda transplanted the commentarial tradition immediately after establishing the *sāsana* in the island of Laṅka.

Sīhalaṭṭhakathās that Buddhaghosa came across: The commentarial literature thus commenced by the arahat Mahinda flourished in the next 700 years in the island. When Buddhaghosa arrived in the island, in the 5th century A.C. Sihala commentarial literature had already reached its zenith of development. There were commentaries like *Mahāṭṭhakathā* which covered the entire *Tipiṭaka*. At the same time there were commentaries for individual *piṭakas* such as *Vinaya, Abhidhamma* etc. There is also evidence to the existence of separate commentaries for books within particular *piṭakas*. Adikaram E.W. (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1946 Colombo, p.10) has successfully identified a list of thirteen commentaries which Buddhaghosa has referred to in his commentaries. The thirteen commentaries under reference are:

Mahā-aṭṭhakathā or *Mūla- aṭṭhakathā*
Mahāpaccariya - aṭṭhakathā
Kurundi- aṭṭhakathā

Andhakaṭṭhakathā
Saṅkhepa-aṭṭhakathā
Vinayaṭṭhakathā
Suttantaṭṭhakathā
Āgamaṭṭhakathā
Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā
Majjhimaṭṭhakathā
Saṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā
Aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā
Abhidhamma-aṭṭhakathā

Among the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* the *Mahāṭṭhakathā* was the most important commentary. It is referred to in the *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* commentaries of Buddhaghosa. Therefore it is considered as the general commentary which covered the whole *Tipiṭaka*. Buddhaghosa in his colophons to the commentaries of the first four *nikāyas* says that he composed them having taken the essence of the *Mahāṭṭhakathā* (*sā hi Mahāṭṭhakathāya sāramādāya niṭṭhitā*(*MA*. V.110). In his *vinaya* commentaries, he says "He would make *Mahāṭṭhakathā* the body of the (*Vinaya*) commentary he is going to compose."

Saṃvaṇṇanaṃ ādāni samārabhanto
Tassā Mahāṭṭhakathā sarīraṃ katvā
(*VinA*. I. p.2)

Buddhaghosa usually but not always preferred the *Mahāṭṭhakathā* to *Kurundi aṭṭhakathā* or *Mahāpaccari aṭṭhakathā* (*VinA*.II.346). He had a great respect for *Mahāṭṭhakathā*. He did not want to refute an explanation categorically expressed in the *Mahāṭṭhakathā* (*VinA*. III, p. 706).

The colophon under reference in respect of the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini*, the *Dīghanikāya* commentary of the *PTS*. edition is not found. But is found in the Hewavitharana edition.

It was more complete in its contents than the other commentaries. Expositions of words unexplained in the other commentaries were often found here (*VinA*. II 349). Though Buddhaghosa had a great respect and trust for the *Mahāṭṭhakathā*, he did not hesitate to point out any error caused due to a slip of the pen (*VinA*. II. p. 311).

Among the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* was a commentary named *Mahāpaccari*. According to tradition it was written on a raft (*paccari*), hence it has been named *Mahāpaccari aṭṭhakathā*. As *Mahāpaccari aṭṭhakathā* is referred to in the *Samantapāsādikā* Vinaya Commentary only, it is thought that it was a commentary composed only for the *Vinaya piṭaka* and not for the whole *Tipiṭaka* as *Mahāṭṭhakathā*. There are few instances where Buddhaghosa has preferred the explanation given in the *Mahāpaccari* to the explanations given in other commentaries (*VinA*. II. p. 319). Another *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* was the *Kurundi aṭṭhakathā* which is thought to have been written in a monastery called Kurundavelu Vihāra. Buddhaghosa has referred to *Kurundi aṭṭhakathā* only in the *Samantapāsādikā* the commentary he wrote for the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. Therefore it is presumed that it too covered the *Vinayapiṭaka* only. A commentary named *Sankhepaṭṭhakathā* is found referred to in the *Samantapāsādikā*. From the evidence gathered from the *Samantapāsādikā* it is seen that it had much in common with the *Mahāpaccari*. Therefore, the scholars say that some times it is possible that it was an abridged version of the *Mahāpaccari*.

The *Andhakaṭṭhakathā* was another commentary Buddhaghosa has referred to in the *Samantapāsādikā*. It is not of Sri Lankan origin but handed down in Kañcipura (Conjevaram) in South India and is thought to be written in the Andhaka language in which case it does not belong to the category of *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* "per se". But Buddhaghosa refers to it along with the rest of the Sīhala commentaries irrespective of being in a different language. Therefore it is relevant to discuss it along with *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*, the sources of Buddhaghosa. Often Buddhaghosa is seen disagreeing with the *Andhakaṭṭhakathā*. He refers to it not so much to agree with its expositions as to find fault with them. Buddhaghosa refers also to certain expositions of the *Vinaya* which were based on conditions that prevailed in the Andhaka country and therefore not of general application.

Another *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* is identified as *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, the *Vinaya* commentary. It is clear from the references that there has been separate commentaries for *Vinaya*, though the *Mahāṭṭhakathā* contained exegeses on *Vinaya* too. The term *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* has been used in singular (*Vism*. I, 272 and sometimes in the plural number (*Ibid*. 72). Therefore E.W. Adikaram thinks that there were more than one *Vinaya* commentaries, while there was one

more, important than the others, which was called "the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* (E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* p. 13). Similarly while *Mahāṭṭhakathā* contained the comments on the *Suttapiṭaka*, there had been separate commentaries for each of the four *nikāyas āgamas* named as *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā* (DA.I.87)*Majjhimaṭṭhakathā* (Vism.I,72) *Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā* (Vism.II,387)and *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā* (Vism. I, 315). The term *Āgamaṭṭhakathā* (*Atthasālini* p. 188) possibly refers to the above commentaries on the four *nikāyas*. Further there has been a Sihala *Jātaka* commentary prior to the Pali *Jātaka* commentary (*J*.I p. 62). Thus it should be clear that by the time of Buddhaghosa, there were fully developed Sihala commentaries on the *Tipiṭaka*.

In addition to the Sihala commentaries to the *Tipiṭaka* there is evidence for the existence of many more works written in Sinhala which deal with subjects like history of the church, history of shrines like Mahācetiya, Mahābodhi, the island etc. Among such works the *Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa, the Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā, the Dīpavaṃsakaṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahācetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā, the Mahā-bodhivaṃsaṭṭhakathā* appear significant. These too belong to the more or less to the same period as the Sinhala commentaries to the *Tipiṭaka* and are considered as included within the broad category *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*.

Nature of the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā: Arahat Mahā Mahinda and his companions had no difficulty in communicating with the king and inhabitants of Lanka due to the similarity of their language and that of Lanka in the third century B.C. The writing of commentaries to the Pali *Tipiṭaka* in the Sinhala language, too, was found easy, due to some similarity. Basically though the commentaries were in the Sinhala language, there is evidence that they contained many Pali verses. It is evident from the *Dampiyā aṭuvā gäṭapadaya*, a Sinhala glossary for the Pāli *Dhammapada* commentary (circa 9th century A.C.) when it was found difficult to find suitable Sinhala terms to explain Pali terms, Pali terms themselves have been used in the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*. The difficulty to find suitable Sinhala terms for the Pali terms compel even present day translators to use Pali terms, when translating Pāli scriptures to Sinhala. There is no doubt that the numerous quotations scattered in Budhaghosa's commentaries are the Pali renderings of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* lines.

Adikaram thinks (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1946 p. 14) that numerous verses and passages in the Pāli commentaries, the sources of which are difficult to trace, are possibly from *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās*. There is also evidence that *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* contained a large number of episodes supposed to have originated in the island of Lanka, but Buddhaghosa has included only a few of them in his Pāli commentaries. It would have revealed much more historical and social data of the Anuradhapura period if Buddhaghosa had included more of them.

Buddhaghosuppatti Account: *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* are non-existent today. How and when they ceased to exist is not known. There is a Burmese tradition which says that they were set on fire by Buddhaghosa himself, after translating them into Pāli. According to the *Life of Buddhaghosa* (*Buddhaghosuppatti* edited by James Gray, Luzacs Company, London, 1892) of Burmese origin says:-

"Then he (Buddhaghosa) collected the books (*Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*) written by Mahā Mahinda Thera to a clean spot near the Mahacetiya and got them burnt. The collection of books written by Mahā Mahinda Thera in the Sinhala language was equivalent to the height of seven middle sized elephants, the teachers of the past say so" (*ibid* p. 60)

According to historians *Budhagosuppatti* account has no historical value without any date. Malalasekera calls it "A Very Late account of the life of Buddhaghosa (*DPPN*. Vol. II p. 307). B.C. Law describes it as of less authentic as the account contained in the *Cūlavaṃsa* (Law, B.C., *History of Pali Literature*, London, 1933, Vol. II, p. 558).

Sīhalaṭṭhakathās enshrined in the Abhayagiri Thūpa: There exists a popular belief that the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* are safely deposited in the Abhayagiri Thūpa. Acting on this assumption an attempt has been made to excavate the Thupa to obtain the manuscripts during the colonial rule. Under the direction of Aivers, the government agent of the North Central Province, a hole was bored in the Thupa in 1887. But it had to be abandoned on account of a public protest and the hole bored was closed down in

the presence of pilgrims. They were not able to recover anything and the effort was futile (*Brahmacāri Walisingha Harischandra and the Anuradhapura Buddhist Revival*, Colombo. March, 1991 (*ISBN* 955-95281-1-5) p. 15-16, Administrative Report of the Government Agent North Central Province, 1887 and the Diary of the Government Agent, North Central Province Feb. 10, 1888 *SLNAC* 41/260. Possibly the Thūpa thus subjected to excavation was not the proper Abhayagiri Thūpa as known today; but the Jetavana thūpa which was mistaken for the Abhayagiri Thūpa during this period.

Sihalaṭṭhakathās were extant even after their translation to Pali: It is not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion when the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* ceased to exist. Contrary to the *Buddhagosuppatti* report of immediate destruction of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* there is evidence that they survived several centuries after their translation into Pali in the 5th century A.C. The *Vamsaṭṭhappakāsini* the commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa* which is assigned to a period circa 8-9th centuries A.C. contains valuable information regarding *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās*. The *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* which the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* identifies as the forerunner of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* is nothing but the historical introduction to the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās*, according to Oldenberg (*Dīpavaṃsa* Introduction p. 4). But Geiger says it was an independent chronicle of the Mahāvihāra. However the forerunner of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* was still extant when the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* was written circa 8-9th centuries A.C. The author of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* refers the readers to the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* for further details. It has not perished or allowed to perish, but survived three or four centuries at least (at least till the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* was written). The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* refers to more compositions such as *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, *Uttaraviharaṭṭhakathā*, *Uttaravi-haravāsinaṃ aṭṭhakathā*, *Uttaraviharamahāvaṃsa*, *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, *Dīpavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, *Sīmākathā*, *Cetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahacetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* *Mahabodhivaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, *Sahassavatthuaṭṭhakathā* etc., which fall into the broad category of *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās*. Therefore it is quite reasonable to infer that the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* proper too i.e., *aṭṭhakathās* written for the *Tipiṭaka* in Sinhala were extant, when *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* was written in 8-9th centuries A.C.

In addition to Pali sources, ancient Sinhala literature, too, provide some clues as to the survival of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* after their translation into Pali. *Dampiyāaṭuvāgāṭapadaya*, a Sinhala glossary of the Pali *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, written during the reign of the king Kassapa V (913-923 A.C.) contains quotations from the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* the chief among the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās*. It is also possible to form an idea of the language of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* from those quotations. The *Sikhavalanda* and the *Sikhavalandavinisa*, a short monastic code of discipline and its Sinhala commentary which are generally assigned to the 9th century, refers to the *Kurundiaṭṭhakathā*, a *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* often quoted along with the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* (*Sikhavalanda* and *Sikhavalandavinisa* Pracina bhāsopakāra samāgama, Colombo, p. 18 (Sinhala script). This too testifies to the existence of *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* in the 10th century A.C.

Kaṅkhāvitarani Piṭapota is a Sinhala Glossary to the *Kaṅkhāvitarani*, the Pali commentary on Bhikkhu and bhikkhuni *Pātimokkha*, attributed to a date after the reign of Parakramabahu II(1236-1271 A.C.) of Dambadeniya period. Surawira says that perhaps *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* were extant when the *Kankhāvitaranapitapota* was written in the 13th century A.C., as he has observed some quotations from the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* such as *Mahāṭṭhakathā*, *Mahapaccariaṭṭhakathā*, *Kurundiaṭṭhakathā* etc. in the *Kaṅkhavitaranipitapota*. (Surawira A.V. *Anuradhapura Sanskrutiya* (Sinhala script) Colombo 1959 p. 39).

Sīhalaṭṭhakathās cease to exist: As already stated it is not possible to ascertain an exact period when *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* ceased to exist, though there is sufficient evidence to conclude that they continued to be in use several centuries after being translated into Pāli by Buddhaghosa in the 5th century A.C. Sihala language in which *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* were written during the third century B.C. was subjected to the natural evolution in the course of the centuries that followed. Therefore the language of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* gradually became archaic and obsolete and difficult to understand and gradually went out of use.

The *ola* leaf books or the palm leaf manuscripts have been preserved by a process of successive copying through the centuries. If the new copies are not made when the old copies show signs of decay the book leads to a natural death. There was no necessity to copy archaic and obsolete books when the last copies perished gradually one after the other. *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās* ultimately ceased to exist in or after the 12th century A.C.

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SĪHALAVATTHUPPAKARAṆA: *Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa* is a collection of short religious stories written in Pāli prose interspersed with verses. As the majority of the stories contained are supposed to have originated in the land of the Sīhalas, apparently it has been named *Sīhalavatthu* the stories of the land of Sīhalas. It falls into the literary category of *pakaraṇas* (treatises). Hence it is called *Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa*.

Author and the country of origin: There exists no dispute as regard its author. The author is given in the book as Ācariya Dhammanandi Thera, resident at the Pattakoṭṭi vihāra of Kantasolapaṭṭhāna. But it is not possible to find out the exact location of either Pattakoṭṭi vihāra or the Kantasolapaṭṭhana. It should be either in Sri Lanka or in India. Polwatte Buddhadatta has observed that the author Ācariya Dhammanandi had a personal knowledge of the places such as the river Porimāsi, Mount Accimanta and Upasinga vihāra etc. which are associated with the ancient Saurāstra, modern Katiyawar, in Western India. However, whether Ven. Dhammanandi was from Saurāstra has to be established.

In the meantime Senarath Paranavithāna has seen the name of the Kantasolapaṭṭhana in one of the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which commemorates some benefactions made by an *upāsikā* named Bodhisri. According to the inscriptions, Upāsikā Bodhisri put up some buildings at the Sri Parvata, where Nāgārjuna Thera supposed to have lived. In addition to her benefactions at the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the inscription also refers to the gate house she put up at the Great Thūpa at the Kantasolapaṭṭhana. Moreover, the name of Ācariya Dhammanandi, possibly the author of the *Sīhalavatthu* is given in the inscription, as the Thera whom she consulted when she put up those buildings. The "kantakassulos" marked in the Ptolomy's map of India is identified as the "Ghantasāla" in modern Andhra Pradesh and the scholars presume it to be the ancient Kantasolapaṭṭhana. Therefore Polwatte Buddhadatta holds the view that Ven. Dhammanandi was a resident of modern Andhrapradesh.

Period of Composition: The date or the period of composition is not given in the book. But it contains some information, on which it is possible to ascertain its period of composition roughly. *Sīhalavatthu* contains several stories connected to the famine *Brāhmanatissabhaya*, supposed to have taken place *circa* first century B.C. It is said that the famine had taken place when the king Vaṭṭagāminiabhaya came to power for the second time. It is clear that *Sīhalavatthu* has been written after the famine. No king after the king Saddhātissa (77-59 B.C.) is mentioned in the book. Therefore it is reasonable to presume that *Sīhalavatthu* has been written after the famine *Brāhmanatissabhaya*, possibly *circa* 1st century A.C. Buddhadatta says that it is older than the *Sahassavatthu*'.

Language: The language of *Sīhalavatthu* deserves attention. The Pāli language found in *Sīhalavatthu* is of a very poor quality, contains many grammatical errors and peculiar phrases. Apparently written during a time when Pali scholarship was not fully developed. The author appears to have had not yet acquired full competency of the Pali language. Compared to the language of the commentaries the language of *Sīhalavatthu* is far below standard. Perhaps it reflects the state of Pali in the pre-commentarial period. But Polwatte Buddhadatta thinks that the grammatical errors etc. have taken place in Burma, where the book has been preserved for a long time, when it was not extant elsewhere. Polwatte Buddhadatta points out that *Lokadīpakasāraya* (of Medhankara Sangharāja, 15th Century Burma) has quoted two stories from the *Sīhalavatthu* and has stated those stories were from the *Sīhalavatthu*. Here it is seen that he has not reproduced the relevant section, but has copied it in his own language, avoiding the errors frequent in the *Sīhalavatthu*.

Contents: It is seen that the original *Sīhalavatthu* had 182 stories. But the extant *Sīhalavatthu* does not have that number of stories. Polwatte Buddhadatta

reveals that the first vagga had two more *vatthus*, namely; *Mahācetiyakathā* and *Dighāvucetiyakathā* as per *Uddānagāthās*. Only the table of contents of the first chapter could be found from the *Uddānagāthās*. Beyond the first chapter it is not possible to find out a table of contents. The third chapter appears to have had two more stories, names of which are not known. Out of the extant stories nine are of Indian origin and the rest are of Sri Lankan origin. Among the Indian stories, seven are from Saurāstra and one from Gandhāra. One story refers to the period of the King Dharmāsoka.

Sīhalavatthu as it exists today consists of the following stories: Tissa the tailor, Tissa of Haritāla, Metteyya, Mahādatta, Savoury flesh of peacock, Ven. Phussadeva, Prince Sāli, King Saddhātissa, Mahādeva-a lay devotee, Pāsānapeta, Thambapeta, Kasipeta, Taṇḍulapeta, Bhattantarāyakarapeta, Patākapeta, Baliwaddapeta, Sanghasantaka-pamatta Taruṇa bhikkhu, Paradāravirathavatthu, Lohabhājana- the metal bowl, Baddhahatthināga- the trapped elephant, Makkaṭi (female monkey), Vibbhantha Cora-the wandering thief, Gandhāra Cora, Kontiputta thera, Culli upāsikā, Mahānāga thera, Hamkāla the poor woman, Lay devotee Mahādeva Sumanā, Upāsaka Kambu, Kārapaṇṇadinna -the donor of green leaves, Mitta thera, Mahācūla Upāsaka, Kuntaka the smith, Mäleyya Deva thera, King Duṭṭhagāmini, Tissāmacca the treasurer, Tabbasumana Thera, Poor farmer, Sumanā Aḍḍhavatthadāyikā, King Kākavaṇṇatissa, Sasamamsa (hare-flesh), King Dhammika saddhāvantakula, Kambala Gahita Kuṇḍalatissa thera, Mahācetiya pūjā, Bārasasahassa bhikkhu, Piṇḍapātavisuddhakarana, Piṇḍapātavisuddhi, Piṇḍapāta parisuddhi, Dānaphala, Four princes, Results of the meritorious acts, Candana pallaṅka, Ovāda sikkhā, Lajji Sāmanera, Cittagutta thera, Khuddakatissa thera, Cūlasumana of Vātaganda, Duggata purisa, Two young nuns, Lambakaṇṇa puṭabhatta dāyaka, Lajji Thera, Rohana Thera, Usabhamitta, Rajatapunda, The Fish who listened to Dhamma, Ven. Mahādhammanandi thera, Suvaṇṇa puppha Abhaya thera, Ambhakādika Tissa thera, Mahānāga, Cūlanāga thera, and Maṅganavāsi thera.

The examination of these simple stories shows that it is not the deep Buddhist philosophy that is emphasized here. They are meant to teach basic Buddhist morals to the ordinary folk. Unlike the *Jātaka* stories that are supposed to have taken place in the Jambudipa in some other birth, the majority of these stories are supposed to have taken place in the island of Lanka itself, in the reign of the former king Saddhātissa in most cases. Therefore these stories of local origin could be described as an ideal media utilized to teach Buddhist morals to the ordinary folk, not long after the introduction of Buddhism to the island. A fair number of stories describe the results of *dāna* (charity). It is said if one were to give *dāna* with what he has earned through his own labour, he could acquire more merit than those who practise charity with wealth earned easily.

Historical Data: Other than its religious utility *Sīhalavatthu* is of vital importance to the students of history, for it contains valuable historical, social and economic data pertaining to the society of Anurādhapura *circa* first century B.C. It contains several stories connected to the famine Brāhmanatissaabhaya already referred to, from which it is possible to gather more details of this famine. It is said that the famine lasted for twelve long years. The people of Anurādhapura fled to Malaya the central hills. The monks crossed the ocean and went to neighboring Jambudipa, because it was difficult to obtain food. Reference is made to some virtuous monks who did not violate *vinaya* rules even when they had no way of sustenance. The people were in such a pathetic situation that some sold their children as servants in order to obtain some coins.

Reference is made to pilgrims who went to Jambudipa to worship Mahābodhi. It is said that they crossed the sea and landed at the ports like Kāveripaṭṭana and walked across the land to the Mahābodhi through thick forests undergoing great difficulties. It is seen that Rohana was a part of the Anurādhapura kingdom and it is referred to as Rohanajanapada, the province of Rohana. Some of the stories are said to have taken place in the Rohana Janapada. The main occupation of the people has been farming. At the same time there have been occupations like tailors, blacksmiths, carters, etc. in the society. The robbers who robbed people of their possessions, too, were present. The monks who lived in the caves, forests and those who lived on begged food (*piṇḍapāta*) are often referred to. It is significant that reference has been made to "arahants", too. Mahācetiya, Thūparama, Srimaha Bodhi are mentioned. The "Dighāvu" cetiya of Rohana referred to is possibly be the Dighavāpi cetiya. The possible other shrines were yet to come up. Outside the island of Tambapaṇṇi,

Gandhāra, China, Suraṭṭha (Saurāstra), Pātaliputta etc. are referred to.

It is significant that some of the stories contained here are not found in any other book. In the case of those stories found elsewhere too, certain details are different. The *Mahāvamsa* etc. says that the Buddha came to Nāgadīpa to settle a dispute between two Nāga kings on account of a "jeweled throne", but in the *Sīhalavatthu* (*Candanapallaṅka vatthu* story no. 63), it was a chair of Sandalwood. In the same story when the Buddha set off from Nāgadīpa a certain deity up rooted a Pāṭali tree (Bignonia Suaveolens) and held it as a shade above the Buddha's body. But according to the *Mahāvamsa* it was a Rājāyatana tree that was uprooted and held over the Buddha by the deity. It is said that the king Kākavaṇṇatissa and Vihāramahādevi, the parents of Duṭṭhagāmini were known to each other since their childhood, which is not found elsewhere. In the case of the story of Prince Sāliya, the son of king Duṭṭhagāmini (story No. 7) the king is supposed to have pardoned the son when he saw the beauty of Asokamālā. It is said that the king exclaimed "had you not married her I myself would have married her". This version is not found elsewhere. In the normal Buddhist legends, Sakka's seat gets heated up when a righteous person is in trouble. But *Sīhalavatthu* says that it shakes instead of getting heated up when a righteous person is in trouble. Moreover it is said in the *Sīhalavatthu* that Kinnaris (water nymphs) are similar to human women. Only difference is that they can go by air with the help of their garments. Thus *Sīhalavatthu* is a store house of information to the student researchers and also to the ordinary readership in addition to the pious Buddhist laity.

Discovery of Sihalavatthu: *Sīhalavatthu* was not extant in Sri Lanka. The existence of a book by that name was hardly known. It was Ven. Polwatte Buddhadatta who discovered the existence of a book by the name *Sīhalavatthu* with the help of Burmese catalogues while he was in Burma (Myanmar). Though lost due to various wars, calamities, there is not the least doubt that it was extant in Sri Lanka whence it has been taken to Burma, either during the Polonnaruwa period[2] or during the Kotte period, along with the *Sihala upasampadā* etc. where it survived. It has been brought back to Sri Lanka when the Burmese *upasampadā* was brought to Sri Lanka in the 19th century and remained unnoticed specially in the temple libraries of Amarapura Nikāya. When Ven. Buddhadatta came back to Sri Lanka and searched for the manuscripts, procurable copies were in a very bad state of deterioration and found it extremely difficult to edit. Later he states that accidentally he was able to find a manuscript in a very good state of preservation in the library of Mahākappina Mudalindārāmaya, Balapitiya, with the help of Ven. Māwadawila Paññāsena in charge of the temple. Incidentally all the manuscripts available in Sri Lanka were in the Burmese script. With the help of the newly discovered manuscript Ven. Buddhadatta was able to rectify the errors, shortcomings, and missing lines due to deterioration of the other manuscripts. At last Ven. Buddhadatta successfully edited and published the *Sīhalavatthu* in the Sinhala script in 1959. The credit of salvaging this important book, nearly lost, should go to Ven. Polwatte Buddhadatta of Ambalangoda, Sri Lanka.

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1 *Sahassavatthu* is a collection of religious stories very much similar to *Sīhalavatthu* written in Pali also during the Anuradhapura period, on which Pali *Rasavāhini* is written in the 13th century. As there are lesser grammatical errors comparatively, Buddhadatta considers *Sīhalavatthu* a better work compared to *Sahassavatthu*. Buddhadatta has arranged the three books chronologically as *Sīhalavatthu Sahassavatthu* and *Rasavāhini*.

2 The reference is to the religious contacts between Burma and Sri Lanka during the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1070-1110 A.C.) during the Polonnaruwa period and in the reign of Buwanekabāhu VI of the Kotte kingdom. It is learnt that *upasampadā* as well as the books were taken to Burma as a result of this intercourse.

SIKKHĀ: The meaning of the word *Sikkhā* is study training, discipline, derived from the Sanskrit *Śiksā*. The term *Sikkhā* in the Pali canon encompasses the whole training of a bhikkhu with regard to his outward conduct as well as internal moral development.

Once, a Vajjian bhikkhu confessed to the Buddha that he was unable to remember all the rules in which he had to train himself. The Buddha advised him to train himself according to the threefold training (*Tisso Sikkhā*): *Adhisīlasikkhā*, training in higher virtue; *adhicittasikkhā* training in the higher mind; *adhipaññā-sikkhā*, training in the higher wisdom (A.III. 83 and 88). All the prescriptions of the Noble Eightfold Path are subsumed under *Tisso Sikkhā*.

Elaborating on the *Adhisīlasikkhā*, the Buddha said:

"And what is the training in the higher virtue? Here, a monk is virtuous, restrained by the restraint of the *Pātimokkha*, perfect in conduct and resort, seeing danger in the slightest faults. Having undertaken the training rules, he trains himself in them. This is called the training in the higher virtue."

The threefold training aims at eliminating lust, hatred and delusion, thereby helping the bhikkhu to acquire *ñāṇa-dassana*, knowledge and insight, and to become ultimately an *ariya puggala*, a person who has attained one of the four supramundane paths and its relevant supramundane fruition. The goal of the supramundane path is *vimutti*, final liberation.

The three stages into which the Noble Eightfold Path is categorized, are not sharply compartmentalized but merge into one another as one progresses on the path. They are noticeably implied in the *Akaṅkheyya Sutta* (M.I.33). It first mentions many mundane benefits a bhikkhu may expect if he follows the training precept of *adhisīlasikkhā* which translated into rules, (*sikkhāpadāni*) are detailed in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (D.I.).The latter gives a complete account of the kind of morality and outward conduct expected of a bhikkhu worthy of being a disciple of the Buddha .

The *Akankkeyya Sutta* states that if a bhikkhu wishes for the following results, he should practise the training precept which, in the context of the passage, refers to *adhisīlasikkhā*. They are being agreeable to his companions, respected and esteemed, obtaining requisites, much merit accruing to those who supply the four requisites, transcending discontent and delight and conquering fear and dread.

A comprehensive account of *adhicittasikkhā* is given in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* also which includes restraint of sense- desires and other defilements with a view to attaining the *jhānas* through the practice of *Samatha* meditation.

The *Sutta* describes very meticulously the stages attained through *adhicittasikkā*.It describes how a bhikkhu,perfected in morality and therefore possessing contentment and blameless bliss, seeks out a soloitary place at the root of a forest tree, in a mountain cave,etc., and sitting down cross- legged and holding his body erect, concentrates on keeping mindfulness established before him. Then, having suppressed the five hindrances, *nīvaraṇas*, such as worldly desires, ill-will, hatred, sloth and torpor, worry and flurry and doubt, he finds delight in his mind and tranquility and joy born of detachment from unwholesome states and enters into the first *jhāna*. Thereafter, filled with joy and delight, he gains tranquility and oneness of mind and enters the second *jhāna*. With the fading away of delight; he attains the third *jhāna* and remains impurtabable, mindful, clearly aware and dwells in equanimity. Thereafter the fourth *jhāna* is attained which is beyond pleasure and pain, purified with equanimity and mindfulness.

With the kind of intent concentration required for attaining *jhānas*, the meditating Bhikkhu is able to progress further, and obtain the 6 kinds of supernormal knowledge, *calabhiññā*, such as *iddhvidha*, *dibbasota*, *cetopariyañāṇa*, *dibbacakkhu*, *pubbenivāsānusatiñāṇa* and finally through *adhipaññāsikkhā* he attains *āsavakkhayañāṇa*, the knowledge that his cankers are destroyed.

"And so with a mind concentrated, purified and cleansed, unblemished, free from impurities, malleable, workable, established and having gained imperturbability, he directs and inclines his mind towards knowing and seeing." He knows that his body is material, made up from the four great elements and is impermanent, liable to be injured, subject to abrasion breaking up and destruction and that his mental

processes are constantly arising and passing away, bound up with the physical phenomena of his body which are also constantly arising and passing away. It is through *vipassanā* that the meditator observes the constant interactions of mental and material phenomena and their state of flux.

"And he with mind concentrated, purified and cleansed, unblemished, free from impurities, malleable, workable, established and having gained imperturbability, applies and directs his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the corruptions.

He knows as it really is: " This is suffering". He knows as it really is: "This is the origin of suffering." He knows as it really is: " This is the cessation of suffering". And he knows as it really is: " This is the path leading to the cessation of suffering". "And he knows as it really is: "These are the corruptions", "This is the origin of the corruptions". "This is the cessation of the corruptions". "This is the path leading to the cessation of the corruptions" and through his knowing and seeing his mind is delivered from the corruption of ignorance and the knowledge arises in him: " This is deliverance"!

The *Sutta* demonstrates clearly that the *jhānas* (even the *nirodhasamāpatti* state,ie. cessation of all sensation) do not bring about *āsavakkhaya*. The *adhicittasikkhā* training is conducive to restraining and suppressing defilements and unwholesome states of mind and helps one to gain concentration that is of great intensity and blemishless mental states of bliss but they are temporary states and achieve only the level of *pariyuṭṭhāna*. However, it is well demonstrated that the *paññā* elements can flash forth while undergoing the *adhicittasikkhā* training.

The eliminating of cankers at the *anusaya* level can be achieved only through the training of insight (*vipassanā*) meditation implicit in *adhipaññāsikkhā*. But it goes without saying that the knowing and seeing stage of the *arahant* together with the eliminating of cankers require a very high degree of concentration, the preparatory stage which is attained through *adhicittasikkhā*. It is not only freedom of mind *'cetovimutti'* that must be attained but an unshakeable freedom of mind *(akuppā-cetovimutti)* along with liberation by wisdom, *paññāvimutti*, which result in *āsavakkhaya*.(see A. V. 139-143).

The *Sabbāsava Sutta* (*M.* 2) also shows how to overcome cankers by abandoning them through 1. 'knowing and seeing' 2. By 'restraining' 3. 'using' 4. 'enduring' 5. 'avoiding' 6. 'removing' and 7. 'developing'.

The *Sutta* states that the destruction of the cankers are for those who "know and see" i.e. those who have entered the path.

The trainee must know what is wise attention and what is unwise attention. Wise attention, *yoniso manasikāra*, is regarding impermanent things as impermanent in accordance with truth. Unwise attention is *ayoniso manasikāra* i.e. attention to the impermanent as permanent, the painful as pleasurable and what is not self as self and what is painful as beautiful. Wise attention is at the root of deliverance for it leads to the development of the Noble Eightfold Path. Unwise attention is at the root of the round of existence as it causes the increase of ignorance and craving.

Adhicittasikkhā is very necessary to train oneself in wise attention and in restraining oneself from indulging in unwise attention. For example, the *Sutta* states that when one attends to things unfit for wise attention, his unrisen taint (cankers) of sensual desire (*kāmāsava*) arises and his arisen taint of sensual desires increases and likewise his taint of desiring eternal being *(bhavāsava)* and his taint of ignorance *(avijjāsava)* arise and increase in the same way.

The taint of wrong view is also present in *avijjāsava* when an individual attends unwisely to the "I" concept such as "who am I?" "What was I in the past?" "What will I be in the future births?" Such ways of thinking entrenches the mental construct of an "I" view (*Sassatavāda*) or a no-self view (*Ucchedavāda*). The latter is the view of the 'soul' and body being annihilated at death and not the correct insight into non- self *(anatta)* and impermanence *(anicca)*. The incorrect view of an "I" concept is called the fetter of views:

"Fettered by the fetter of views, the untaught ordinary person is not freed from birth, ageing and death, from sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair, he is not freed from suffering…"

If the individual trains himself in *adhicittasikkhā* he will attend to things fit for wise attention,i.e. unrisen taints of *kāmasava, bhavāsava and avijjāsava* will not arise and the arisen taint will not increase but be abandoned. This then is the Work that is done by *adhicittasikkhā*. The training at this stage is a method of suppressing unwholesome thoughts through *Samatha* meditation.

This *Sutta* also culminates in the bhikkhu seeing with insight the fact of suffering, the origin of suffering, its cessation and the way leading to the cessation of suffering.

2. Abandoning taints through 'restraint' refers to the restraing of the 5 sense faculties and also the mind with regard to mind objects by reflecting wisely on them.

3.Abandoning taints by 'using' refers to reflecting wisely on the use of the four requisites by a bhikkhu. It means abandoning attachment to the four requisites by reflecting on them as recommended in the four formulas for reflection. The four requisites are robes, almsfood, shelter and medicine and they are to be used solely for their utilitarian value of helping one to exist with adequate protection from the elements, to maintain one's body, for the purpose of living the higher life and keeping it from harm and in good health.

4. Abandoning taints by 'enduring' applies to occasions when the requisites do not provide the necessary protection or service expected. For example, robes or shelter may not provide adequate protection to the expected degree from the cold, heat, flies, mosquitoes, the sun's rays, wind, creeping crawling insects, serpants and the like or when a regular supply of alms and medicine are not forthcoming. Enduring can refer not only to the shortfall of the four requisites or their inadequacies but may extend to ill- spoken unwholesome words and bodily feelings that are painful.

The kind of training required for endurance is well expressed in the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* (*M*). The elephant that is trained for the use of the king is trained first to do basic actions of the body such as lifting or bending a leg, lifting something from the ground, etc. Later, the training graduates to the task of facing a simulated battle with mock enemy forces in an open field. While spears, arrows, swords and various missiles rain on him from all sides, he is trained not to move his ears, his trunk or tusks, his tail, his legs, hind quarters or fore quarters or head and furthermore he has to endure the thundering sound of drums, kettledrums, trumpets and tom toms. The elephant that is brought out into the open from the jungle to be trained is compared to the individual who leaves the 'jungle' of household life to the open air life of homelessness who submits to the Tathāgata's code of discipline of guarding sense faculties through obedience to the training precepts and through mindfulness and concentration.

5. To continue what the *Sabbāsava Sutta* states, abandoning taints through 'avoidance' means avoiding dangers like wild animals, bad friends and sitting alone with a woman in a private secluded place or a seat screened off. The latter refers to *Vinaya* rules for bhikkhus.

6. Abandoning taints by 'removing' refers to removing thoughts of sensual desire, ill will, hatred or any other unwholesome defilement or fetter, through mindfulness and meditation.

7. Abandoning taints through 'development' refers to the development of mindfulness, investigation of mental states, energy, rapture, tranquility, concentration and equanimity. They are the seven factors of enlightenment.

It will be seen that only no.1 (knowing and seeing) and no. 7 (developing) are directly involved in the eradication of the cankers at the *anusaya* level through insight meditation (*adhipaññāsikkhā*). The others aim at suppressing cankers through *adhicittasikkhā* which are preparatory and conducive to the desired end of eradicating cankers.

The *adhicittasikkhā* training is compared to gold being refined by a goldsmith (see *A*.III 100; section I-10). The gold is refined by melting the gold thoroughly and removing the dross again and again by repeating the process of heating and removing dirt, until it is quite pliant, workable and bright. So too, the mind, through *adhicittasikkhā* abandons impurities constantly until at the highest level all impurities are got rid of and the mind becomes "inwardly steadied.

composed, unified and concentrated. That concentration is then calm and refined; it has attained to full tranquility and achieves mental unification, it is not maintained by strenuous suppression of the defilements."

Another passage in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (A.III 100; section 11-15) continues the simile of the goldsmith refining the gold in a way that he does not over heat the gold in the furnace or let it cool off too much,etc.

"Similarly there are those three items to which a monk devoted to the training in the higher mind should give attention from time to time, namely, the item of concentration, energetic effort and equanimity. If he gives regular attention to each of them, in turn, then his mind become pliant, workable, lucid and not unwieldy and it will be well concentrated for the destruction of taints..."

What is meant is that the training ensures that there is a judicious balancing of concentration, energetic effort and equanimity.

The Buddha reveals a very liberal attitude with regard to the training in minor rules. (see *A.* III 85) He states that it is not impossible that a monk may transgress minor rules *(khuddānukkuddakāni sikkhāpadāni)* but he can rehabilitate himself. It is really the rules fundamental to the holy life *(ādhibrahmacariyakāni brahmacariyasāruppāni)* that are important in which one should train oneself without ever transgressing. With the destruction of the three lower fetters one becomes a stream entrant.

It is further stated in the *Sutta* that a monk may be accomplished in virtue but only moderately accomplished in concentration and wisdom. By the decrease of greed, hatred and delusion, he becomes a once-returner.

With regard to the monk who is accomplished in virtue and concentration but only moderately accomplished in wisdom, the Buddha states that such a person may transgress minor rules but by rehabilitating himself and with the utter destruction of the 5 lower fetters he becomes one due to be reborn spontaneously in a celestial realm and there attain final *nibbāna*.

A monk who is fully accomplished in virtue, concentration and wisdom may still transgress some of the minor rules, but by rehabilitating himself he can train himself in the training rules and destroy the 5 higher fetters and in this very life dwell in the taintless liberation of mind and experience liberation by wisdom having realized by direct knowledge the four noble truths.

According to A.V. 142, deliverance is of 2 kinds. 'Deliverance of mind' *(cetovimutti)* and 'deliverance through wisdom' *(paññāvimutti)*. Deliverance of mind in the highest sense is that of concentration which is bound up with the path of arahantship. Deliverance through wisdom is the knowledge that is bound up with the fruition of arahantship.

Scattered throughout the texts in the canon are references to one or other of the *tisso sikkā*. The following regarding *adhicittasikkhā* are some:

"If while a monk is walking, standing, sitting or reclining while awake, a sensual thought, a thought of ill will, or a violent thought arises in him, and he does not tolerate it but abandons it, that monk- who in such a manner ever and again shows earnest endeavour and moral shame- is called energetic and resolute." (*A.*IV.II)

"Controlled when walking, controlled when standing, controlled when sitting and lying down, controlled when drawing in the limbs, controlled when stretching out the limbs:

Above, across and below, As far as the world extends, A monk observes how things occur, How āggregates arise and fall".

"When one thus lives ardently calm and quiet in demeanour ever mindful, training oneself in the practise of calming the mind, they call a monk of such behaviour "one who is ever resolute" (*A.* IV.12)

There is a short distilled account of the fourfold development of concentration in *A.*IV.41. It classifies the four fold development of concentration in 1. The development of concentration that leads to a pleasant dwelling in this very life, i.e. the attainment of the *jhānas*, through *samatha* (tranquility) meditation, the fourth *jhāna* being described as 'purification of mindfulness by equanimity'.

2.Development of concentration that leads to obtaining knowledge and vision. 3.Development of concentration that leads to mindfulness and clear comprehension.4. Development of concentration that leads to the destructions of the taints. (The first is achieved through *samatha* meditation. The second and third would have some amount of insight meditation coming into the meditation. The fourth would be achieved entirely through insight meditation.)

With regard to no 4, the account is as follows:

"And what is the development of concentration that leads to the destruction of the taints? Here, a monk dwells contemplating rise and fall in the five aggregates subject to clinging; "Such is form, such is rising, such is passing away; such is feeling…such is perception…such are volitional formations…such is consciousness, such is arising, such is passing away." This is the development of concentration that leads to the destruction of the taints.

Perception of rise and fall of aggregates brings to light their impermanent nature.

Using this observation born of deep concentration as a basis, the meditator may Develop his insight further to conclude that what ever is impermanent is suffering and without an abiding self.

Another very revealing aspect of the training through *adhipaññāsikkhā* is found in A.V.144.

"Monks, it is good for a monk 1. to abide from time to time perceiving the repulsive in the unrepulsive;(foulness and impermanence) 2.to abide from time to time perceiving the unrepulsive in the repulsive.3.to abide from time to time perceiving the repulsive in the unrepulsive as well as in the repulsive.4.to abide from time to time perceiving the unrepulsive in the repulsive as well as the unrepulsive.5.to reject both the repulsive and the unrepulsive and to abide in equanimity, mindful and clearly comprehending.

The above does not comprise the full text but is sufficient to show that this is another aspect of the training in *adhipaññāsikkhā* directed at perceiving persons or things as repulsive or unrepulsive but with equanimity, without lust or without hatred. In order to do so one has to come to that stage of insightful knowledge that all things are subject to impermanence and decay and nothing is really not foul.

The text ends with the words: "And for what reason should he reject both the repulsive and the unrepulsive and abide in equanimity, mindful and clearly Comprehending? "In any situation, anywhere and to any extent, may lust never arise in me for lust-inducing objects, no hatred towards hate- inducing objects, nor delusion towards objects liable to cause delusion!"

The *Anguttara Nikāya* classifies *Sikkhā* into two main aspects of the training. They are: 1. *Abhisamācārika sikkhā*, and 2. *Ādibrahmacariyika* the former are rules of proper conduct. Expected of a monk, especially with regard to his lay supporters. The latter are regulations that govern the training of the mind directed towards attaining freedom from suffering. (A.II.243). (see also Jotiya Dhirasekera, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, Colombo, 1982, p.53

Abhisamācārika Sikkhā contain minor rules dealing with the social aspect of monastic life whereas the *Ādibrahmacariyika Sikkhā* concern the attainment of the path. The latter is contained in the twofold *Vibhanga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the former is found in the *Khandakas*. Buddaghosa introduces them as *Sekhapaṇṇatti* and *Khandhakavatta*.

In the *Kandāraka Sutta* (M.51 pp. 14-19) the Buddha states:

" In this Saṅgha of bhikkhus there are bhikkhus in higher training, of constant virtue, living a life of constant virtue, sagacious, living a life of constant sagacity. They abide with their minds well established in the four foundations of mindfulness."

The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, states, in its unfolding of the technique of insight meditation that one should abide contemplating body as body, ardent, fully aware, mindful, having put away covetousness and grief for the world. And likewise one abides contemplating feeling, mind and mind- objects. This is the ultimate training meant for the surmounting of pain, grief, sorrow, lamentation and despair and realization of *nibbāna*. That is the training in *adhipaññāsikkhā*.

Sāmaneri Suvimalee.

SIKKHĀPADA: *Sikkhāpada*(Buddhist Sanskrit *sikṣāpada*), is a precept of moral training laid down by the Buddha for his disciples. Formed by compounding the two words *sikkhā*, 'training' and *pada*, literally 'step', the key word in here is *sikkhā* which, according to Prof Dheerasekara[1], covers under it the complete spiritual development of the early Buddhist disciple and it means culture, training, discipline and study. All the rewards of monastic life including the final goal of Arahantship are said to result from *sikkhā*. Held in highest regard by the disciples the respect for *sikkhā* is said to be one of the six cardinal virtues contributing to the spiritual stability of the disciple. A Buddhist monk who abandons his monastic life and reverts to home life is said to reject or abandon his training (*sikkham paccakkhāya*). The importance given to *sikkhā* in Buddhism is further seen in classifying the entire system of spiritual development in Buddhism under the system of the threefold *sikkhā* as *adhisīla-sikkhā*, *adhicitta-sikkhā* and *adhipaññā sikkhā*. The *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* (*D*.I.184) illustrates how *sikkhā* is employed in the progressive development of the *jhānas* and *samāpattis*; "Thus is it that through training one idea, one sort of consciousness arises and ...... another passes away" (*sikkhā ekā saññā uppajjanti sikkhā ekā saññā nirujjhanti*).

However of these three modes of training moral discipline (*sīla*) was always recognized as the foundation of all spiritual attainments. By developing the four bases of mindfulness with moral discipline as the basis, says the Buddha, one is expected to progress and not to decline in spiritual matters (*S*.V.187). He emphasizes that a wise monk who, establishing himself in moral discipline, in earnest, cultivates the mind and wisdom unties all knots both internal and external (*S*.I.13, 165). The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, which gives the entire course in spiritual development envisaged by the Buddha, places moral perfection as its first step (*D*.1.62*ff*). It enumerates forty three items of *sīla* subdivided into three as lower, middling and higher. However these items of *sīla* are never described as orders or injunctions. The disciples of the Buddha are said to abstain from these negative practices and develop their corresponding positive qualities. The disciples of the Buddha, at the earliest phase, were so sincere and diligent that no injunctions were deemed necessary to regulate their behaviour. At a mere suggestion they were ready to emulate the noble behavioural patterns of the Master, as for instance when they adopted his habit of taking just one meal a day.(*M*.1.124)

Such a situation, however, could not be maintained for long. The sincerity and the earnestness to emulate the Master and to realize the expected goal of emancipation that was the norm, within which the earliest disciples worked, soon became a thing of the past. Swift popularity gained by the new religion attracted to it many who had not reached standards desired by the Master (s.v.*Upajjhāya*; *Saddhivihārika*).As pointed out by Prof.Dheerasekera[2], soon rules of training (*sikkhāpada*) with a penalty attached to each one of them, had to be introduced into the monastic discipline. For there were certain abstinences like the abstention from untimely meals (*vikālabhojana*) included in the *sīlas* (*D*.I.64) and voluntarily followed by the early disciples of the Buddha. But later a rule of training involving a *Pācittiya* offence (*Vin*.IV. 85*f*) had to be promulgated as follows to check the laxities of those who did not adhere to it; "Whatever monk eats hard or soft food out of proper time commits an offence involving expiation". It is clear from the *Suttavibhaṅga* comments on this rule of training that before the promulgation of this *sikkhāpada* any transgression of the voluntary abstention from untimely meals did not involve any penalty.The *Suttavibhaṅga* comments aver that, as in the case of other *sikkhāpadas*, the first offender is free from guilt (*anāpatti ādikammikassa*).Thus the *sikkhāpada* was used as an instrument of prosecution which could not be done before its promulgation.At the pre-*sikkhāpada* stage offences against the *sīlas* could not be prosecuted against as they did not carry a penalty with them.According to Buddhaghosa, in the presence of the *sikkhāpadas* the Saṅgha could make specific references to the body of rules and make just and legally valid accusations(*Vin*A.1.224).

Inception of the Promulgation of the Sikkhāpadas: There are two instances, one in the *Sutta Piṭaka* and the other in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* , where the inception of the promulgation of the *sikkhāpadas* and the recital of the *pāṭimokkha* are referred to. In the *Bhaddāli Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1.445), the monk Bhaddāli queries from the Buddha why there are more rules of training now while there are only a fewer number of monks established in profound knowledge than before when there were only a fewer

number of rules of training. The Buddha replies, "It is thus, Bhaddāli, when beings are deteriorating, when true *dhamma* is vanishing away, there are more rules of training and fewer monks established in profound knowledge. Not until some causes leading to corruption appear here in the Order, does the teacher, Bhaddāli, lays down a rule of training for the disciple. When some such conditions do appear in the Order then the teacher lays down *sikkhāpada* to ward off those very conditions". Here the Buddha points out five conditions that have already appeared in the Order which prompted him to lay down rules of training, viz.i.expansion of the Order *(saṅgo mahattaṃ patto hoti)* ii.Order reaches the height in gain *(lābhaggaṃ patto hoti)*, iii.reaches the height in fame *(yasaggaṃ patto hoti)*,iv. growth in learning in the order *(bāhusaccaṃ patto hoti)*, and v.growth in age of the Order.*(rattaññutaṃ patto hoti)*.

The second instance is found in the *Suttavibhaṅga* *(Vin.III.9f)* where, in the well known Verañja section, Ven Sariputta queries the Buddha regarding the longevity or not of the dispensations of the Buddhas of the past. Here the Buddha points out to Sāriputta that the dispensations of the past Buddhas who laid down rules of training for their disciples and instituted the recital of the *Pātimokkha* lasted for a long period while those of the Buddhas who did not do so did not last for a long period. The reason being that when the Buddhas and their close disciples passed away their Orders were held fast by these institutions like a heap of flowers stringed together. At this Ven.Sāriputta pleads with the Buddha to lay down rules of training for his disciples and institute the recital of *Pātimokkha* as it is the proper time to do so to prolong the life of the religion.But the Buddha did not accede to this request immediately as the Order was still free from blemishes and said that he would do so once the causes of corruption do appear in the Order.The conditions of corruption and their order given here are slightly different from the *Bhaddāli Sutta*. They are, i. increase in the age of the Order *(rattaññumahatta)*,ii.increase in the numbers in the Order*(vepullamahatta)*, iii.the Order reaching its height in gain *(lābhaggamahatta)* and iv. increase in learning in the Order *(bāhusaccamahatta)*.Of these two stories Prof.Dheerasekera[3] prefers to regard the former as more historical and the latter as a sort of romanticized version of it.This tendancy to seek traditional authority was probably due to the growth of Buddhological ideas. There was apparently an eagerness on the part of Buddhists to see in every event in the history of Buddhism a repetition of events in the lives of past Buddhas, a sort of history repeating itself *ad infinitum*. In actual fact it was more a projection of contemporary events to the hoary mythical past.

What is a Sikkhāpada? What are Classified as Sikkhāpadas

The *Abhidhamma* text *Vibhanga* (*Vbh*.248) categorizes *sikkhāpada* as fourfold, viz those of the *bhikkhus*, the *bhikkhunīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. The commentator (*VbhA:SHB* xxxiii p.241) notes that the *bhikkhusikkhā*, both peculiar to monks and common to monks and nuns, are the rules to be observed by the monks. Similarly rules, both peculiar to nuns and common to monks and nuns have to be observed by the nuns. Unfortunately the commentator does not specify these rules, but states that the rules of the novitiate and the female probationers *(sikkhamānā)* fall within these. The five and the ten precepts have to be observed by the male *(upāsaka)* and female *(upāsikā)* lay devotees.

Buddhist Sanskrit sources refer to the five and the ten *sikṣāpadas*, the 400 *sikṣāpadas* of Bodhisattvas, and the more than 250 and the 500 *sikṣāpadas* of *bhikkhus* and *bhikkṣunīs* respectively who have renounced home life *(Śiks.*p.174).

The *Vibhaṅga* commentator (*VbhA.SHB* XXXIII, p.268), commenting on the five rules of training *(pañca sikkhāpadāni)* states that they are called *sikkhāpada* as they are steps or constituents (of training) that have to be practised (or be trained in); a section of the training *(sikkhākoṭṭhāso)*. Taking the word *pada* in the sense of the basis of training *(sikkhānaṃ padaṭṭhānena)* they are called *sikkhāpada* as they form the basis of training *(sikkhānaṃ padattā)*. By this he seems to have taken *sikkhāpada* not only as a part of moral training but also as its basis.

In the *Visuddhimagga* (p.16) Buddhaghosa explains the word *pātimokkha* in terms of the moral discipline obtained through the *sikkhā padas* *(pātimokkhantisikkhā-padasīlaṃ)*. Having taken them up one has to train oneself in them *(ibid* 20). By this the commentator seems to have limited the application of the term to the rules of training recited at the

Pātimokkha ceremony. This commentarial view expressed by Buddhaghosa may be based on the Buddha's statement made revealing his intention to institute the *Pātimokkha* recital as the act of *uposatha* of the Order. "What now", thought the Buddha, "if I should allow those rules of training laid down by me for monks (to form) a recital of *Pātimokkha* for them. It would be a formal act of observance (*uposathakamma*) for them"(*Vin*.1.102). According to this *sikkhāpadas* laid down by the Buddha are the rules of training recited at the *Pātimokkha* recital. Therefore, technically, the term *sikkhāpada* is applied to those rules only. In other words any other rules laid down by the Buddha are not classified under the term. The *Majjhima nikāya* (III.10) also seems to link the rules of training laid down (*sikkhāpadaṃ paññattaṃ*) by the Buddha with what is recited at the *Pātimokkha*.

At the First Buddhist Council, when the participants discussed the question of lesser and minor rules of training (*khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni*), six groups of *Pātimokkha* rules were mentioned by name. Only the *Sekhiyā* Dhammā were not named at the discussion. As they could not decide on what constituted the lesser and minor rules, on a proposal by Ven. Mahā Kassapa, they decided to keep all rules of training as laid down and not to rescind any of them. The term *sikkhāpada* occurs in the discussion again and again. It is clear that it always refers to the *Pātimokkha* rules (*Vin*.II.287*f.*)

Over one hundred and fifty *sikkhāpadas* that come up for recital every half month (*sādhikaṃ.....diyaḍḍha-sikkhāpada-sataṃ anvaddhamāsaṃ uddesaṃ āgacchati*) are mentioned in a number of discourses in the *Auguttara Nikāya* (eg.1.231*ff.*).Here too, it is clear, the rules of training are linked to the *Pātimokha* recital. It is also mentioned in these discourses that if any lesser and minor rules of training (*khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadani*) are transgressed one could rise out of it or emerge from it (*āpajjatip-ivuṭṭhātipi*) because it is unable (*abhabba*) to become unfit by such transgressions.But in those other rules of training which belong to the fundamentals of noble life (*ādi-brahmacariyakāni*) and befitting noble life (*brahmacariya sāruppāni*) one perfect in moral discipline is steadfast (*dhuvasīlo*) and permanently established (*ṭhitasīlo*).The commentator explains that the teachers belonging to the School of the *Aṅguttara Mahānikāya*, may be a reference to the *Aṅguttara* reciters (*bhāṇikā*), held that all rules of training excepting the four *Pārājikas* were lesser and minor rules of training (*AA*.II.348).In the First Buddhist Council too there was a group holding this view. Anyhow once again we see that *sikkhāpadas* are linked to the *Pātimokkha*.

However, Buddhaghosa (*Vism*.11*f*) has given a different interpretation of the term *khuddānukhuddaka sikkhāpada*. Explaining the two terms *ādibrahmacariyaka* and *Abhisamācarika*, he says that all the lesser and minor rules of training come under the latter and adds, all what is included in the two *Vibhaṅgas* (the *Bhikkhu* and *Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga*) comprise the *ādibrahmacariyaka* and what is included in the *Khandhakas* (ie the *Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga)* comprise the *ābhisamācārika*.This explanation of the commentator, which does not seem to agree with the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourses, has brought the *Khandhaka* rules also under the term *sikkhāpada*.

While the *Suttavibhaṅga* presents the rules of training for monks and nuns designating them as *sikkhāpadas* the *Khandhakas* also include in them a large number of rules and regulations, which are introduced by the Buddha with the words "I allow" (*anujānāmi*), but never designated *sikkhāpada*. There is, however,one instance when a new set of rules of training designated *sikkhāpada* is introduced in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vin*.1.83 *f*). These are the ten rules of training meant for the novitiate. Prof. Dheerasekera[1] specifically refers to this as an extension of the term *sikkhāpada* to the rules of the novitiate. However there are a few instances in the *Khandhakas* where the *pātimokkha* rules found in the *Suttavibhaṅga* are referred to by the term *sikkhāpada*. For instance in the *Mahāvagga* in the introduction of the *Pātimokkha* recital and, in the *Cullavagga* in the discussion on the *khuddānukhuddaka sikkhāpada*. Nevertheless it is not clear whether the term *sikkhāpada* refers only to the *Pātimokkha* rules when Mahāpajāpati Gotamī probes the question of rules of training common to both monks and nuns(*Vin*.II.258).

The *Parivāra* (*Vin*.VI.8) also seems to differentiate between the *sikkhāpada* and rules regarding various matters allowed by the Buddha with the words "I allow" (*anujānāmi*) found in the *Khandhakas* and also in the *Suttavibhanga*. This is brought out by a

comment made by Miss Horner[5] in the introduction to her translation of the *Parivāra*. She states " no disciple is recorded to have furnished or imparted any surviving *sikkhāpada* or other (*Khandhaka*) material". Here she seems to indicate that *Khandhaka* material does not fall into the *sikkhāpada* category. An instance can be quoted from the *Suttavibhaṅga*(*Vin*.III 203) to show the difference between a *sikkhāpada* and something permitted with the words " I allow". Here the Buddha allows monks to accept a robe out of time (*akāla*).But when he finds that it has not been put into use even after one month the Buddha lays down a *sikkhāpada*, the *Nissaggiya* rule number three, prohibiting such a robe to be kept for more than one month. Here the *sikkhāpada* comes after the allownance but both are called "laying down" (*paññatti*).

Rules of Women Probationers

A female probationer (*sikkhamānā*) is expected to observe six special rules, for two years, to be qualified for higher ordination (*upasampadā*) and raised to the position of a *bhikkuṇī*. These six rules are referred to as six *dhammā* to be observed for two years before requesting the *saṅgha* for higher ordination (*chasu dhammesu sikkhita sikkhā*). When taking upon herself the duty of observing these rules she has to say, for instance, "I undertake for two years not to transgress the resolution of abstinence from onslaught on creatures" (*Vin*. IV. 318 *f*.).If for any reason her undertaking is disturbed she can request the Saṅgha to bring her back into the training (*sikkhā-samādāna*).Significantly the term *sikkhāpada* is not used here but only the word *sikkhā* is used.(*ibid*.1.147)

Rules of Training for the Laity

Observance of the fivefold moral discipline (*pañca sīla*) is generally regarded as the regular moral discipline of the Buddhist laity. The five abstinences included in it have no penalties for their transgression. However it is generally agreed that one who transgresses them have to reap the evil consequences, or the benefits of observing them, through the working of the kammic principle. Anyway these fivefold moral discipline is often found described as the five *sikkhāpadas*(eg.*A*.IV.395).The female lay devotee, Nandamātā, declares that since she declared herself as a lay devotee (*upāsikā*) she does not know of any occasion of intentionally transgressing any rule of moral training(*kiñci sikkhāpadaṃ sañcicca vītikkamitā* (*ibid*. 66).The *Petavatthu* (IV.36.76) also refers to the taking up the five rules of moral training (*sikkhāpadāni pañca*) without any omission. Besides the five regular precepts with the third precept of abstaining from illegal sense pleasures, there is also a reference to five rules of training with celibacy as the fifth (*brahmacariya-pañcamāni sikkhāpadāni*) observed by lay followers who have realized the third stage of the path to Nibbāna (*A*.IV.210 *f*).It is also the practice among lay Buddhists who observe the eightfold *uposatha sīla* to repeat the eight precepts, when pledging to observe them, as rules of training with the words *sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi*.However these eight precepts, designated the *aṭṭhaṅga-uposathasīla*, are never called *sikkhāpadas* in the canonical texts (*PED*.s.v.*Sikkhāpada*)

Rules of Training; Their Place in the Life of a Buddhist Disciple

Training in the rules of training (*sikkhāpadas*) is mentioned frequently in the *Vinaya piṭaka* as well as in the discourses of the Buddha as a significant aspect in the moral discipline of a Buddhist monk or nun. (eg.*D*.1.63; cp.*Mhvu*.III,52 for Buddhist Sanskrit version) .The Buddha , while laying down such rules of training, has often given ten reasons for his action.(*Vin*.III.21) as follows, " for the excellence of the order, for the comfort of the Order, for the restraint of the evil-minded men, for the ease of the well-behaved monks, for the restraint of the cankers belonging to the here and now, for the combating of the cankers belonging to other worlds, for the benefit of non- believers, for the increase in the number of believers, for establishing *dhamma* indeed for following the rules of restraint"[6]

The importance attached to the rules of training by the Buddha is illustrated by a statement attributed to him by the texts (*A*.IV.201). He says that his disciples would not even at the cost of life, transgress the rules of training laid down by him. The *Udāna* commentary explains this as said of stream- winners etc,[7] and therefore not of ordinary disciples. Once the rules are laid down the Buddha expected his disciples to adhere to them. He prohibited them to run down any rule of training, especially the lesser and minor rules as unimportant. To do so is made a *Pācittiya* offence (*Vin*.IV.141).

There are nine noble qualities generally attributed to the Noble Community of Disciples of the Blessed One, the Ariya Saṅgha. Of these five concern their gift worthiness and their worthiness of receiving honour and respect of the people. To be endowed with moral discipline which includes the observance of the rules of training is one of the eight qualities that makes a disciple of the Buddha worthy of oblations (*āhuneyya*), hospitality (*pāhuneyya*), religious gifts (*dakkhiṇeyya*) being saluted with outstretched hands (*añjalikaraṇīya*) and become a peerless field of merit for the world (*anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassa* A.IV.290). It is also said that the observation of the rules of training makes one liked by one's fellow members of the Order (*ibid*.III.113). According to a *Vinaya* text, disciplining oneself through the rules of training is one of the qualities that makes one suitable to be selected as a member of an *ubbāhikā*, a committee selected to settle a dispute (*Vin*.II.95).

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2 Ibid.77
3 Ibid.49
4 *Ibid*.52
5 *Book of the Discipline* VI.p.ix
6 *Ibid*.III p.37*f*
7 Gradual Sayings IV.138.n.4

ŚIKṢĀNANDA. Śikṣānanda (652-710 A.C.) was a native of Kustana (modern Khotan in Sinkiang) of the T'ang dynasty, renowned for his profound knowledge of Buddhism of both vehicles as well as of other religions. During the Wu-chou regime, information was brought to Empress Wu Tsê-t'ien that there existed in Kustana the complete Sanskrit text of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra*. Immediately she sent commissioners to seek for the copy and in the meantime to invite a scholar competent to translate the work. It was these circumstances that brought Śikṣānanda to China with the said text. In the 1st year of Chêng-shêng (695) he arrived at Lo-yang. Taking up residence in the Great P'ien-k'ung Monastery in the imperial palace, he started the re-translation of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra*. The empress attached great importance to this task insomuch that she even participated personally in the initial stages. After that, Śikṣānanda continued to translate a series of other scriptures at the Fo-shou-chi Monastery of Lo-yang, the San-yang Palace of Ying-ch'uan and the Ch'ing-ch'an Monastery of Ch'ang-an. In the 4th year of Ch'ang-an (704), he obtained permission after repeated supplications to go back to see his mother who was growing advanced in age, and a high official was especially commissioned to escort him to Kustana. When emperor Chung-tsung ascended the throne, invitation was again extended to him, and in the 2nd year of Ching-lung (708) he arrived at Ch'ang-an for the second time, lodging at the Chien-fu Monastery. But scarcely had he had time to proceed with further translation works before he fell sick. In the 10th month of the 1st year of Ching-yün (710) of emperor Jui-tsung. He passed away in that monastery at the age of fifty-nine. The cremation took place one month after his death and his ashes were sent back to Kustana duly escorted by his disciple Pei-chih, also a native of Kustana, and Ko-shu Tao-yüan a special commissioner of the T'ang court. In the site of the cremation in Ch'ang-an, a seven-storied stūpa was afterward erected in his memory, known as the stūpa of the Hua-yen (i.e. *Avataṁsaka-sūtra*) master.

The specific mission of Śikṣānanda in China was the translation of the Kustana copy of the large version of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* (which might have some connection with the copy of the so-called 100,000-śloka text said to have been preserved in Chakūka a neighboring country of Kustana). The work was produced at the Great P'ien-k'ung Monastery under his personal supervision with the collaboration of a group of brilliant scholars. Bodhiruci, a *śramaṇa* of south India who had arrived in China three years before, and *Śramaṇa* I-tsing who had just come back from Śribhoja of the South sea, both assisted in the reading of the Sanskrit text; a number of other illustrious *śramaṇas*, e.g. Hung-ching, Yüan-ts'ê, Shên-ying, Fa-pao, Fa-tsang etc., all acted either as recorders in Chinese or as comparers of meanings; while the task of literary composition was taken up by *Śramaṇa* Fu-li of the Fo-shou-chi Monastery. The work was completed in 80 fascicles in the 2nd year of

Shêng-li (699). Following that, in the 1st year of Chiu-shih, (700), Śikṣānanda undertook the re-translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* at the San-yang Palace with the assistance of *Śramaṇas* Fu-li and Fa-tsang, which was concluded in the 4th year of Ch'ang-an (704). Both *sūtras* were graced by the Empress with recommendatory prefaces written by herself. Other translations produced by Śikṣānanda during this period include: the *Tathāgata-guṇācintyāvatāra-nirdeśa*, the *Tathāgatācintyaviṣaya-sūtra*, the *Sūtra spoken by Samantabhadra* (all of these belonging to the *Avataṁsaka* class), each in 1 fascicle; the *Mañjuśrī-buddha-kṣetra-guṇa-vyūhā-laṁkāra-sūtra* (belonging to the Ratnakūṭa class) in 3 fascicles; the *Daśa-kuśala-Karma-patha-sūtra* (belonging to the Mahāyāna *Vinaya*) in 1 fascicle; and four works of Tantric *Dhāraṇīs* in 4 Fascicles, viz. the *Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī*, etc. Apart from these, there are the *Caitya-pradakṣiṇa-gāthā* and the *Caturṣka-nirkāra-sūtra*, each in 1 fascicle, which were produced with the assistance of *Śramaṇas* P'o-lun, Hsüan-fan and others acting as recorders, and Chia Ying-fu, Privy councilor to the Crown Prince, as the supervising patron. Early traditions ascribe altogether 19 works to him, but several of them were reported to have been lost in his own time and their names have not been verified. According to the *K'ai-yüan Catalogue*, these lost works consisted of 5 *sūtras* (viz. *Sūtra on the Mind in accord with the Mahāprajñā*, etc.) in altogether 5 fascicles and 1 *śāstra* (viz. the *Awaking of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in 2 fascicles, thus making a total of 19 works in 107 fascicles.

Both the *Avataṁsaka* and the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtras* that Śikṣānanda undertook to translate were important scriptures universally recognized at that time. Both had been translated before. But the old translations had not proved satisfactory, either because of the incompleteness of the texts or because of the inadequate conveying of the meaning. Hence the necessity of giving them new translations. The Sanskrit text for the Tsin version of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* also come from Kustana, but it consist of only 34 chapters on 8 assemblies; whereas the new translation which consists of 39 chapters on 9 assemblies certainly appears much fuller. The difference of 1 assembly and 5 chapters in the latter was brought about by dividing the first assembly into 6 chapters instead of 2 as in the old translation and adding a new chapter, or Ten kinds of *Samādhi*, which together with the 10 succeeding chapters form the seventh assembly, which again took place in the Palace of All-Permeating Light. Apart from these, many additions were also made to the text. (Ch'êng-Kuan says in his *Commentary on the Avataṁsaka-sūtra*, that the original Sanskrit text of the Tsi'n translation of this sūtra consists of 36,000 *śloka* whereas that of the T'ang translation has 9,000 ślokas more, but still it is not complete. Thereupon Fa-tsang introduced into it another additional section relating how Mañjuśrī stretched out his hand to touch Sudhana's crown, a section taken from the chapter on Entering the *Dharmadhātu* translated in the 3rd year of Ch'ui-Kung by Divākara, a śramaṇa of Central India). After the production of this new translation, Fa-tsang does not seem to have had time to write a commentary on it in particular, but new ideas soon began to form in the minds of Hui-yüan, Ch'êng-kuan, Li T'ung-hsüan and others. Especially noticeable was Chêng-kuan who, through his appreciation of this new text, realized the great significance of the dogma concerning the principle and reality; and by making extensive development on this doctrine, he made the philosophy of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* take a great stride forward.

As to the new translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, the origin of the Sanskrit text is not known. Compared with the 4 fascicle version produced by Guṇabhadra under the Earlier Sung dynasty, there is an additional chapter at the beginning (i.e. Chapter on King Rāvana's Request); there are six divided chapters in the sūtra proper (i.e. Chapters on Impermanency, on Intuitive Realization, on the Permanence and Impermanence of the Tathāgata, on Momentariness, on Transformation and on prohibition of Meat-eating) and two more chapters at the end (i.e. chapter of *Dhāraṇīs* and chapter of *Gāthās*), making a sum-total of 10 chapters in 7 fascicles, forming a much fuller version than the old one. Judging the statement that appears in Empress Wu's Preface to this *sūtra* where she praises the translator as having "made investigation into the important points of three texts and produced a full version in 7 fascicles", more than one basic texts in Sanskrit seems to have been used; or the statement may be understood to mean that comparisons were constantly made with the old translations. Another statement in the same Preface reads thus: "Through 39 sections, false theories are refuted and the true tenets of the *sūtra* brought to view." This apparently refers to the chapter division

of the text which might have been the result of a re-grouping process done by consulting some Indian commentarial work. (The Tibetan translation of a commentary on this *sūtra* is precisely in 39 chapters). In one word, this version is a much fuller one in many respects.

Many of Śikṣānanda's other works are also duplicate translations—— the *Tathāgata-guṇācintyāvatāra-nirośa* being a fourth version; the *Tathāgata-cintyaviṣaya-sūtra* and the *Subāhu-mudrā-dhvajā-dhāraṇī* being both second versions; and the *Mañjuśrī-buddha-kṣetraguṇa-vyūhālaṅkā-ra-sūtra* being a third version. All these translations display a particular style characteristic of Śikṣānanda's works. He flourished at a time when the new translations of Hsüan-tsang had been prevailing for thirty years. As a matter of course, he ought to have been influenced to a certain extent by the innovations accomplished by his celebrated predecessor. But strange to say, he was rather disposed to prefer free translation, advocating the principle of simplicity and fluency. The result was that his works often bear a closer affinity to the old translations. For instance, in the rendering of many specific terms, he would often cling to the old translations or transliterations given by Kumārajīva rather than adopt the newly-established (and often the more adequate) ones (e.g. the translation of "Mañjuśrī", "Vimalakīrti", "Tuṣita", etc.). Consequently his translation of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* appears in style a continuation of the old version. The same may be said of his re-translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. This similarity might have had some connection with the personal performance of his Chinese collaborators who assisted him as text-recorders or literary composers. For instance, Yüan-ts'ê, Fa-pao, Fa-tsang, etc. were all dissatisfied with Hsüan-tsang's translations. Their pre-conceived bias might have eventually led to an intentional reaction against the current tendency of the time and thus formed a characteristic feature of Śikṣānanda's translations which in turn had definite influence on later translators.

The ascription of the duplicate translation of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* to Śikṣānanda is rather problematic. This śāstra, that first appeared under the Sui regime and gained growing popularity during the T'ang, is traditionally believed to be a work of Paramārtha. But, in the *Catalogue of Various Scriptures* compiled by Fa-ching and others twenty-five years after Paramārtha's death, there is a definite statement, saying, "This śāstra does not appear in the *Catalogue of Paramārtha's Works*," and hence it is entered under the head of Doubtful works. As for the second translation, the record of Śikṣānanda's life written by Fa-tsang is entirely silent about such a production ever done by this translator. As we know, Fa-tsang was a participant in Śikṣānanda's translation activities from beginning to end: but when he wrote his exegesis on this *śāstra* the text he used was no other but the old version, nor did he make any mention of Śikṣānanda's second translation. All evidences will point to the fact that the existence of a second version of this *śāstra* was not yet known at Fa-tsang's time and that was a later production beyond doubt. Furthermore, a careful examination of the two texts will reveal that the so-called second version is in fact nothing but a reproduction of the old one with revisions done on certain particular points. It is very unlikely that —Śikṣānanda should have ever produced such a "re-translation". (Considering the influence of this *śāstra* upon the Hsien-shou School of the T'ang dynasty in formulating their theoretical system, it is not without reason to suppose that it was the followers of this school who claimed the re-translation of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* as a work of Śikṣānanda). Another doubtful work which has been in circulation but has not appeared in earlier catalogues — vis. The *Sūtra on Ksitigarbha's Original Vow* — is also ascribed to Śikṣānanda. Needless to say, this is spurious.

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ŚIKṢĀSAMUCCAYA. The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* or "*Compendium of Discipline*", a very important text belonging to the Mahayanic literature, is attributed to Śāntideva, a great teacher of Mahayana Buddhism who flourished in the seventh or eighth century A. C. His other well known work is the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* which was written after the compilation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* as its title suggests is virtually a compendium of excerpts and quotations from Mahāyanic *sūtras* grouped under various philosophical and doctrinal topics by way of illustrating and supporting them. The work consists of three parts, i.e., the *kārikās* or memorial verses 27 in number, which can be rightly called the text; his own commentary of the *kārikās*; and the excerpts from Buddhist *sūtras* quoted in support of the same.

The work contains 19 chapters called '*paricchedas*'. It is of a practical guide to an aspirant for Bodhisattvahood and dwells on the Three Refuges, the Six *Pāramitās*, to wit, *Dāna, Sīla, Kṣānti, Vīrya Dhyāna* and *Prajñā*, the reverence for the religious teacher (*dharmabhāṇaka*), avoidance of hindrances to *pāramitās*, guarding one's self from sins and acquiring merits, purification from sins, advantages in residence in forest or a solitary place as a preparation for meditation and the preparation of mind for perfect meditation, all of which topics are based on the reverence to the Buddha and constant recollection of the Three Jewels of the Doctrine, viz. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* was first edited by Cecil Bendall in 1922 from a single MS. a paper copy, written in Nepalese script, now kept in Cambridge University Library. In 1958 P.L. Vaidya brought out an improved edition based on Bendall's edition, relying on later research and discoveries. The MS. nowhere mentions Śāntideva as the author of the work. But Tārānātha asserts that Śāntideva wrote three works, namely, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Sūtrasamuccaya*. The three scholars (two Indians known as *Jinamitra* and *Dhanasīla* and a Tibetan called *Jñānasena*) who translated the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* into Tibetan during 816 and 838 A.C. too attribute the *Kārikās* and the commentary to *Śāntideva*. Atisa also known as *Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna*, who frequently quotes profusely from the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, refers to the work as *Śikṣāsamuccaye śāntideva* (Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* or *śāntidevaviracite śikṣāsamuccaye* (in *Śikṣāsamuccaya* compiled by Śāntideva).

Despite Tārānātha's assertion, it is doubtful whether Śāntideva wrote a separate work called *Sūtrasamuccaya*. The popular work bearing the title *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is attributed to Nāgārjuna who has collected extracts from about sixty Mahayana *sūtras*. Vaida's view that Śāntideva's *Sūtrasasamucaya* is not an independent work but a designation given to the comentary part of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, containing excerpts from Buddhist *sūtras* is more plausible and receives support from Śāntideva's own statement contained in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Verses 105&106. There he says, after referring to his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* as a work dealing with the *sadācāra* in detail, that Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya* is succinct and second to his own.

Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* has drawn material from almost all the sixty works used by Nāgārjuna to compile his *Sūtrasamuccaya* and quotes from fifty more Mahayana *sūtras*. Most of the works quoted by Śāntideva have now perished and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is, therefore, an important source book that testifies to the existence of an extensive literature of Mahayana sutras most of which now exist only in name. Śāntideva's quotations are very accurate and much more extensive than his own commentary. The *sūtras* often quoted by him are the *Dharmasaṅgītisūtra*, *Āryaratnacūḍasūtra*, *Vīradattaparipṛcchā*, *Aryaakṣayamati sūtra*, *Lalitavistarasūtra* and so on.

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* was translated into Chinese by Dharmayaśas or Dharmakīrti between 1004 and 1058 A.C. under the title *Mahāyāna-saṅgīti-bodhicitta-vidyāśāstra*. According to Bendall this translation agrees more closely with the present text of the *Śikṣāsanuccaya* than the Tibetan translation. The latter however gives more complete translations of certain excerpts than the Chinese translation.

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SĪLA. *Sīla* is one of the terms that occupies a prominent place in the ethical language of Buddhism. The Pali Text Society Dictionary gives the meanings 'nature', 'character', 'habit', and 'behaviour' to the term[1]. It is clear that the term was used by other Indian religious traditions as well to refer to the kind of nurture they were keen to promote among those who pursued their faith. In Buddhism, too, *sīla* is used as a practice preceded by *saddhā* (belief or faith).

Buddhism used the term *sīla* both as an evaluative term in its ethical language as well as a descriptive or ethically neutral term in other contexts. A regular way of life or a mode of conducting oneself was considered in Buddhism as *sīla* and the term so used was often coupled with the term *vata*, sometimes as two separate words, and sometimes as the compound *sīlabbata*. Like the English term morality which can be used in a positivistic sense to refer to any system of norms of human conduct, accepted by a given group of people, irrespective of whether it was accepted universally or not as a valid system, the term *sīla* was used in Buddhism to refer to any practice that was adopted by a given group of religious seekers to guide their way of life. The *Kukkuravatika Sutta* refers to practices adopted by two persons who followed such religious practices known as Seniya, the Kukkuravatika (one who followed the practice of living like a dog) and Puṇṇa, the Govatika (one who followed the practice of living like a cow)[2]. When the term *sīla* was used in Buddhism in the context of the exposition of Buddhist morality without any qualifying prefix (as in *susīla /dussīla*) or as an adjectival compound (as in *ariyasīla/anariyasīla*) the term was used normatively but not descriptively. In such uses of the term it acquired a commendatory meaning. Thus, when Buddhism referred to a person as *sīlavā* it implied that such a person is commendable in respect of his behaviour.

The early Buddhist formulation of the path of liberation represented in the Pali Sutta literature consists of a scheme of three fold training in which *sīla* occurs as the first step and the foundation for the other two steps. This point is emphasized in most of the suttas contained in the *sīlakkhandhavagga*, the first group of Suttas of the *Dīghanikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Pali canon. The path of liberation is presented in these suttas in the three stages called *adhisīlasikkhā* (higher training in good practices), *adhicittasikkhā* (higher training of the mind), and *adhipaññāsikkhā* (higher training in insight). The significance of *sīla* as the foundation of the Buddhist Path of liberation is highlighted in two verses of the *Sagāthakavagga* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* where the Buddha's response to a question posed by a deity who inquired about the person who is competent to escape the internal and external tangle in which living beings are enmeshed, is reported[3]. The most elaborate account of *sīla* in Buddhism is found in the form of a commentary by Ven. Buddhaghosa who undertook the task of commenting upon these verses of the *Saṃyuktanikāya* in the chapter called the *Sīlaniddesa* of his monumental work known as *Visuddhimagga*.

Discourses of the Buddha emphasizing the significance of *sīla* as the preliminary stage and the foundation of the Buddhist goal of moral perfection are scattered in many contexts in the Pali canonical scriptures. One of the striking instances is the reference to an accountant by profession (*gaṇaka*) named Moggallāna inquiring from the Buddha as to whether in the Buddha's scheme of training there is a graduated procedure which is comparable to what is followed in the training of an accountant in dealing with numbers. The Buddha responds pointing out that in his scheme of training too, there is a graduated training, procedure, and path (*anupubbasikkhā anupubbakiriyā anupubbapaṭipadā*). In his path, a disciple is first advised to cultivate *sīla* so that he could then proceed with greater facility to the other two stages consisting of mental composure (*samādhi*) and insight (*paññā*).[4] The idea that *sīla* is in a way a precondition for the development of *samādhi* and *paññā* is often emphasized. In the biographical account of the last days of the Buddha's life prior to his demise, given in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, his repetitive emphasis on the requirement of perfecting *sīla* as a ground for the fruitful cultivation of mental composure, which is grounded on the perfection of *sīla*, is immensely fruitful and beneficial (*sīlaparibhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisaṃso*).[5] It is also maintained that seven consecutive steps can be identified in an individual's gradual progression towards the goal of liberation and that the first in this successive order is *sīla*. Although *sīla* is considered as the foundation for the development of insight, the relationship between *sīla* and insight (*paññā*) are considered to be mutually supportive. The Buddha is represented as agreeing with the view that where there is *sīla* there is *paññā*

and where there is *paññā* there is *sīla*. Just as one could use one hand to wash the other hand or one foot to wash the other foot, in the same way *paññā* is purified by *sīla* and *sīla* is purified by *paññā*.[6] The ultimate goal of liberation is conceived in Buddhism as the attainment of a morally incorruptible state of mind leading to the appeasement of all unwholesome character traits of a person. In the context referred to here this attainment is described as *anupādā parinibbāna* (perfect appeasement free of clinging). This ultimate freedom is described as a consequence of a stepwise perfection of seven purifications beginning with the purification of *sīla* (*sīlavisuddhi*).[7]

All modes of higher moral cultivation are expected to be practised on the foundation of *sīla*. In the same way as all activity pursued by the application of human strength have the earth as their support, all activity pursued in the path of moral perfection laid down in Buddhism, in terms of the noble eightfold path, the seven factors of enlightenment, and the four foundations of mindfulness have *sīla* as their support.[8] The *Niddesa* describes *sīla* as the forerunner and the foundational practice that helps in the attainment of all wholesome states.[9]

The value of *sīla* as a precondition in the Buddhist path is justified in Buddhism by appealing to certain psychological facts about the causal connection between *sīla* and other higher spiritual attainments. *Sīla* consists primarily of a conscious regulation of a person's bodily and verbal conduct that is morally reprehensible as an expression of underlying deep-rooted unwholesome tendencies of the human mind. Such unwholesome tendencies lie dormant or as latent tendencies (*anusaya*) of the mind. They may not be accessible to one's day-to-day consciousness. These latent tendencies have been nourished by repeated forms of behaviour in the lengthy process of cyclic existence with no known beginning. A person desiring to weaken those tendencies could do so by exercising restraint in patterns of behaviour that continuously feed and nourish them. The overtly observable patterns of behaviour are evident to those who engage in them as well as others around them. They are much more tangible than the concealed tendencies of mind. Therefore, Buddhism recommends *sīla* as a psychologically feasible starting point in the endeavour of transforming behaviour. The emphasis in the cultivation of *sīla* is on the restraint of bodily and verbal deeds. This is evident from several lists of *sīla* mentioned in the Buddhist tradition.

The most complete and elaborate list of *sīla* mentioned in the Pali canon is found in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* and the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* of the *Dīghanikāya*. This list enumerated under *adhisīlasikkhā* (training in higher *sīla*) applies to the purity of conduct that is expected of a Buddhist monk who has renounced the pleasures of the household life. In order of priority the first *sīla* consists of abstention from killing and causing injury or harm to any living being. In cultivating this *sīla*, in addition to the giving up of cruelty towards living beings, one is expected to have pity, compassion and concern for their well-being. The second *sīla* consists of abstention from theft and cultivating an honest, non-deceitful attitude regarding the possessions of others. The third consists of abstaining from sexual pleasures. The first three *sīlas* apply to restraint in bodily conduct. The four *sīlas* that follow them apply to restraint in verbal conduct. The first among them consists of abstention from false speech and being reliable, truthful and trustworthy in one's speech. The second consists of abstention from harsh speech that results in hurting the feelings of the hearer. Instead of harsh speech, one is expected to engage in speech, which is endearing, pleasant to hear and appealing to the listener's heart (*neḷā kaṇṇasukhā pemanīyā hadayaṅgamā*). The third consists of abstention from slanderous speech, which involves causing dissention among people. The positive manner of speech that is to be cultivated in place of slanderous speech should be conducive to bringing about unity and harmony between people who are already disunited, and be effective in promoting and strengthening the bonds of unity among people who are already united (*bhinnānaṃ vā sandhātā sahitānaṃ vā anuppadātā*). The fourth consists of abstention from frivolous speech and practice of timely, factual, meaningful, restrained speech that can be treasured, fitting the place and occasion and used within meaningful limits. (*kālavādī bhūtavādī atthavādī dhammavādī vinayavādī nidhānavatiṃ vācaṃ bhāsitā kālena sāpadesaṃ pariyantavatiṃ atthasaṃhitaṃ*). It should be noted that in the case of the third *sīla* concerned with bodily conduct of the monk, which has reference to sexual pleasures, the monk is expected to observe complete celibacy. Sexual pleasures are considered as detrimental to the kind of perfection that the monk is

expected to aim at. The *sīla* having reference to the sexual life of the lay person is not presented as involving the full abstention from sexual pleasures (*abrahmacariyā veramaṇī virato methunā dhammā*), but as involving the wrongful enjoyment of sexual pleasures (*kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī*). The four *sīlas* consisting of the first three related to bodily conduct and the first related to verbal conduct are common to the monks and nuns as well as laypersons except that the third, does not involve complete abstention from sexual pleasures in the case of laypersons. This difference is due to the understanding that in the case of monks and nuns moral purity requires absolute non-attachment to sense pleasures, whereas laypersons are generally recognized as those who have not completely given up their desire to enjoy sense pleasures (*gihī kāmabhogino*). What is expected of the layperson is the enjoyment of sense pleasures within legitimate limits in such a way that the social norms regarding the enjoyment of sexual pleasures are not violated. Hence, this *sīla* is presented among the five *sīlas* laid down for the laypersons as "abstention from misconduct in relation to the enjoyment of sense pleasures" (*kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī*). With the addition of the precept for abstention from the taking of intoxicating substances (*surāmerayamajjha-pamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī*) the minimum requirement of *sīla* for the lay people becomes the observance of five precepts. In an alternative list of *sīla* for lay persons, described as the *sīla* consisting of right means of livelihood as the eighth (*ājīvaṭṭhamakasīla*), the remaining three abstentions connected with verbal conduct, namely, abstention from harsh speech, slanderous speech and frivolous speech, as well as abstention from wrong means of livelihood, are added. The fulfillment of this last *sīla* for the lay person requires the abstention from wrong means of livelihood are enumerated in Buddhism as abstaining from harmful trades as trades in weapons (*satthavaṇijjā*), living beings (*sattavaṇijjā*), flesh (*maṃsavaṇijjā*), intoxicating substances (*majjavaṇijjā*) and poisons (*visa vaṇijjā*). It could also include the Buddhist ethical principles involving righteous means of earning one's material wealth. Lay persons may also observe from time to time eight *sīlas* known to the canonical tradition as the *aṭṭhaṅguposatha* (observance of eight precepts) which in addition to the first five (with the third observed as temporary celibacy) include (1) abstention from taking untimely meals, (2) abstention from participating in musical performances, dancing and theatrical performances, wearing garlands and other ornaments and using perfumes, and (3) abstention from the use of high and luxurious seats and beds. These *sīlas* have been recommended for the laypersons to live a life of renunciation, emulating at least on special days of religious significance, the conduct of the *bhikkhu* community, which has a morally more elevated status. The *sīlas* expected of a novice (*sāmaṇera*) are enumerated as ten, separating (2) mentioned above into two as (1) abstention from participating in dancing, music and theatrical performances and (2) abstention from the wearing of garlands, perfumes and adornments of the body, and adding the precept of abstaining from the use of gold and silver as the tenth.

The full list of *sīla* enumerated in the *Brahmajāla* and *Sāmaññaphala suttas* consists of numerous observances aimed at transforming the lifestyle of the *bhikkhu* in such a way that it marks a radical difference from the lifestyle of the layperson. The *sīla* mentioned under the *majjhimasīla* and *mahāsīla* for the *bhikkhu* includes observation of precepts as abstention from certain mundane occupations like making a living by the practice of medicine, astrology, and certain trades practised by laypersons. These items of *sīla* reflect the total commitment expected of the *bhikkhu*'s life to the attainment of perfect freedom from all mental cankers. The monk is expected to refrain from the practice of all the mundane or lower arts (*tiracchāna vijjā*).

Despite the fact that *sīla* is extolled as the indispensable foundation for progress in the Buddhist path, the Buddha often warns his disciples not to consider *sīla* as an end in itself. The Buddha has cautioned his disciples against the possibility of clinging to *sīla* and as a consequence becoming victims of a kind of spiritual pride that might become a serious hindrance to their moral development. The Buddha was aware of the tendency on the part of other contemporary teachers to claim that fulfillment of *sīla* alone guaranteed moral purity. In their estimation fulfillment of *sīla* was the most valuable attainment.[10]

The Buddha recognized the significant role of *sīla* as a means to an end. *Sīla* was classed among other useful means to achieve the ultimate goal such as a view (*diṭṭhi*), hearing from a sacred tradition (*suti*) experience (*muti*), knowledge (*ñāṇa*) and vows (*vata*).

The Buddha observed that according to him purity is not claimed either on account of them or in the absence of them[11]. The *Niddesa* explanation of this statement makes it clear that what the Buddha intended to convey was that *sīla* and the rest are necessary as means to an end but are not final ends in themselves.[12] This does not however mean that a person was expected to abandon *sīla* after attaining the goal. After attaining the goal a person becomes one who is endowed with *sīla* (*sīlavā*) because of the spontaneous nature of his behaviour, but not be obsessed with *sīla* (*no ca sīlamayo*).[13]

There are many passages in the canon that draw attention to the psychological impact of the perfection of *sīla* and the ensuing process of progression in the path. The most obvious psychological consequence of perfection in *sīla* is considered to be the attainment of freedom from regret or remorse. A person who is perfect in *sīla* does not have to make any resolve to be free from remorse or regret. Freedom from remorse or regret comes as a spontaneous or natural product of perfection in *sīla*. It also sets in motion a psychological process beginning with a refined sense of delight (*pāmojja*) followed successively by joy (*pīti*), relaxation of one's entire being (*kāyo passambhati*), the experience of a sense of well being (*sukhaṃ vedeti*) and the attainment of mental composure (*cittaṃ samādhiyati*).[14] On the other hand a person who is at fault with regard to *sīla* has destroyed the very support or foundation of right composure of the mind.[15] Whenever a person reflects on one's own perfection in *sīla* his mind is not overwhelmed by the roots of evil consisting of greed, hatred and delusion. As a consequence he experiences a sense of spiritual delight and joy conducive to the attainment of mental composure.[16] *Sīla* promotes a sense of happiness derived from a clear conscience and such happiness is referred to in the Suttas as *anavajjasukha*.[17] *Sīla* helps the Buddhist practitioner to overcome the psychological tensions resulting from rough and unrefined patterns of behaviour. A mind affected by such tensions can never settle down to attain the degree of mental composure that is necessary to cultivate insight (*paññā*).

Attention is drawn in the suttas to the benefits of *sīla* even to the layperson who practices them. A person who practices *sīla* conducts his life vigilantly and as a result he is capable of amassing much wealth. Secondly, a good reputation about him spreads resulting in the recognition of him in society as an honorable person. Thirdly, he is capable of appearing in any social gathering with perfect self-confidence. Fourthly, he dies with a clear conscience and finally, after death he is reborn in a heavenly world.[18] The practice of the five precepts as the minimum standard of *sīla* to be cultivated in lay life ensures a secure foundation for a successful lay life and social stability.

Sīla is found to occupy a prominent place in many lists of moral perfection introduced in Buddhism. Apart from being the first of the three kinds of training leading to the attainment of *Nibbāna*, the ultimate goal of Buddhism, it is recognized as a cardinal virtue in many other contexts. It is one of the ten righteous qualities of a ruler (*dasarājadhamma*). It is also a perfection (*sīlapāramitā*) to be fulfilled by one who aspires to attain full enlightenment (*sammāsambodhi*). It appears also as one of the seven items of noble wealth (*ariyadhana*) that one can acquire in life. *Sīla* is one of the grounds for the performance of meritorious acts (*puññakiriyavatthu*).

The most exhaustive treatment of the concept of *sīla* is found in the first chapter of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*. Buddhaghosa defines *sīla* as 'phenomena such as the volitions of a person who abstains from actions such as killing and fulfilling certain duties and obligations" (*pāṇātipātādīhi vā viramantassa vattapaṭivattaṃ vā pūrentassa cetanādayo dhammā*). He also extends the application of the term beyond its canonical limits. An example is his classification of *sīla* into four as (1) *pātimokkhasaṃvarasīla* (practice of restraints according to the disciplinary rules laid down in the *Pātimokkha*, (2) *Indriyasaṃvarasīla* (practice of restraint with regard to the six senses), (3) *ājīvapārisuddhasīla* (practice of strict purity of livelihood) and (4) *paccayasannissitasīla* (using the four requisites such as alms food, robes etc. merely as a means to achieve the ultimate goal). Buddhaghosa's new classification of *sīla* and the interpretations of the term reflect his scholarly approach to the subject. He has used his knowledge of canonical Buddhism to present his own interpretations and classifications with a view to providing a thorough elucidation of the concept.

Sīla has assumed such recognition and importance in the Buddhist tradition that it has usually been understood as being synonymous with morality. There is no doubt that a large proportion of ethical behaviour recognized in Buddhism is covered by *sīla*. However the ethical aims of Buddhism seem to go beyond the mere practice of *sīla* in ritual fashion. The practice of *sīla* is considered as a preliminary step or a foundation for the attainment of an incorruptible emancipation from all corruptions of the mind.

P.D. Premasiri

References

1 T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede Ed. (Luzac and Company Ltd., 1959)

2 *Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 387

3 The question posed by the deity was: *Anto jaṭā bahi jaṭā jaṭāya jaṭitā pajā*

Taṃ taṃ Gotama pucchāmi ko imaṃ vijaṭaye jaṭaṃ

(There are tangles within and there are tangles without. Living beings are tangled by tangles. I question thee, Gotama, who would disentangle this tangle.)

The response of the Buddha was : *Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño cittaṃ paññañca bhāvayaṃ Ātāpī nipako bhikkhu so imaṃ vijaṭaye jaṭaṃ*

(An insightful person, an ardent bhikkhu, having established himself in *sīla* and developing the mind and insight shall disentangle this Tangle. (*Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. I, p. 13

4 *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. III, p.1

5 *Dighanikāya* Volume. II, p. 81

6 *Ibid*. Vol. I, p. 12

7 *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 147

8 *Sīlaṃ nissāya sīle patiṭṭhāya ariyaṃ aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ bhāveti* .... *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. V. p. 45

9 *Sīlaṃ patiṭṭhā ādicaraṇaṃ saṃyamo saṃvaro mukhaṃ pamukhaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ* – *Niddesa* Vol. I,

p.39

10 *Sīluttamāsaññmenāhu suddhiṃ* (Those who considered *sīla* to be the highest spoke of purity through restraint)

-*Suttanipāta* verse 898. *Niddesa* gives a detailed account of such an attitude.

11 *Na diṭṭhiyā na sutiyā na ñāṇā sīlabbatenāpi na suddhimāha adiṭṭhiyā asutiyā aññā asīlatā abbatā nopi tena Ete ca nissajja anuggahāya santo anissāya bhavaṃ na jape* –*Suttanipāta* verse 839

12 *Niddesa* Vol. I, p. 187

13 *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. II, p. 27.

14 *Aṅguttaranikāya* Vol. V, p. 2-3.

15 *Dussīlassa bhikkhave sīlavipannassa hatupaniso hoti sammāsamādhi* – Ibid. Vol. III, p. 19

16 .. *ariyasāvako attano sīlaṃ anussarati... akhaṇḍāni... nevassa tasmiṃ samaye rāgapariyuṭṭhitaṃ cittaṃ hoti*

Labhati atthavedaṃ , labhati dhammavedaṃ labhati dhammupasaṃhitaṃ pāmujjaṃ – Ibid. p. 286; see also

Ibid. Vol. I, p. 219

17 *Dīghanikāya* Vol. I, p.70

18 Ibid. Vol. II, p. 86

SĪLĀCĀRA (1872-1951), Scottish Buddhist monk, who contributed to promote the cause of Buddhism, both in the West and the East for over 25 years.

Born to a Christian Scottish family in 1872, he was named J.P.M. Kechnie. As a child he was destined to lead a miserable life, that caused him to develop a pessimistic attitude towards life. In his desperation he even tried to commit suicide. It was at this juncture that he developed a keen interest in studying Buddhism and it proved to be the turning point of his life. Having impressed and influenced by the teachings of the Buddha, he strived to gain a deep insight into this new doctrine. Meanwhile he unexpectedly inherited a substantial property from a grand uncle as a windfall and that made him resourceful. With this new fortune, he decided to dedicate his services to the cause of Buddhism. Accordingly he went to Myanmar and volunteered to edit, *The Buddhist*, a periodical published in that country during that time. Later he studied Pāli and ordained himself under the name Bhikkhu Sīlācāra. Among his noteworthy writings on Buddhism are: *First fifty Discourses of the Buddha;*

The Noble Eightfold Path; The Dhammapada or Way of Truth and Young people's life of the Buddha. He also translated *Majjhima Nikāya* from Pāli into English and the works of Paul Dahlke and George Grimm from German into English.

Ill-health forced him to revert to lay life towards the end of his life and he died in England in 1951.

C.S. Ranasighe

SILK ROAD: Silk Road was the trade route by which Chinese Silk had been transported to Europe through central and west Asia in the early times. Its significance to Buddhism lies in the fact that it was through this overland network of major and minor routes that Buddhism was spread from India to central Asia and China. Silk Road and its arteries connected Buddhist centers in Northeast India with western central Asia, the Tarim basin and China during the first millennium A.C.

Though the Silk Road was used exclusively as a trade route, intercultural and religious exchanges were carried on along this route for merely two millennia. According to Chinese historical chronicles of the Han period (206 B.C –220 A. C), migration of Yuezhi nomads to Bacteria had taken place in the second century B.C. From there, a sub-division of Yuezhi called Kushans penetrated into the Northwest India through Hindu Kush in the first century A.C. In the following century, the Kushans, who had by then attained supremacy in the region under the emperor Kaniṣka, held sway over the routes that connected northern India with the Silk Road. This development under the Kushan patronage eventually constituted immensely to propagate Buddhism beyond South Asian region to Central Asia and China.

It was through the Silk routes that the translators of the early Buddhist texts like An Shigao, Lokakṣema and others reached China from Western Central Asia and Northwest India in the second century A.C. "Buddhist monasteries Emerged near irrigated oases at Khotan, Kucha, Turfan and Dunhuang on the northern and southern branches of the Silk routes during the third to fifth centuries C.E.... Many anonymous monks who traveled between India and China along the Silk routes were responsible for the transmission of Buddhism outside the monastic community. Chinese pilgrims to India returned with manuscripts, relics and stories about sacred places in the Buddhist heartland". (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol.2, U.S.A., 2004, p.776).

Discovery of a series of dilapidated Buddhist monuments in recent times that include Stupas, images, cave paintings bear testimony to the existence of a flourishing Buddhist civilization along the southern route of the Silk Road. Gandhāra influence is unmistakably visible not only in Buddhist art, architecture and sculpture, but also in the scriptures discovered. Usage of Gandhāra language was prevalent in the southern part of the Silk route until the fourth century A.C. However, in the northern part of the Silk route, alongside Gandhāra traces, western central Asia, Iranian, Chinese and Turkish influences are also evident in the Buddhistic remains. "The distribution of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from the second to sixth centuries C.E. indicates that Buddhst centers along the northern Silk route were generally affliated with Mainstream B uddhist Schools (particularly, the Sarvāstivāda), but the Mahāyāna tradition was prevalent in southern Silk route centers such as Khotan"(ibid).

Buddhism was the most powerful cultural and spiritual force that exerted a great influence along the central Asian portion of the Silk Road until the late first millennium A.C. However, with the aggrevation of Islamic invasions in the region towards the beginning of the second millennium A. C, Buddhism suffered heavy losses and began to deteriorate leaving only the vestiges of its pristine glory that once flourished along the southern stretch of the Silk Road.

C.S. Ranasinghe

SĪMĀ : The Pali Text Society's Pali -English Dictionary gives the meaning as boundary, limit, parish. It has come to mean a territorial division within which monastic activity takes place. *Anto sīmaṃ* means within the boundary. *Ekasīmāya* -within one boundary of the same territorial division. *Nissīmaṃ* outside the boundary. *Bahisīmāgata* -gone outside the boundary. *Sīmāsamugghāta* -abolishing of a boundary.

Sīmā sambheda mixing up of the boundary lines. *Sīmā-anta* boundary limit. *Sīmā-antarikā-* the interval between boundaries. *Sīmā* has an abstract application also as in *simātiga* transgressing the limits of sin, conquering sin, *Sīmākata*-bounded, restricted.

The usage of the word *sīmā* taken in the connotation of its relation to a particular *Saṅgha* community and the recital of the *pātimokkha* on the observance day (*Uposatha*), requires some explanation. It must also be kept in mind that though the concept had its origin in a definite point of time, recorded in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, it also lent itself to changes and modification over the centuries.

To begin with, the term *Saṅgha* may be applied to the *Saṅgha* community as a whole or to separate *Saṅgha* communities residing in various places. It is the latter sense that the present discussion is concerned with in regard to *sīmā*. Originally, it referred to a specific area where a *saṅgha* community was residing like a single village on which it was dependent.[1] The *Gopakamoggallāna sutta* states:

"On the *Uposatha* day, as many of us as live in dependence upon a single village district meet together in unison, and when we meet we ask one who knows the *pātimokkha* to recite it.

"The single village unit which the *Gopakamoggallāna sutta* speaks of as "*ekaṃ gāmakkhettaṃ*," seems to have been a convenient unit for the collective organization of the *Saṅgha* for their monastic activities, participation in the ritual of the *Saṅgha* being absolutely imperative.[2]

In the early history of the *sāsana* according to the *Samantapāsādikā* there were eighteen great monasteries in the vicinity of Rajagaha forming one single unit of monastic activity coming under one boundary- *ekasīmā*.

The origin of the word *sīmā* is found in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[3] where a statement of the Buddha is recorded that the *pātimokkha* must be recited before a complete Order - *Samaggānam*. But a question was raised as to what was meant by "being all together" or "complete Order". The Buddha's reply was: "I allow monks being all together means as far as one residence."[4]

But then again the question was raised as to what constituted a residence and the Buddha replied,

"I allow you, monks, to agree upon a boundary. And thus, monks, should it be agreed upon. First, marks should be announced, a mark consisting of a hillside, a mark consisting of a tree, a mark consisting of a river, a mark consisting of (a body of) water. The Order, having announced the marks, should be informed by an experienced competent monk. ..."

"At this point, the procedure is given which should be followed at a formal meeting of the *saṅgha* to have the proposed boundary accepted. It was subsequently decided that the residence should not extend beyond 3 *yojanas* from the centre of the marked out site. The boundary should not be on the other side of a river either, unless there was a regular boat or ferry service or a bridge. All these details were gone into in order to facilitate monks residing within a unit of residence coming on time for the Observance.

At one time, some monks began to recite the *pātimokkha* in their cells, within a *saṅgha* residence. It was then laid down that the recitation should be carried out in an observance hall *uposathagaram*[5]. It could refer to a dwelling place (*vihāra*), a circular house (*aḍḍhayoga*), a long house (*pāsāda*), or a mansion (*hammiya*) or a cave (*guhā*).[6]

A problem arose when two *Uposatha* halls came to be agreed upon but the Buddha over ruled that decision and said only one *Uposatha* hall should be decided on for one residence and the other should be abolished by a formal act of the *saṅgha*. When the size of the *Uposatha* hall was too small, the rule came to be laid down for agreeing on an Uposatha hall of maximum size for the observance which should be agreed on in accordance with all the resident monks at a formal assembly of the monks.[7] The *Khandakas* record many such occasions when decisions have been taken with regard to *sīmā*. For instance, there was the case where a boundary had not been agreed on and established. In such a case, it was decided that the boundary of whatever village or little town upon which a monk lives depending on, should be the boundary of the *saṅgha* community's residence for the purpose of the observance.[8]

If a monk is living not in a village or town but in the jungle, then the place where he is residing must come within 7 *abbhantaras* all round of the *saṅgha* residence. The *Samantapāsādikā* describes an *abbhantara* as 28 cubits in length.

As the Bhikkhu community expanded and spread over a vast extent of territory, several monastic units of residence came into being and consequently the concept of *sīmā* underwent change.

Sīmā which originally indicated a convenient unit of residence of the *Saṅgha* for their monastic activities referred to as *Samānasaṃvāsaka Sīmā*, seems to have changed its character to mean the venue where the *Saṅgha* may perform its monastic activities like the conferment of *Pabbajjā* and *Upasampadā*. This was later called *Khaṇḍa Sīmā*.[9] The *Khaṇḍa Sīmā* should be able to accommodate up to twenty one monks. It is said that a river, natural lake, sea or any water body would be very suitable for a *Khaṇḍa Sīmā* because it is protected from trespassers and various *Saṅgha* acts could be carried out within it in perfect confidentiality. Such a *sīmā* in the water is referred to as *Udakukkhepa Sīmā* and it is stipulated that its extent should cover the distance that a man of average height can throw water all around.[10]

Because of the expansion of the *Saṅgha* community a multiplicity of *Saṅgha* units arose in a territory originally demarcated for one monastic group only. Then there arose a danger of overlapping of boundaries and the establishment of 'buffer states', so to speak, *Sīmantarikā*, between each unit, became a necessity.[11]

There has been a great ritualistic concern to uphold the validity of each *sīmā* for obvious reasons, otherwise the validity of formal *saṅgha* acts could be called into question. If the means of enforcing discipline in monastic communities through monastic procedures are to be upheld then the validity of the *sīmā* becomes a concern of paramount importance.

Apparently, *Vinaya* literature on the subject of *sīmā* increased even after Buddhaghosa's authoritative commentarial notes. *Sīmālaṅkāra* is the work of a Sinhalese monk, Vācissara, of the 13th century. It is considered an authoritative treatise. Also, the work of a Burmese thera, Capaṭa, who compiled a *Ṭīkā* to the *Sīmālonkāra* of Vācissara, *Sīmālankāropakarana*, is considered another authoritative treatise. Yet another treatise is *Sīmālankārachedani*, compiled by the Sinhala monk Sri Rahula of the 15th century. A controversy over the *Balapitimodara Sīmā* in the 19th century led to many treatises on the subject by both Sinhala and Burmese monks. They are considered valuable additions to vinaya literature on the subject.[12]

There is, therefore, room for us to conjecture that there have been many changes and modifications in the concept of *sīmā* down through the ages from its germinal beginnings in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* in the time of the Buddha.

Sāmaneri Suvimalee

References

1. *Gopakamoggallana Sutta*, *M*. iii p. 10
2. See Jotiya Dhirasekera, *Monastic Discipline*, Colombo, 1982, p.95
3. *Vin*. I. 106
4. *"Anujānāmi bhikkhave ettāvatā samaggi yāvatā ekavāso ti* (*Vin*. I. 105)
5. *Vin*. I. 107
6. *Vin*. III 66
7. *Vin*. I. 107
8. *Vin*. I . 107
9. See Jotiya Dhirasekera, *Monastic Discipline*, Colombo, 1982, p. 173
10. *Vin*. I. iii
11. *ibid*.
12. Jotiya Dheerasekera *op.cit*. pp. 175-6

SITULPAVUVA: Situlpavuva (Situlpahuva) is mentioned in Pali literature as Cittalapabbata or sometimes as Cittalakūṭa. It is a mountain in Rohaṇa on which King Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, father of King Duṭṭhagāmanī Abhaya (161-137 A.C.) built a *vihāra*. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, King Vasabha (66-110 A.C.) built ten *stūpas* there. The *vihāra* has been built on a mountain, about 400 feet above normal ground level. It is situated in *Māgam Pattu* of the Hambantota District in the Southern Province. The distance from Kataragama (Kācaragāma) which is towards the east is about 10 miles. *Mahāvaṃsa* says that King

Kākavaṇṇa Tissa caused to be built the *vihāras* named Cittalapabbata and Tissamahārāma etc., and donated them to the community of monks along with the other needy things such as the fourfold requisites. In and around Cittalapabbata, there are nearly 66 cave inscriptions, engraved in early Brahmi script. These inscriptions are to be seen on the drip ledges of caves and are made up of short sentences. They indicate that the caves were donated to the *saṅgha*, arriving from the four directions.

A son of a Brahmin named Vaccha, Nāgasena Thera, Tissa Thera, Ācārya Parāsari, Bata Kujja Tissa, a householder named Yasopāla are some of the persons whose names have been engraved. An inscription which has been published by the Archaeological Department reads: *Devanapiya rajha abayasa senapati parumaka mitasa lene agata anagata catudisa sagasa dine* (No 620). The person named Mitta in this record is Nandimitta, the warrior of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya (who finds mention in the *Mahāvaṃsa*). (Translation) ' The cave of the chief Mitta, the Commander-in-chief of King Abhaya, the Friend of the gods, is given to the *saṃgha* of the four quarters, present and absent'. Another record reads as *'Parumaka Veluṣumanasa puta parumaka Velusaputa parumaka Pusadevasa lene; Devapiyasa rajaha Tisasa Ayakaya lene Deva oharane lene sagasa'* (Translation) 'The cave of the chief Phussadeva, son of the chief Velu, son of the chief of Velusumana - the cave of the revenue officer of King Tissa, the Friend of the Gods- the cave named Deva-oharana (is given) to the *saṃgha* .' (No. 647).

Another warrior named Phussadeva appears in several other inscriptions at this site. These warriors are mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and it is not difficult to identify them as engraved on stone. (Nos. 640, 651, 658, 664, 667).

The next important king mentioned is Vasabha. Cittalapabbata is named as Cittalakūṭa in the *Mahāvaṃsa* with reference to this king. This king is credited with the building of 10 stūpas at this site. The *Cūlavaṃsa* mentions that King Dāṭhopatissa (7th century) donated the income accruing from the village of Goṇaviṭṭhi to this *vihāra*. About this time in the province of Rohaṇa, Mahāyāna Buddhism was gaining ground. A statue of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (to be seen at this site even at the present day and bearing traces of the influence of Pallava art) has been ascribed to the 7th century by archaeologists. The chronicle also states that a statue of Metteyya (of about 15 cubits in height), a Bodhisattva who is common to both Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna, was erected at this site. This is evidence of the spread of the Bodhisattva cult among the Buddhist public during this period, on account of the influence of Mahāyāna forms of worship.

It is on record that during the reign of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, there were thousands of *bhikkhus* residing at Situlpavuwa. When construction work of Mahānuggala-cetiya came to a close, a festival was held in connection with its unveiling. On this occasion it has been said that twelve thousand bhikkhus had participated. As this event has been reported in *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* as well, there is enough evidence to regard it as genuine. If the number 12,000 is not acceptable as it appears to be an exaggeration, it is possible to state that a large number of *bhikkhus* participated at the time. In the same text, there is a reference to a *padhānaghara* (house of meditation) named Niṃkapoṇṇa in close proximity. (*Vibh.* 289). In the inscriptions of the 10th century, this type of building is referred to by the name *piyangal* or *piyangul*. The group of buildings named Western monasteries in the Outer Circular Road, Anuradhapura, have now been identified as meditation houses. Normally these occupy rocky sites, flattish outcrops of granite, comparatively level. The principal feature is a double platformed structure. Of the two platforms, the one at the back is built on a rock and is surrounded by a moat. A number of stone pillars which stood on this platform supported the roof of a walled chamber. The platform in front was open to the sky. There were no pillars on it. There is a large monolithic slab which served as a bridge over the moat. Round the inner face of the wall ran a raised ambulatory. These were the *caṅkramaṇas* for meditative pacing. *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā* says that Koṭagaruka pāsāda which was attached to Situlpavu, was the residence of *bhikkhu* named Bhāgineyya Saṅgharakkhita (*MT.* 552)

Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā also gives the information that a nunnery (*samaṇighara*) was situated in close proximity to this *vihāra*. The bhikkhuni Order established in Sri Lanka by Theri Saṅghamittā during the reign of King Devānāmpiyatissa (307-267 B.C.), had an existence up to the end of the Anuradhapura

period i.e. 10[th] century. This statement is confirmed by literary sources as well as by references to it in inscriptions. Nunneries were normally situated within the inner city, close to the king's palace. There is information about nunneries which were in existence in Mangala-maha-vithi (mangul-maha-veya) in Anuradhapura. The fact that a nunnery was situated within close proximity to Situlpavu, makes it clear that the region around the *vihāra* was an extremely safe one. Nuns had to be assured of safety measures. There is enough information provided in Buddhist literary works about the difficulties which nuns had to face in early days. At the time when *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā (sammohavinodanī)* was written (5[th] century), it is apparent that there were many residences for both monks and nuns within the monastic establishment of Situlpavu.

Many interesting stories related to this *vihāra* are on record in Buddhist literature. In the *Saṃyutta nikāyaṭṭhakathā (Sāratthappakāsinī)* it is said that monks named Mahānāga and Cūlanāga lived in this *vihāra*. More stories are available in the *Atthasālinī* (351, 399), the *Manorathapūranī* (386), the *Papañcasūdani* (1,18,66,150,223,351,399), the *Vibhaṅgaaṭṭhakathā* (264,498). According to the *Manorathapūranī* the village named Kalumbara was situated close to this *vihāra*. The *Papañcasūdani* says that a pleasant bathing tank had been built very close to this *vihāra*. A bathing spot named Kuruvaka-tittha also has been named. The *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini* (2, 278) speaks of a very large monastic establishment at Situlpavu, comparable to those at Abhayagiri and Cetiya-pabbata in Anuradhapura.

In the *Manorathapūranī* there is a story about a monk named Cittalapabbata tissa. This person was disgusted of living the life of a monk and was planning to leave the Order. He informed his teacher of his intention. The latter examined his *upanissaya* (sufficing conditions) and came to know that he was destined for enlightenment. So he asked his pupil to build a small hut *(kuṭi)* before his departure. This request was gladly accepted and having built a hut, he placed therein a bed also. The teacher having been informed of it, made another request from his pupil that he should pass at least one night in the newly built hut. This request too was gladly accepted. While passing the night there, this monk recalled to his mind, all his previous activities. He found much satisfaction therein and made up a firm resolution to continue to live the life of a monk. Having commenced meditation activities he did away with all worldly passions (*kilesas*) and attained *arahantship*. When this story is examined, it becomes clear that it is a story regarding a person who had close links with Situlpavu, very likely by birth itself.

Earlier, mention was made of warriors of King Duṭṭhagāmani Abhaya. Information given about Nandimitta may be compared with such statements as are found in the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* of the 14[th] century. According to this text, Nandimitta was born in a village called Kaḍadora, close to Situlpavu. His father was a man of good family. His mother's brother was an army officer of high rank in the service of King Elāra (205-161 B.C.). Nandimitta grew up to be a man of physical prowess. He was also a fortunate person as shown by the auspicious marks on his body.

The warrior named Phussadeva was born in a village named Godigamu, near Situlpavu-vihāra. His father was a householder named Utpala. As he was born under the constellation Pusya, he was given the name Phussadeva. When he was seven years of age, he went to Situlpavu-vihāra along with some of his playmates. He took up a conch-shell which he picked up at the Bodhi-tree and blew it with all his might. The sound issuing therefrom was like thunder. Small children who were close by became mortally afraid. Animals in the surrounding areas took fright and ran about aimlessly. Monkeys and birds who rested on trees lost their hold and fell on to the ground. This narrative is given in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as well as in the *Saddharmālaṅkara* in very lucid terms.

King Kākavaṇṇa Tissa and some of his successors caused to be constructed at this site, for the use of monks, individual residences as well as ones for the use of the community as a whole, image houses, bathing ponds and wells. The fame of this *vihāra* spread even as far as the neighbouring sub continent that a business magnate named Visākha came over to Sri Lanka and got himself ordained as a monk at the Mahavihāra in Anuradhapura. Five years afterwards he came over to Situlpavu vihāra, stayed there for four months, being engaged in meditation activities. At the end of the said period he is said to have attained *arahantship* (*Manorathapūraṇī* 2. 865). The *Papañcasūdani* (2.1024) mentions that Maliyadeva Thera

(who is known to have lived in Sri Lanka) visited this *vihāra*. There had been an aged monk there who for sixty years had not permitted any person to touch his body. At the bathing spot named Kuruvak-Tittha, he had allowed Maliyadeva- thera to rub and clean his back with his hand. That aged monk, having listened to the *Chachakka Sutta* delivered by Maliyadeva-thera, attained *arahantship* along with sixty other monks.

A young monk in his novitiate (*sāmaṇera*) who lived in this *vihāra* was once seen drawing circles on the ground with one of his toes. It is interesting to note that a lay devotee who watched this act imagined that the young monk was desirous of eating oil-cakes. He went home and got his wife to prepare them, came back to the *vihāra* and handed them over to the young monk. Famine conditions which lasted for twelve years during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (88-76 B.C.), had caused serious damage to Situlpavu-vihāra. Bags of paddy had been kept there in store which could last for three years but they were found to have been devoured by mice. Monks who lived there left the premises and set out for Tissamahārāma in search of food. On the way they met monks from Tissamahārāma, destined for Situlpavu –vihāra in search of food. Both parties came to know of the situation and decided to stay at the same meeting place and finally all died of starvation. (*Papañcasūdani*, 546; *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā*, 445-51.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

SĪVALĪ THERA, an arahant, one of the eighty chief disciples of the Buddha as the one pre-eminent among those in receipt of gifts (*lābhīnaṃ aggo* A.I, 24). His parents were the Licchavi prince Mahāli and the Koliyan princess Suppavāsā.

Something quite special about Sivalī was the fact that he lay in his mother's womb for seven years and seven days followed by another seven days of labour pains by his mother. This unusual phenomenon was as the kammic fruition of an evil deed committed in a previous existence by the mother and the son in beleaguering a city for seven days in a war effort, thereby compelling its inhabitants to surrender through suffering as described in the *Asātarūpa Jātaka* (No. 100).

Sivalī's mother Suppavāsā during her prolonged labour thought that she would have to die, which thought made her decide to make an offering to the Buddha in order to mitigate her evil *kamma*, at least in her future life. Accordingly, she sent the Buddha a gift through her husband. The Buddha accepted the offering and pronounced a blessing on her as 'may Suppāvasa the Koliyan girl be happy and healthy and give birth to a healthy child' (*sukhinī hotu Suppāvāsā Koliyadhītā ārogā arogaṃ puttaṃ vijāyatu*). Immediately after this pronouncement she delivered the child and became relieved of her burden. The grateful Suppāvāsa got her husband to entertain the Buddha with his disciples for seven consecutive days.

The *Apadana Pali* (*BJ* Series, part II, pp. 356 ff.) unfolds the full story of Sivali beginning with his past *kamma*, which resulted in his being, born as the pre-eminent thera, among the Gautama Buddha's disciples in the capacity of chief among those in receipt of gifts. According to this account he had been once born in the city of Hamsavati, as a member of the Khattiya clan, one hundred thousand *kappas* ago during the dispensation of Buddha Padumuttara. Once he became impressed by witnessing how a certain lay devotee named Sudassana was pronounced as the chief among the recipients of gifts in that Buddha's dispensation. This sight affected him so deeply that he too thought of doing the same wish prospectively before the Buddha. Accordingly, he entertained the Buddha Padumuttara and his retinue of disciples for one whole week with food and drink and made the wish. The Buddha gave the announcement of the future wish-fulfillment with the words "After the lapse of one hundred thousand *kappas*, there will be a Buddha by the name Gotama belonging to the Iksvāku dynasty, during whose dispensation you shall be born as a disciple of that Buddha under the name Sivalī, with the fulfillment of this wish".

Sudassana passed away from that existence and was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven where he spent a very long period and was born ninety-one *kappas* ago in the human world during the dispensation of Buddha Vipassi in the city of Bandumati as an industrialist (*kammanta-vyāvaṭa*). Now it so happened that a certain group of devotees (*pūga*) held a session of

alms giving on a large scale to Buddha Vipassi in which *dāna*, curd and honey was served as the dessert. However, when the time for serving the dessert came, there was a severe shortage of curd and honey, while this industrialist's business was also in the production and sale of these two items of food. Realizing the enhanced value of these two items in such a context, he refused to sell them to those devotees as he decided to offer them to the Buddha and his disciples himself as it would be a rare opportunity to earn great merit. Accordingly, he offered his great *dāna* himself and was subsequently born in the Tāvatimsa heaven.

After sometime he passed away from there and was reborn as a king in Benares. He was once threatened with an invasion by an enemy king. Here as a part of his war strategy, he blocked the enemy king and his retinue within his city, thereby disallowing them to get out or to receive any supply of provisions. Thus, they suffered for seven days and were forced to surrender without any other alternative.

It was as a result of this evil *kamma* that, after suffering in lower hells for long periods, he had his final birth as Sivalī and had to suffer for seven years in the mother's womb "unable to be properly delivered" (*mūḍha-gabbha*) and his mother also had to suffer in this process, because she willingly approved (*chanda-dāna*) of the incarceration plan when he planned. It was at this *mūḍha-gabbha* stage that the Buddha pronounced his blessing referred to earlier, resulting in his mother being rescued from an untimely death.

Sivalī left the household life seven days after his birth, and became a monk in the Gotama Buddha's dispensation with venerable Sāriputta as his spiritual teacher (*upajjhāya*). As he was being admitted into the Order by Venerable Moggallāna he realized arahathood while being tonsured by the former. From thence forward *devas, nāgas* and humans began to supply him with abundance of requisites (*paccaya*) and as a result of the special offering made by him to the two Buddhas Padumuttara and Vipassi he became entitled to this position of the chief among the recipients of requisites in the Gautama Buddha's dispensation as admitted by him with the words " I receive gifts everywhere, be it in the jungle, village, sea or on land."(*lābham labhāmi sabbhattha vane gāme jale thale:* A.I. 24).

Prior to making this appointment the Buddha took Sivali Thera along with him on his journey to see the Thera Khadiravaniya Revata as the journey had to be made through a route infested with evil spirits and hence scarce in provisions. The Buddha did this more or less to test Sivali Thera's special prowess in the receipt of gifts even in areas where they are hard to come by. Sivali passed the test as the deities of the forest provided everything needed by the thirty-thousand odd monks headed by the Buddha. After returning to Jetavana the Buddha unhesitatingly made the official announcement declaring Sivali Thera the foremost among the recipients of gifts in his dispensation (*A.* I. 24), praising him duly and dearly among the assembly of monks with the following words:

"Bhikkhus, among my disciples Sivali is foremost in the receipt of gifts" ('*lābhinaṃ Sivali agga-mamasissesu Bhikkhave: Ap.* II 6114).

It is worth observing here that Arahant Sivali has turned out to be so popular among the ordinary Buddhists that his name has become a household word owing to the field in which he is pre-eminent. It is the field of gains and profits which represent the theme of life among the common run of men and women. Thus, his picture nicely drawn in the posture of partaking of food from the alms-bowl has become invariably present in almost every Buddhist household, usually hung in a prominent place with great respect. Not only in houses but even in shops, boutiques vehicles etc. also it finds the same respectable place. He has become the "patron deity" of the Buddhist businessman. There is also a popular rune (*parima*) incorporating the stanzas sung by him giving the story of his life as come down in the *Apadāna* (stzs. 6076 ff.). Sivali diaries have become a very popular item among the Buddhists of Sri Lanka.

A.G.S.Kariyawasam

SIYAMNIKAYA See SYAMOPALI NIKAYA

SKEPTICISM: Skepticism is a philosophical attitude that questions people's claims to knowledge. It is usually backed by epistemological reasons. As a philosophical doctrine in the history of philosophy, the range of knowledge claims to which skepticism seems to have extended, has varied widely from metaphysical claims regarding the existence of non-sensible entities such as God or impersonal absolutes conceived as the ultimate essence out of which the phenomenal world is constructed, to claims about our ordinary knowledge of the external physical world, the existence of other minds, and our claims to knowledge of moral truths relating to what is right and wrong. Since extreme skepticism questions all knowledge, it played a significant role in the history of philosophy in the development of epistemology by those philosophers who were keen to safeguard human knowledge from the attacks of the skeptic. Studies regarding the history of Indian philosophy have revealed that traces of skepticism can evidently be found in pre- Buddhist Indian thought. The Pali Nikāyas too refer to several distinct schools of skepticism. Prof. K.N. Jayatilleke believes that the skeptics had some influence on the teachings of early Buddhism [1].

The Pali Nikāyas give an account of a group of thinkers referred to as *amarāvikkhepikā*. They are represented as thinkers who refused to give a categorical answer to questions posed to them concerning morality and questions relating to matters that could not be determined by ordinary sense experience. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* refers to the skeptics as those who evaded answers in whatever context the questions were put to them (*tattha tattha pañham puṭṭhā*). However, in classifying the skeptics to four types, the Sutta specifically mentions only their skepticism regarding questions about morality. They are represented as thinkers who did not wish to commit themselves to any ethical opinion.[2] It is not clear whether they denied knowledge altogether or they denied knowledge only with regard to ethical questions and other matters not coming within the sphere of ordinary sense experience. Early Upanisadic, Jain and Buddhist literature indicate that in Indian thought the search for knowledge in an ultimate sense transcending the illusory perceptions of ordinary human experience was pursued with great enthusiasm by many thinkers. Skepticism in the context of Indian thought could be understood as a reaction to the diversity of opinion that resulted from such a pursuit. Many teachers made claims to superior ways of knowing transcending ordinary sense experience developed by means of special methods of mind training. Some among them went to the extent of claiming omniscient knowledge.

Prof. K.N Jayatilleke points out that traces of skepticism and agnosticism can be found from the time of the *Ṛgveda*. In *A Source Book of Indian Philosophy*, Radhakrishnan and Moore have provided a collection of skeptical stanzas in the *Ṛgveda*.[3] *Ṛgvedic* skepticism is expressed regarding the existence of Indra, one of the chief gods for whom hymns were composed in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Nāsadīya* hymn is particularly significant in this connection where the existence of Indra is questioned on the ground that no one has seen him. Sometimes skepticism has been expressed regarding the question of the existence of gods in general, calling into question even the belief in the act of creation of the phenomenal world by a divine being.[4]

Later, in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, skeptical views are expressed in connection with the belief in a life after death. Naciketas, for instance, expresses doubt about man's existence after death.[5] K.N Jayatilleka observes that the " skeptical hints of the earlier Vedic thought and the agnostic trends of the *Upaniṣads* could have paved the way for the growth of skeptical schools of thought, but the impetus and the occasion for their arising seem to have been provided by the presence of divers, conflicting and irreconcilable theories, pertaining to moral, metaphysical, and religious beliefs."[6].

In Jain texts the skeptics are referred to as *aṇṇāṇiyā* (Sk. *Ajñānikā*). According to Barua this has reference to a senior contemporary of the Buddha referred to in the Pali canon as Sañjaya. In Jaina scriptures, Mahāvīra is represented as considering *aṇṇāṇiyā* as those who pretend to be intelligent, but do not know what is true and are not free from perplexity and doubt.[7] " They are ignorant teachers who teach ignorant pupils, and without proper investigation or examination of knowledge, speak untruth."[8] The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* uses the term *ajñānikāḥ* or *ajñāninaḥ* in a technical sense to denote the skeptics. The word is defined as " those who claim that skepticism is best" *ajñānameve śreya ityevaṃvādināṃ* or as " those in whom no knowledge, i.e. skepticism, is evident."[9]

The Pali canonical sources do not provide much information regarding the epistemological reasons for skepticism in Indian thought. It is in the accounts of Śilāṅka, the Jain commentator who lived in the ninth century that we find a detailed account of epistemological reasons. As represented by Śilāṅka in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* one of the main arguments of the skeptics against knowledge claims was that the claims made by different teachers were mutually contradictory. The skeptics had argued that due to this mutually contradictory nature of their claims, those who claimed knowledge could not be speaking the truth (*parasparaviruddhavāditayā na yathārthavādino bhavanti*). Such 'contradictions were evident in connection with the various views expressed about the nature of the Soul (*Ātman*). The contradictory assertions mentioned by Śilāṅka can be found from the time of the early *Upaniṣads*.[10] The skeptics are also represented as arguing that omniscience is required to know something conclusively. However, it was their contention that even if someone is omniscient no other person could know it without himself having the knowledge and consciousness of the former. No one who is not omniscient can know that another is omniscient (*nāsarvajñaḥ sarvajñaṃ jānāti*). According to Śilāṅka, the Indian skeptics presented a familiar argument used by those who came to skeptical conclusions about the reality of a material world as observed by the ordinary senses. Since only the near side of a thing is exposed to observation there cannot be full knowledge of anything (*svabhāvaviprakṛṣṭatvā arvāgdarśaninaṃ nopalabdhir iti*).[11] Taking the above into consideration Prof. K.N. Jayatilleke concludes that " the contradictions of metaphysics and the impossibility of omniscience may have led them to accept Skepticism."[12] A further intellectual reason for skepticism mentioned in Śilāṅka's account is the difficulty in gauging the thought processes of another (*paracetovṛttīnaṃ duranvayāt*). This is very similar to the view of the Greek sophist, Gorgias who argued for skepticism on the ground that knowledge is incommunicable even if one were to have it.

The Jain criticism of the skeptics as mentioned in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* is that the skeptics contradicted themselves in arguing for their skepticism. To the extent that their skepticism was a consequence of reasoning they could be seen as affirming some knowledge. The implication is that they at least had the knowledge that skepticism is best.

Prof. K.N. Jayatilleke shows that the main difference between the Buddhist account of skepticism and the Jain account of it, is that the former emphasizes the pragmatic reasons for skepticism while the latter emphasizes the intellectual or epistemological reasons. In this connection Prof. Jayatilleke draws attention to the account of the *amarāvikkhepikā* in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*. According to the sutta, the first school of skeptics resorted to skepticism about what is really good because they did not know what really is good for certain (*idaṃ kusalanti yathābhūtaṃ appajānanto*). They thought that if they committed themselves to any assertion in the absence of any real knowledge, it would be due to their own subjective bias. Such subjective bias could result in the utterance of falsehoods. Uttering a falsehood could result in worry and hence a moral danger. According to this account, these thinkers took a skeptical stand because they feared and abhorred uttering something false (*musāvādabhayā musāvādaparijegucchā*). The other group of skeptics also adopted a skeptical position because they too thought that if they were to cling to a view without knowing for certain whether it was true, but purely due to their psychological bias it would psychologically have been disturbing to them. They adopted skepticism due to the fear and abhorrence of clinging to a view (*upādānabhayā upādānaparijegucchā*). The third group is represented as those who feared being taken to task by those who were skilled in arguing and debating philosophical or metaphysical issues (*anuyogabhayā anuyogaparijegucchā*).[13] The fourth group is represented as those who adopted skepticism merely because of their stupidity (*mandattā momuhattā*). Prof. Jayatilleke points out that the first three groups may have had both intellectual as well as pragmatic reasons for their skepticism.[14] Intellectually they did not see any dependable grounds for affirming knowledge, and morally and psychologically, they desired not to give in to their prejudices or to suffer the vexation of being taken to task by skilful debaters. All three groups appear to have valued peace of mind or mental stability rather than adopting a categorical position regarding philosophical issues. Prof. Jayatilleke points out that these three groups of skeptics bear a remarkable similarity to the Greek philosopher Pyrrho. Pyrrho's philosophy, as quoted by Aristotles on the authority of Timon, a pupil of Pyrrho expressed doubt about the deliverances of our senses and all opinions people

have about the nature of reality. We must not put our trust in them but respond with speechlessness (*aphasia*) and imperturbability (*ataraxia*).[15]

The *Brahmajāla Sutta* account of the skeptics mentions the skepticism of the first three groups specifically with reference to moral propositions. The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* account which refers to Sañjaya's skepticism and the *Brahmajāla Sutta* account which refers to the fourth group of skeptics give an identical enumeration of the kind of questions on which skepticism was expressed. These questions pertained to the existence of a next world, the existence of living beings who take a spontaneous birth (*sattāopapātikā*), the consequence of good and bad actions (*sukaṭadukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko*) and the after- death state of the perfect One (*tathāgata*). Both Sañjaya and the fourth group of skeptics mentioned in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* are said to have refused to give any answer to these questions put under the usual fourfold way, (1) Is it the case? (2) Is it not the case? (3) Is it the case that it is and is not? (4) Is it the case that it neither is nor is not? The questions mentioned are no doubt of such a nature that they cannot be answered by making use of the data of ordinary sense experience.

Some scholars have expressed the opinion that the teachings of the skeptics mentioned above have had an influence on Buddhism. Jacobi has suggested that Indian skepticism has had an influence on the Buddhist position regarding the ten undetermined questions.[16] Keith also held that the Buddha was a genuine agnostic.[17] The reason for attributing to Buddhism an element of skepticism is due to the Buddha's refusal to take any categorical position on the ten philosophical theses.[18] There clearly is a difference between the skepticism of Sañjaya and the three groups of skeptics mentioned in the *Bahmajāla Sutta* on the one hand and the Buddha's attitude towards the undetermind questions on the other. The Buddha did not hesitate to answer categorically questions regarding what is morally wholesome or not (*idaṃ kusalanti*...), and the list of questions to which Sañjaya gave evasive answers. This shows that the Buddha admitted the possibility of knowledge not merely within the narrow range of ordinary sense experience, but also beyond that range. He admitted higher means of knowing described as *abhiññā*. The materialists who admitted only ordinary sense experience as reliable means of knowing, the skeptics who wished to detach themselves from the pursuit of knowledge altogether, and the traditionalists who placed total reliance on revelation disagreed with the Buddhist claims to *abhiññā*. The traditionalists of the Brahmanical tradition, however, accepted on the basis of authority many truths that could not be verified by means of ordinary sense experience. Budhism rejected the narrow positivism of the materialists, the skepticism of teachers like Sañjaya and the traditionalism of the orthodox Brahmins whiles recognizing the unanswerability of some questions raised by teachers of the time due to the logical confusions involved in the nature of the questions themselves. The influence of the skeptical schools can be seen to the extent that the Buddha also emphasized the practicle uselessness of engaging in inquiry into metaphysical issues pointing out that they do not conduce to appeasement (*nibbāna*). However knowledge was considered in Buddhism as a pre-requisite to the attainment of *nibbāna*. One cannot attain it without overcoming skeptical doubt and perplexity regarding the truths of Buddhism pertaining to the nature of life, the world and morality. Thus we see that the Buddha admitted the possibility of knowledge regarding many issues on which the skeptics denied any such possibility.

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References

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4 *Early Buddhist Theory of knowledge* p.24
5 *yeyaṃprete vicikitsā manuṣye: astītyeke nāyaṃ astīti caike* - Kaṭhopaniṣad 1.20.
6 *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* p.110.
7 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* xviii, 22-23; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1. 6. 27; I. 12. 1-2; II.2.79.
8 *Appāniyā te kusalāvi santā asanthuyā no vitigicchatiṇṇā*
Akoviyā āhu akoviyehiṃ ananuvi ittu musaṃ vayanti. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* I. 12.2.
9 *Early Buddhist Theory of knowledge* p.111.
10 *Ibid*.p.112
11 *Ibid*. see footnote 1.

12 *Ibid* p.115
13 *Dīghanikāya* (PTS) Vol.I p.25
14 *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* p.120; p.124.
15 *Ibid* p.129.
16 *Sacred Books of the East* Vol. 45,p.XXVIII.
17 *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon* (Oxford 1923) p.63.
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SŌKA GAKKAI (Value Creating Society), a lay Buddhist organization in Japan associated with Nichiren Shōshū sect, a subsect of the Nichiren school. Founded in 1930 by a school teacher named Makiguchi Tsunesaburō (1871-1944) under the name 'Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai' (Value Creating Educational Society), subsequently it developed to become the most successful and largest of the new religious movement in Japan in the 20th century (*Ency. Britannica*, Vol. IX, U.S.A. 1982, p.308; *Kodansha, Ency. of Japan*, Vol. 7, Japan, 1983 p. 224).

The original aim of the formation of this movement was to introduce certain fundamental educational reforms to the then prevailing system of education in Japan. Makiguchi's goal was to incorporate three values namely, *bi* (beauty), *ri* (gain) and *zen* (goodness) into the educational system of his country. However, when his attempts were rebuffed by the academics, he realised that those ideals could be achieved by integrating them with the teachings of Nichiren (1222-82 A. C.). Thus he was converted to Nichiren-Shōshū in 1928. Intermingling his educational reforms with the religious values of that sect, he founded his movement in 1930.

The progress made by the new society in its early years was rather slow. By 1940, it counted just around 300 members. By 1942 however, that membership increased to about 3000 members. With the outbreak of World War II, the government imposed a repressive policy towards religious sects and the society was disbanded. Makiguchi, together with his chief disciple, Toda Jōsei and 19 other members were imprisoned. In 1944, Makiguchi died in detention.

Nevertheless, Toda Jōsei with his release from prison in 1945 started to revive the society with great fervour. Changing its name to Sōka Gakkai, he laid a greater emphasis on religious reforms rather than on the educational aspects. In 1951 he became its President and worked relentlessly to consolidate and expand the society. When he died in 1958, its membership stood around 750,000 family units. Ikeda Daisaku, the closest associate of Toda succeded him in 1960 and continued his predecessor's good work. As a result of his intensive campaign during the 1960s and 1970s, Sōka Gakkai movement expanded beyond Japan and spead fast, particularly in North and South America. In his missionary zeal, Ikeda travelled extensively throughout Japan and to China, India USSR, Europe and U.S.A. When he relinquished Presidency in 1979, he was succeeded by Hōjō Hiroshi (1923-81) and then in 1981 by Einosuke Akiya (1930-).

Sōko Gakkai adopts a vigorous policy of conversion (*shakufuku*) and the swiftness with which it spread is attested by the fact that within a few decades of its emergence it could enrol several million family units as members. When its first general meeting was held in 1939, it claimed just around 300 members. In 1942, that number was increased to 3000. In the late 1960s, it claimed a membership of 6,800,000 household units. By 2002, that number rose to 8.21 million household units. According to its third ex-President Daisaku Ikeda, it claims" more than twelve million members in 185 countries and territories" (*Ency. of Buddhism*, Vol. II, U.S.A., 2003, p.781). In the United States, it is called Nichiren Shō-Shū of America. Its worldwide umbrella organization is known as Sōka Gakkai international.

The essence of the doctrine of this movement is based on the teachings of Nichiren Shōshū. It believes that the Buddha nature latent in all human beings could be manifested through religious practices. The Buddha nature is a dynamic force that can transform a person's bad destiny (*karma*) into a good one. This Buddha nature is identified with *myōhō* or 'the ultimate law', that pervades all phenomena and natural laws. By causing a reformation from within one's self, a process described as human revolution', happiness and peace in the world could be achieved.

The three basic tenets of Sōka Gakkai are faith, practice and study. Faith means the unshaken belief in the doctrine of Nichiren Shōshū. Followers are

expected to put their faith into practice by enshrining a copy of Nichiren's *Maṇḍala* at home and chanting twice a day parts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* together with its title *daimoku* (*namu myōhō renge kyō*) before the object of worship installed in the family altar called *Gohonzon*.[1] Practice inculcates the Buddhist way of life into one daily life. It is of vital importance that while practising one should strive to communicate Nichiren Shōshū's teachings to other people. Study means gaining a deeper insight into Nichiren's teachings in order to augment one's faith.

To realise its social vision, Sōka Gakkai introduced a political party in 1964 under the name Kōmeitō (Clean Government), which eventually led to the straining of religion-state relationship. Though Sōka Gakkai severed its direct involvement with it in 1970, it still remains as its staunch supporter.

Sōka Gakkai is an extremely active movement that conducts frequent seminars, guidance courses, community discussions, meetings and social gatherings to deepen the understanding of orthodox Nichiren Buddhism amongst its followers. These activities, which enable them to share their views and experiences are intended to consolidate their faith. The members are encouraged to proselytizing through social interaction by organising discussion session with their neighbours.

Sōka Gakkai has developed its own educational system and in 1971 founded its own University, the Sōka University in Tokyo. Apart from the numerous books and periodicals, it also publish a daily newspaper, *Seikyō Shimbun*, which recorded a circulation of about 4,540,000 copies in 1983. Taisekiji, located in the city of Fujinomiya, Shizuoka Prefecture in Japan is their main temple.

Sōka Gakkai strongly advocates world peace and is a non-governmental organization member of the United Nations.

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Reference

1. *Gohonzon* is a copy of a scroll originally inscribed by Nichiren Shōshū in Chinese characters, which also contains later inscriptions by its high priests. It signifies the manifestation of the essence of the Universal Law indicated in the Lotus Sūtra.

SOMAWATI CETIYA: Somāwati Cetiya is an ancient thūpa, referred to in the *Dhātuvaṃsa*, where the Right Eye Tooth Relic of the Buddha is said to have been enshrined. An ancient *cetiya* about twenty five miles interior from Polonnaruwa in the Mahaweli basin, infested with wild beasts is identified as the Somāwati Cetiya referred to in the *Dhātuvaṃsa*. *Jinakālamāli*, a sixteenth century Pāli chronicle of Siam, too refers to this Cetiya. Conspicuously the *Mahāvaṃsa* has no reference to this Cetiya.

Dhātuvaṃsa account : A prince named Abhaya, a nephew of king Siva of Kelaniya, married princess Somādevi, a sister of King Kākavannatissa and was installed as the king of Girinagara. He was known as "Giriabhaya Rāja". Later King Kākavannatissa sent his son Duṭṭhagāmini to stay with King Giriabhaya of Girinagara. Sometimes later a dispute arose, as *Dhātuvaṃsa* says, between King Giriabhaya and Duṭṭhagāmani over their birth, apparently over the clan they belonged to. King Giriabhaya is reported to have said "why should we quarrel (over the kingdom)" and left Girinagara with his wife Somādevi and came to King Siva of Serunagara who received him with honour. King Siva having listened to the cause for his friend's arrival at Serunagara supposed to have said "what you have done is good. Don't worry. I know what is to be done". Having consoled him thus, he selected a suitable site and built a kingdom for his friend, in a beautiful site at the end of the lake. As an honour to Somādevi it was named as "Somapura".

After sometime, as per the *Dhātuvaṃsa* episode, Somādevi reminded the king of the necessity of a shrine for their worship. The king was happy with the suggestion of his queen and searched for a suitable spot. He came across a large Sāla grove, not too far and not too close to the city. There a Thera named Mahā Mahinda, descending from Mahā Ariṭṭha Thera, was residing with other sixty monks. The king was pleased with the postures of the Thera and expressed his intention of building a *vihāra* for the monks, which the Thera accepted in silence. The king came back and informed his queen Somāwati about his getting a suitable site for a monastery. She was very happy with the news and both of them went back to the Thera who preached them the "*Mahāsamaya Sutta*". When inquired about the relics to be enshrined the Thera said that he will look after it.

The king got the site cleared of debris and commenced the building of the *Cetiya*. When the *Cetiya* was built up to the flower offering terraces (*pupphadhānattayaṃ*) and after completing all that was to be done in the relic chamber, the Thera was informed of the completion of the relic chamber. The Thera gave the Right Eye Tooth Relic (*dakkhiṇadāṭhādhātu*) of the Buddha that was in his personal possession. The king enshrined it in the relic chamber at an auspicious moment and put up the *Cetiya* in the shape of a bubble, resembling Mount Kelāsa. The king afterwards built the residential places for sixty monks and completed the monastery, endowed with walls, gates etc. and gifted it to the Mahāmahinda Thera, sprinkling water on the (Thera's) hands and named it Somāwati Cetiya in honour of his queen Somāwati.

The history of this Eye Tooth Relic of the Buddha (*Dhakkhiṇadāṭhādhātu*) is obscure. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* II 167), four eye teeth relics are referred to, the locations of which are given as follows:

Ekā dāṭhā tidivehi pūjitā
Ekā pana gandhārapure mahīyati
Kāliṅga rañño vijite punekaṃ
Ekaṃ pana nāga rājā mahenti[1]

One tooth relic (of the Buddha) is honoured in the Deva world; (the other three relics) are worshipped in the city of Gandhāra, in the kingdom of the Kālinga king and in the realm of the Nāgas.

The *Dhāṭhāvaṃsa*, the history of the tooth relic written during the Polonnaruwa period in the reign of queeen Lilāwathie (1208-1211 A.C.) admits the existence of three tooth relics in addition to the tooth relic in Sihaladesa, which was originally in the custody of the Kālinga king.[3] But it does not give any detail of the other three teeth relics. The author of the *Dāthāvaṃsa* was interested only in the history of the left eye tooth relic found in the Sihaladesa.

However, it is from the *Dhātuvaṃsa* or *Nalāṭadhātuvaṃsa* that one could hear something about the other three teeth relics. It is possible to find out from the *Dhātuvaṃsa* as to which of those three teeth relics was made available to King Giriabhaya for the enshrinement in the Somāwati thūpa. As the *Dhātuvaṃsa*[4] states (chapter II) the Brahmin Dona who volunteered to divide the relics among the contending kings, had apparently tried to keep for himself three teeth relics (one had already been given to Kālinga king by Arahant Khema who removed it from the funeral pyre, even before the flames got extinguished). As the story goes, the brahmin while measuring the relics, concealed the right eye tooth relic in his turban. But Sakka, the king of gods, was inquisitive as to what has happened to the right eye tooth relic. He saw that it was concealed in the turban of the Brahmin and snatched it without the knowledge of the brahmin and took it to the Deva world and enshrined it in the "Cūḍamani Cetiya". The brahmin was concealing one more teeth relic, namely the left eye tooth relic in the dress he was wearing. A Thera resident in Gandhāradesa destined for the purpose (*laddhabyākaraṇo*) took it from the brahmin and conveyed it to his country with the residents of Gandhāra and enshrined it in a *thūpa*.

The remaining Right Eye Tooth Telic too was taken by the same brahmin and was concealing it between his toes. At that moment, it is said, that a Nāga king named Jayasena who had heard about the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha and hoping to see the Buddha for the last time rushed to the scene. He observed the right eye tooth relic of the Buddha held by the brahmin between his toes. He took the relic from the brahmin by his psychic power, took it to the Nāga world and deposited it in a *cetiya* decorated with jewels.

Later in the reign of king Kākavaṇṇatissa, a Thera by name Mahā Mahinda, pupil of Mahadeva Thera, proceeded to the Nāga realm, brought the Tooth Relic and kept it in a *cetiya* in the kingdom of Seru of King Giriabhaya. When the king Giriabhaya built the Somawati cetiya and was looking for a relic to be enshrined, Mahā Mahinda Thera entrusted the Right Eye Tooth Relic to him to be enshrined in the *Cetiya*. Thus as per the account of the *Dhātuvaṃsa* Somāwati Cetiya contains the Right Eye Tooth Relic of the Buddha. However, it is observed that the story of the Somāwati Cetiya is found only in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* (*Nalāṭadhātuvaṃsa*) and the 16th century Siamese work *Jinakālamāli* only.

Discovery of the Somāwati Cetiya: It is said that, having learnt about the Somāwati Cetiya from

the *Dhātuvaṃsa*, Ven. Sirimalwatte Piyaratana of the Malwatta Kāraka Saṅgha Sabhā, Diyawadana Nilame of the Daladāmāligāwa at the time Girāgama Diyawadana Nilame, four persons from Kandy and four from Polonnaruwa appear to have made the first attempt to discover the Somāwati Cetiya, as far back as 1947. This was the period when people started to settle down in the Polonnaruwa region as a result of restoration of ancient irrigation works by Hon. D.S. Senanayake the first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. It is learnt that the aim of the expedition was to locate the *cetiya*, open it up and take the tooth relic to the Daladā Māligāwa in Kandy.

After traveling through the jungle under very difficult conditions they were able to reach the brick mound identified as the Somāwati Cetiya. They are supposed to have commenced digging the *cetiya* which they had to abandon due to some mystic experience. It is also said that those who undertook this expedition met with untimely tragic deaths. The next attempt has been a more organized one. Ven. Sirimalwatte Piyaratana was able to get the precincts of the *cetiya* vested in him from the Governor General Henry Monk Macmason Moor which was published in the Government gazette of August 29, 1947. The clearing of the site and its environment has been commenced on the Poson Full Moon day in 1948 under the Somāwati Cetiya Restoration Society which was formed for the first time. A *saṅghārāma* and a hall was built. The devotees started visiting the Cetiya on important Poya days like Vesak, Poson etc. and organized *dan sǟl* for the pilgrims.

It is necessary to keep on record the difficult terrain on which the Somāwati Cetiya was found. One had to travel twenty five miles from Polonnaruwa on foot through thick forest infested by wild beasts. The road was only a foot path and the people had to cut down trees as they proceeded. The area was often inundated and water-logged as a result of the excess waters of Mahaweli.[5] It is a favourite habitat of elephants, because there was ample food for them. There were several instances of travelers falling victim to wild elephants.

The only human settlement that one came across on the way was the Sungawila, a lonely Muslim village about seven miles, before one came to the Cetiya. A tributary of the River Mahaweli called "*Periya āru*" had to be crossed by ferry on the way. The ferry, too, was installed at a later time by a village council. Such was the condition of travelling between Polonnaruwa and the Somāwati Cetiya at the beginning.

Archaeological Excavations of the Cetiya: The archaeological excavations, prior to the restoration has been commenced on the Poson Full Moon day in 1964. In the course of excavations it was found that the present outer *cetiya* has been built, covering an inner *cetiya*... smaller in size, five feet interior. It is also seen that the outer *cetiya* has been put up on a weaker foundation while the inner *cetiya* was built on a strong foundation. The inner *cetiya* was intact without any damage. It is surmised that the inner *cetiya* was the original *cetiya* built by King Giriabhaya and Somāwati Devi. The outer *cetiya* or the *kañcuka* (casing) cetiya has been built covering the original by King Kanittha Tissa, circa 1162-186 A.C. Five feet to the interior, four flower offering altars have been found. The four moon stones in front of the altars were without any decorations and it testifies that they represent the earliest stage in the development of moonstones. Remains of a *chatra* and the *harmika* had been found in the premises which show that there had been a *chatra* on the summit of the *cetiya*, instead of the subsequent spire put up on the top of a *cetiya*. This is clear evidence that the Somāwati is one of the earliest *cetiyas*. Another special feature of this *cetiya* is that the Flower offering altars are sunk into the *cetiya* and there is an entrance, two feet wide to enter and offer flowers. It is possible that only important persons like kings were allowed to enter and offer flowers etc. and others had to worship in the courtyard of the Cetiya.

Another very important finding was the discovery of six impressions of stone *Sri pāda* (Foot of the Buddha) around the Cetiya, a symbol which represented the Buddha before the creation of the Buddha image. This too testifies that the Cetiya belonged to a very ancient period. Around the Cetiya, remains of a building complex with living quarters for monks, the refectory (*uposathāgāra*) apparently one referred to in one of the inscriptions, promenades (*caṅkamana*) etc. are found. A large parapet wall one thousand feet east from the Cetiya and six hundred feet from the other three sides, has been unearthed. An examination of the architecture followed both in respect of buildings, and the Cetiya, bricks used, motar,

carvings etc. shows that the Cetiya belonged to the pre-Christian era.

Inscriptions at Somāwati Cetiya: So far eight inscriptions have been discovered in and around the Somawati Cetiya. Two of the inscriptions are seen in the Cetiya yard and the rest are on a Minwila Rock (on the road leading to the Cetiya), named after the photographer Eric Swan who was killed by a wild elephant. These inscriptions provide important information about the Cetiya. The slab inscription found close to the Cetiya established by King Kaniṭṭha Tissa (162-186 A.C.) was to record some grants he had made to the shrine named "maniagiya". It should be clear that the Somāwati Cetiya was known as "Maniagiya" at the time. The inscription says that certain means of income made by the king to the Maniagiya monastery after he re-established the *sanghārāmaya*, has not been followed i.e. the said income was not given to the monastery. The king had ordered that the income should be spent for repairs to the Cetiya and the refectory (*uposathāgāra*) and also for new constructions. If that income is not required for the repairs or new constructions, it should be utilized for providing *dāna* for the monks. The King imposes a fine of five hundred gold coins for those who contravene this order.

The King has given the income from three fords (of the river) for the maintenance and lighting of lamps in the *uposathāgāra*; the names of the fords being Kehigāma, Sumatagāma and Toṭagāma. The King has further released those tenants of the temple lands from their duties to work on the tank bund so that they could protect the *vihāra* and the *uposathāgāra*.

The inscription concerned provided some valuable data on the Somāwati monastery establishments. The king has provided for its maintenance. It appears that it would have been a fairly big institution. It is clear that the king's orders had not been followed after sometime and the king had imposed heavy fines for those who undermine his orders. It also reveals that the tenants of the temple lands had to attend public work such as maintenance of the village tanks in addition to their duties to the temple.

The second inscription of King Nāka (Nāga) records the donation of a field to "*Pajina nāka araba*" (prācina Nāgārāma) established by his son Nakela. King Nāga referred to here is identified as Mahā Dāthika Mahā Nāga (9-21 A.C.). There is a reference to *Pajina Nakala Araba* in an inscription on Minwila Rock (Eric Swan Rock) too. Therefore it is clear that Somawati was also known as *Pajinaka Araba*, the greatest monastery of the East.

The other inscriptions record the donation of the village Rāja Adi Pati by King Nāga to Paji Nakala monastery established by his son Nakala. A donation of the income from the village at Raja ela to Mani Agiya Monastery by the victorious king Gāmini Abhaya is also recorded. King Nāga's son Kaniṭṭha Tissa repaired the *sanghārāma* at the Havtaka tank at Alivita and gave it to Abhayagiri monks. It is conjectured whether this monastery belonged to the Abhayagiri fraction. But it is premature to come to such a conclusion without further evidence. The letters used, language, grammar and style of these inscriptions suggest that they belong to the early Anuradhapura period. It is observed that the entire area is covered with ruins; only the monastery precincts have been excavated. Once the whole area is excavated and studied it would give a very much clear picture of Somāwati. Evidence to establish that this monastery complex was once known as Somawati is yet to be found.

Restoration of the Somāwati Cetiya: As the Right Eye Tooth Relic of the Buddha is said to have been enshrined in the Somāwati Cetiya, more and more people became interested in this Cetiya and started to visit it on pilgrimage in spite of its hazardous road. The necessity to restore this important Buddhist shrine was badly felt. In place of the defunct former restoration society, a new Somāwati Restoration Society was formed for the purpose, under the chairmanship of Mr.Ridgeway Tillakaratne - Government Agent of Polonnaruwa in 1963. The restoration of the Cetiya commenced with the laying of a foundation stone by the then Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake, on August 1st 1966. The restoration work progressed steadily in spite of the difficulty to transport materials to the site. A permanent bridge was built across the Periya āru in place of the ferry. Buddhists of Polonnaruwa, specially the government servants of the area and the devotees from all over the country contributed financially and in the form of materials for the project. Mr. Albert Edirisinghe (Ven. Ganegama Devamitta), the Hony. Treasurer of the Restoration Society, contributed

rupees one hundred thousand, a substantial amount at the time, for the project, which deserve recording. With the co-operation and the assistance of many the restoration of the Cetiya was successfully completed and was crowned with the pinnacle by the late President Hon. J.R. Jayawardane on July 4th 1981 at the auspicious moment. A special feature of this restoration is that a six feet wide opening from top to bottom has been left uncovered so that devotees could have a glimpse of the ancient Cetiya inside.

Simultaneous with the renovation of the Cetiya, the 25 miles long stretch of road from Polonnaruwa, too, was repaired. More and more people used to visit the Cetiya on pilgrimage and it was one of their favourite religious destinations. See **Plate X**.

K. Arunasiri.

References

1. *Dhātuvaṃsa* or *Nalāṭadhātuvaṃsa* is a Pali chronicle of mixed prose and verse written mainly to describe the enshrinement of the "Frontal Bone Relic" (*Nalāṭadhātu*) of the Buddha in the Mangalamahācetiya at Seruwila by King Kākavannatissa, father of Duṭṭhagāmini. In addition to the main theme regarding the Seruwila Cetiya, it contains a brief description of the places where the four Eye Teeth Relics of the Buddha are established. The existence of one of the Right Eye Teeth Relics of the Buddha enshrined in the Somāwati Cetiya is known for the first time from the *Dhātuvaṃsa*. Ven. Kamburupitiye Nandaratana who published a critical edition of the *Dhātuvaṃsa* sees some similarity between the *Thūpavaṃsa* and the *Dhātuvaṃsa* and says that the author of the *Dhātuvaṃsa* has followed the *Thūpavaṃsa* and assigned both works to the 13th century. He further concludes that the unknown author of the *Dhātuvaṃsa* was a resident of Rohana who was of lesser erudition than the author of the *Thūpavaṃsa*. It is important that the *Dhātuvaṃsa* records many popular traditions not found elsewhere. Possibly the unknown author has made use of historical records maintained in Rohana independent of the main records kept at Anuradhapura. (*Dhātuvaṃsa* edited by Ven. Kamburupitiye Nandaratana, M.A. thesis, Colombo 1984, p. 37f).

2. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (*DA* II p.615) has assigned the authorship of the five *gāthās* found at the end of the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* (*D.* II p. 168-68) including this, to the Theras of Tambapannidīpa.

3. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* (Sinhala script) edited by Ven. Miyawe Ananda, Gampaha, Sri Lanka 1967 p. 62.

4. *Dhātuvaṃsa* p. 18. It is significant that the Brahmin Dona trying to steal three out of four teeth relics is absent in the Sihala version of *Dhātuvaṃsa*.

5. The surveyors who surveyed this area suggest that the river Mahaveli has changed its route in the course of time.

As a result Somawati Cetiya earlier belonged to Rohana province now belongs to North Central Province. It is also said that this has happened in the thirteenth century A.C.

SOTĀPATTI, the attainment of stream-entry, is the first of the four levels of awakening recognized in early Buddhism. It gains its name from the fact that the 'stream-enterer' (*sotāpanna*) has irreversibly entered the 'stream' which will ultimately lead him or her to full liberation. This stream is none other than the noble eightfold path (*S.* V, 347), a stream which leads towards *Nibbāna* just as the *Ganges* leads towards the sea (*S.* V, 38). The time required for this stream to lead to the highest is at most seven lives, none of which will take place in a lower sphere of rebirth (*S.* V, 357).

The discourses distinguish stream-entrants into three main types (*A.* IV, 381): those who will need up to seven more lives in human or heavenly realms to reach liberation (*sattakkhattuparama*), those who will be reborn twice or thrice among humans before reaching full liberation (*kolaṅkola*) and those who will be reborn only once more as a human being before attaining the final goal (*ekabījī*). In fact, a stream-enterer can be living in negligence, such as when he or she neglects to regularly retire into seclusion for the purpose of meditative practice and, due to neglecting the practice, gains neither concentration nor deeper insight (*S.* V, 398).

Not only humans can attain stream-entry, but also gods (*A*. III, 333). The *Sakkapañha Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* reports how *Sakka*, the king of gods, once visited the Buddha in order to pose him a set of questions for which he had so far not been able to receive a satisfactory answer from other spiritual teachers. This time he had come to the right person, since hearing the Buddha's replies he attained stream-entry (*D*. II, 284).

Sakka was not the only one to derive such benefits from listening to the Buddha, and the discourses have recorded numerous instances where the attainment of stream-entry took place in a similar manner. Most of these instances proceed according to a standard pattern, with the Buddha at first delivering a gradual discourse on the importance of morality and generosity and the need to renounce sensuality. When in the course of listening to this gradual instruction the listener's mind reached a state free from the hindrances, the Buddha would expound the four noble truths, upon hearing which the 'eye of the *Dhamma*' (*dhammacakkhu*) arises in the listener's mind, with the insight that whatever is of a nature to arise, is also of a nature to cease.[1]

With the arising of this 'eye of the *Dhamma*', which corresponds to the first vision of *Nibbāna*, the noble disciple has seen the *Dhamma*, reached, understood and penetrated it, thereby having gone beyond doubt and wavering and having attained such a degree of personal independence in regard to the teaching that he or she no longer needs to depend on someone else.[2]

The discourses report several rather striking cases of such arising of the 'eye of the *Dhamma*', such as the case of the leper *Suppabuddha* (*Ud*. 49). This leper had mistaken a crowd listening to the Buddha for being assembled for a free food distribution and had only approached it in the hope of getting a meal. Instead of getting a meal, he received a gradual instruction by the Buddha, resulting in his attainment of stream-entry. Another discourse reports a layman who was even slightly inebriated, yet sobered up through the impact of meeting the Buddha for the first time and realised stream-entry during a gradual discourse given at that same first meeting (*A*. IV, 213). Possibly even more surprising is the case of several hired killers, one of whom even had the mission of killing the Buddha, who all became stream-enterers instead of completing their mission, after having received a gradual discourse by the Buddha (*Vin*. II, 192).

On considering such instances it seems almost as if to hear a discourse was sufficient for awakening without much need for a basis in morality and for gradually developing concentration and engage in insight meditation. Here, however, it needs to be taken into account that if someone had realised stream-entry while meditating alone and in seclusion, this did not occasion a discourse and therefore was not recorded later. But when someone realised stream-entry while listening to the Buddha, the circumstances of the event caused it to become part of the later reported discourse. Thus it is to be expected that mainly the latter type of stream-entry realisations are recorded in the discourses. These instances thus highlight the Buddha's outstanding capability as a teacher, who was able to deliver a talk in such a way that it would lead to the stream-entry of even those who otherwise would quite probably not have had a chance to reach such lofty attainment.

Listening to the *Dhamma* and associating with worthy men, together with rightly directed attention and practice undertaken accordingly, are indeed those factors required for the attainment of stream-entry.[3] The last of these, practice undertaken in accordance with the *Dhamma*, refers in particular to overcoming ignorance and to developing dispassion (*S*. II, 18).

The development of insight culminating in the attainment of stream-entry can be concerned with the impermanent, unsatisfactory and therefore selfless nature of the five aggregates (*S*. III, 160 and 193), or of the six senses and their objects (*S*. III, 225), or of the five types of affective experiences (*S*. V, 207) or, last not least, insight into the four noble truths (*S*. III, 203). In all these cases the conditioned nature of all phenomena would also have to be part of the development of insight leading to stream-entry, since understanding of conditionality forms one of the qualities of a stream-enterer.[4] In sum, thus, what needs to be realized by direct personal experience in order to attain stream-entry is the true nature of reality, it being conditioned and marked by the three characteristics: impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and the absence of a self.

At the moment of attaining stream-entry, the three fetters of belief in a self, doubt and dogmatic clinging to rules and observances are forever eradicated.[5] One who has thus become a stream-enterer is endowed with the four limbs of stream-entry: unwavering confidence in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the community of noble ones, together with a firm degree of moral conduct (*S.* V, 357). Though minor breaches of morality may still occur, since a stream-enterer has not yet reached the moral perfection of an *arahant*, nevertheless he or she will be unable to commit a serious crime (*Sn.* 231). Even in the case of a smaller breach of moral conduct, a stream-enterer will immediately repent and do whatever can be done to make up for the breach and prevent recurrence in the future (*Sn.* 232).

Other qualities of a stream-enterer, listed in the *Kosambiya Sutta* (*M.* I, 324), are no longer being totally obsessed by mental defilements, being endowed with a certain degree of inner tranquillity, being firmly convinced of the uniqueness of the insight gained, being willing to admit any committed offence, being fully dedicated to the further development of morality, meditation and wisdom, and having a keen interest in and a deep satisfaction with the *Dhamma*. Even on the worldly level the attainment of stream-entry apparently has its repercussions, since according to one discourse a stream-enterer is endowed with longer life and increased beauty, happiness and reputation (*S.* V, 390).

The path to stream-entry is one of the specific teachings of a *Tathāgata* (*A.* I. 22), thanks to whose willingness to reveal this path his followers throughout the past 2,500 years have been able and are still able to escape *saṃsāra*. The discourses report sometimes staggering numbers of disciples who had been able to gain stream-entry (*D.* II 218). This ability to escape from *saṃsāra* is not restricted to a particular gender or caste, and the Buddha quite explicitly stated that women are as capable as men to gain any of the four levels of awakening (*A.* IV, 276).

From among the Buddha's close disciples, *Sāriputta* was particularly skilled at leading others to stream-entry, while *Moggallāna* was responsible for leading the stream-enterers further on to the higher stages of awakening (*M.* III, 248). This difference between the teaching activities of these two outstanding disciples to some extent represents the need for a groundbreaking insight into the four noble truths for the attainment of stream-entry to take place, and the need to develop also the concentrative powers of the mind for the higher stages of awakening.

Those on the path to stream-entry however need to develop not only wisdom, but all five faculties (*indriya*): faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom. Practitioners who are firmly on the path and have developed these five faculties to a considerable degree fall into two categories, the 'faith-follower' (*saddhānusāri*) and the 'wisdom-follower' (*dhammānusāri*). The difference between these two, according to the *Kiṭāgiri Sutta*, is a predominance of faith in the former and of wisdom in the latter (*M.* I, 479). The *Abhidharmakośa* explains that while 'faith-followers' develop their practice in close association with a teacher, 'wisdom-followers' do the same in a more self-reliant manner, mainly relying on the discourses and their own innate wisdom.[6]

Both are firmly on the path and are sure to attain stream-entry, latest at death (*S.* III, 225). This fact may help to give some perspective on the case of *Sarakāni* the *Sakyan*, who according to the Buddha's declaration had passed away as a stream-enterer, even though while still alive he had been unable to completely abstain from intoxicating drink (*S.* V, 375). At first sight this declaration by the Buddha seems to fly in the face of the often stipulated need to maintain the five precepts for progress on the path. Yet a closer inspection of this discourse suggests that at some point he may have reached the level of a 'faith-follower' or a 'wisdom-follower' and thus have been bound to realize stream-entry latest at death, even though in the meantime his ethical foundation had deteriorated.[7]

Those on the path to stream-entry are the first of the eight types of noble persons referred to in the standard recollection of the community of noble ones.[8] From the discourses it is quite clear that to be 'on the path' in this way can refer to a substantial time period, as may have been the case with *Sarakāni*. The same can be deduced from the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sutta*, which distinguishes between those on the path to stream-entry and those who have attained stream-entry in a context related to the receiving of offerings (*M.* III, 255).

In subsequent developments of *Theravāda* Buddhism the perspective on the 'path' to stream-entry changed towards a more momentary conception, so that in the commentarial exegesis the same expression is often used to refer to the split second on the brink of actual stream-entry. In relation to the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sutta* the commentary suggests that this passage should be understood to imply that just at the moment of receiving offerings someone may be entering the path and after attain stream-entry (*MA*. V, 72). Though such commentarial explanations seem rather contrived, the two path conceptions are not necessarily contradictory, but can be seen as two different perspectives on the same phenomenon. Thus the 'path' to stream-entry, in its early usage in the discourses, comprises not only the moment on the brink of stream-entry, but also the extended time period required to reach it.

The time period required to gain stream-entry for one who dwells ardently dedicated to the practice may range from a few days to many years (*A*. V, 85). However long it may take, the effort is well worth its while, since even lordship over the whole earth, or rebirth in an exalted heavenly realm, or rulership over the entire universe, cannot compare to the attainment of stream-entry (*Dhp*. 178).

See **DHAMMACAKKHU.**

Anālayo

References

1 *Yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ, sabbaṃ taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ*, e.g. at *D*. I, 148.

2 *Diṭṭhadhammo pattadhammo viditadhammo pariyogāḷhadhammo tiṇṇavicikiccho vigata kathaṅkatho vesārajjappatto aparappaccayo satthu sāsane*, ibid

3 *S*. V, 411: *sappurisasaṃsevo, saddhamma-ssavanaṃ, yoniso manasikāro, dhammānudha-mmappaṭipatti.*

4 *A*. III, 441: *hetu cassa sudiṭṭho, hetusamu-ppannāca dhammā.*

5 *Sn*. 231: *sahāv'assa dassana sampadāya, tayassu dhammā jahitā bhavanti, sakkāyadiṭṭhi vicikicchitañca, sīlabbataṃvāpi yad atthi kiñci*, cf. also *A*. I, 242.

6 L. M. Pruden: *Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣyam*, Berkeley 1989, vol 3 p. 1016.

7 *S*. V. 379 has the same set of terms used in the definitions of the *dhammānusārī* and the *saddhānusārī* at *M*. I, 479, which suggests that *Sarakāni* might also have been an *ānusārī*.

8 *Aṭṭha purisapuggalā*, e.g. at *S*. I, 220.

SPUṬĀRTHĀ-ABHIDHARMA-KOṢA-VYĀKHYĀ

SPUṬĀRTHĀ-ABHIDHARMA-KOṢA-VYĀKHYĀ: The commentary written by Yaśomitra to the *Abhidharmakoṣa* of Vasubandhu. This work is preserved in the original Sanskrit but not available in Chinese. But there is a Tibetan translation extant which is attributed to Viśuddha-sinha and Dpal brtsegs (Cordier III, p. 395; TM. No, 4092).

The work is divided into eight chapters or *Koṣasthānas* (receptacles). It deals with all the philosophical and psychological topics contained in the Abhidharma treatises, which fact enables scholars to have a better approach to the subject than before.

In the first chapter it opens the discussion by explaining duty or *dharma* being of two kinds as mundane (*sāśrava*) and supra-mundane (*anāśrava*). The second chapter deals with sense faculties and their intricate functions in sensorial activity. This is followed by a discussion of beings in the sensuous sphere (*kāma-dhātu*). The fourth chapter is devoted to a discussion of the mechanism of volitional activity (*karma*) while the chapter that follows discusses human suffering (*dukkha*), the Fourth Noble Truth. Chapter six discusses how the path leading to emancipation has to be realised by the development of concentration (*samādhi*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*). The next chapter speaks of knowledge (*jñāna*) which too has two aspects as mundane (*laukika*) and supra-mundane (*lokuttara*). In the last chapter the final realization of freedom (*vimukti*) by casting aside all worldly bonds (*sarva yojana prahāna*) is explained.

It should be mentioned here that the author follows the orthodox *Abhidharma* teaching styling himself as a Sautrāntika.

Bibliography: R. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*. pp. 3-5; G.K. Nariman, *Sanskrit Buddhism*, pp. 279-286; M. Winternitz, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, II, pp. 356ff. ; A.C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivada Literature*, p. 73.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

ŚRĀDDHA - (Pāli *Saddha*), according to Monier Williams[1] is a ceremony performed in honour and for the benefit of dead relatives, observed with great strictness at various fixed periods and on occasions of rejoicing as well as mourning by the surviving relatives. These are performed by the daily offering of water and the offering of balls of rice and meal on stated occasions to three paternal and three maternal forefathers, i.e. father, grand-father and great grandfather. It is not a funeral rite but a supplement to such a ceremony. It is an act of reverential homage to a deceased person and is also supposed to supply the dead with strengthening nutriment after the performance of the funeral ceremony has endowed the deceased with an ethereal body. But the Pāli English Dictionary[2] calls it a funeral rite in honour of departed relatives connected with meals and gifts to the brahamins. Both these works derive the word, *śrāddha* from *śradh-dhā*.

In early texts of the Pāli *Nikāyas* the word *saddha* occurs always with reference to religious rituals of brahmins. In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (*D.* 1.97) the Buddha queries the brahamin youth Ambaṭṭha on the custom among brahamins of feeding brahamins at their religious rituals. Ambhaṭṭha tells the Buddha that brahamins consider a son born of a mixed marriage between a brahamin youth and a khattiya girl or a brahamin girl and a khattiya youth as fit enough to be fed at a *sāddha* ceremony or at some other ceremonies. Buddhaghosa (*DA.* 1.267) explaining the term *saddha* here says that it is a meal given on behalf of the dead (*saddhāni matake uddissa katabhatte*). According to Dhammapāla (*DAT.* I .397) what should be done with faith is a *saddha* (*kevalam saddhāya kātabbam saddham*). It is something done by one who does not expect anything in return (*kiñciapatthetena kātabham*). A brahamin named Jānussoni tells the Buddha that they brahamins make gifts, perform *saddha*, wishing "may this benefit the departed blood relatives, may they partake of it" (*A.* V. 267). In another instance one Jānussoni, probably the same brahamin as above, tells the Buddha that in *a saddha* and some other rituals gifts should be made to brahamins who possess a knowledge of the threefold Vedas (*tevijjesu brāhmanesu dānam dadeyyāti* - *A.* 1. 166). Anyway all these instances show the relationship between a *saddha* and brahamins recognized as fit to be fed at that ritual.

In the Vedic society, as well as in other ancient societies, it was accepted that the needs of the dead have to be supplied from the living world. This is the view expressed in the Buddhist *Tirokuḍḍa* story (*Pvu.* 5.6) as well. From the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras* it becomes clear that Vedic Indians took particular interest in looking after the needs of their dead. Many rituals had been devised to accomplish this important duty. However through centuries these rituals and the concepts which formed their basis underwent change and development. Such developments are clearly indicated in the different phases of Vedic literature.

In the early *Vedas* forefathers were treated with the highest respect almost on an equal status with gods. In fact they lived in the third and the topmost heaven, travelling in the same car and eating together with gods. In both the *Ṛg Veda*[3] and the *Atharva Veda* the fathers (*pitṛ*) are invited with gods to the sacrifice to be regaled with food and drink. But no detailed description of sacrifices made to fathers can be found in these early texts. Daksinaranjan Śastri[4], after examining much of the material found on the subject of funerary offerings among Hindus has concluded that they have had three stages of development. In the first phase, according to him, the offerings to ancestors were made by simply casting them into the sacrificial fire as in other sacrifices. Probably the *pitṛyajna* represents this stage. In the second stage, represented by the *piṇḍapitṛyajña*, was introduced the offering of lumps (*piṇḍa*) of rice and other food to the manes. In the third and final stage came the *śrāddha* with its principal element of feeding the brahamin priests but also incorporating the two earlier elements as well. Thus according to him a *śrāddha* represent the fully developed ritual which included all the three elements.

It is quite possible, as suggested by Śastri, that simple casting of offerings into the fire was practised at the earliest stages as a means of conveying them to the fathers. It was one of the methods adopted by primitive peoples to send their offerings to gods as well as the dead. Since god Agni was considered a messenger of gods and of men, and also a conveyor of sacrifices to gods, he may also have been invested with the added duty of conveying sacrifices to the fathers as well. The following Rg Vedic stanza bears ample testimony for the prevalence of this belief and

the practice in ancient India. "Thou, O Agni, being implored, O Jātavedas, has conveyed the oblations, having made them fragrant. Thou hast presented them to the Fathers; with the funeral offering *(svadhayā)* they have eaten them……"[5]

By this one need not conclude that the offering of lumps *(piṇḍa)* was unknown during the period. It is an important element in both the *pitṛyajña* (or *mahā pitṛyajña)* and the *piṇḍa pitṛyajña* found in great detail in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*[6] and the *Śrauta sūtras.*[7] In both these sacrifices *piṇḍa* offerings are made on sacrificial grass. In the *Ṛg Veda* too the Fathers who are invited to the sacrifice are made to sit on sacrificial grass. They are, therefore, called 'the fathers who sit on the straw' *(barhiṣadah pitara).*[8] The same source refers to the offerings made on the grass spread.[9] Therefore it is probable that the practice of making *piṇḍa* offerings to fathers was not unknown to the Indo-Aryans of the earliest period.

Both the *Brahmanas* and the later law books enjoin the making of daily offerings to fathers. In fact it is included among the five great sacrifices of the Vedic Indians. The fathers should be offered at least a cup of water daily with the word *svadhā.*[10] According to the *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[11] lumps should be offered to the fathers daily. However they are usually believed to need food only once a month. When approached by them for a ruling Prajāpati said 'your eating shall be monthly.'[12] That this ought to be connected with the waxing and waning of the moon is obvious, for the dead in India, as also elsewhere, are intimately associated with this celestial body. The monthly offerings to the fathers are made on the new moon day.

Early *Vedas* refer to several categories of fathers who are invited to the sacrifice. Some of them are referred to by their family names, viz, the Angirasas, the Navagvans, the Atharvans, the Bhṛgus and the Vaśiṣthas[13] which showed their close relations with their living relatives. But there are also several general categories into which the fathers are divided. Sometimes they relate to the place in the space occupied by them, viz. the lower *(avara),* the middlemost *(madhya)* and the upper *(parāsa)* or otherwise in relation to the time of their departure from this world, viz. the earlier *(pūrvāsaḥ)* and later *(apaārsaḥ).*[14] In spite of these divisions no distinction seems to be made in inviting the fathers to the sacrifice or in making offerings to them. Agni is said to come to the sacrifice with thousands of remote forefathers *(paraiḥ pūrvaiḥ pitṛbhiḥ).*[15] But finally the number seems to have become fixed to three generations of one's great grand father, grand father and father, who are fed at the sacrifices. It became the custom to drop the furthest one when a new generation is added to the family of ancestors.[16]

This form of sacrificing to three generations of fathers was the custom followed in both the *piṇḍa pitṛyajña* and the *mahā pitṛyajña* described in the *Brāhmanas* and the *Śrauta Sūtras.* Of the two the former is a very simple ritual at which the main feature is the offering of three lumps of rice or meal to the aforementioned three generations. The offerings are placed on grass strewn on a line drawn on the ground. The fathers are also offered water, collyrium, ointment and fringes of a woolen garment. However a sacrificer above sixty years and eight months of age has to offer a few hairs from his chest in place of the woolen fringes. Since among the paraphanelia used are a mattress and a pillow it is possible the fathers are also offered the use of these as well.[17] The *mahā pitṛyajña* or simply the *pitṛyajña* is a much more elaborate rite which formed a part of the *Śākamedha,* the third of the four four-monthly *(cāturmāsya)* sacrifices held in the months of *Kārthika* and *Margaśiras*[18].

However Śrāddha was to become the most popular sacrifice to the fathers later. This, with its main feature of Brahmana feeding, finds elaborate treatment in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* and the *Dharma Śāstras* and in still later works. While brahmana feeding occupies the central position in a *Śrāddha* the older features of offering in the fire lump offerings are not dispensed with. We can take the account of the *Śrāddha* ritual given in the *Hiranyakesin Gṛhya Sūtra*[19] as an example. In this offerings are made in the fire while imploring *Jātavedas* to carry them to the fathers. Then the Brahmin priests are fed and three lumps made out of their leavings are offered to the three ancestors, viz.father, grandfather, and great grandfather.

There is no evidence in the earliest Vedic texts to believe that feeding of brahamins then formed a part of sacrifices to manes. But in the *Brahmaṇas,* and *Śrauta Sūtras* we have evidence of what may have later developed into such a practice. The *Śatapata*

Brahmana[20] says that the portion of food offered to the ancestors in the *mahāpitryajña* may, at the conclusion of the rite, be eaten by the brahamin priest or thrown into water. Some *Śrauta Sūtras* prescribe that the lumps of rice should, at the end of the ceremony, be fed to a brahamin.[21] Thus the idea of feeding brahamins at sacrifices to fathers seems to have been gaining recognition even before the *Gṛhya Sūtra* period. The rule laid down in the *Kausika Gṛhya Sūtra*[22] with regard to the rice left in the pot, after a *piṇḍa pitryajña*, is that it should be fed to a brahamin, and that the third lump of rice should be given to a learned brahamin. The *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*[23] enjoins that the lumps of rice, at the end of a *piṇḍa pitryajña* be either thrown into fire or water or be fed to a brahamin or cow.

It is not clear as to why these methods of disposing of food offered to fathers or what is left over after the ritual, were adopted. One possible reason was that it was considered a respectable way of disposing the offerings made to fathers without courting their displeasure. It may also have been considered a more effective way of conveying the offerings to fathers. It is not known whether there was any notion of magical power attached to such food held by the then Vedic Indians. If so, such food may not have been considered suitable for ordinary persons. Here we are reminded of an instance in the Buddhist scripture where some food left over from a sacrifice *(havāvasesa)* was offered to the Buddha. The Buddha did not accept it and instructed the brahamins who offered it to throw it into the water. In the water the food started to smoke and sizzle. The Buddha here states that no one other than a Tathāgata or a disciple of a Tathāgatha would be able to digest it (*S*. 1. 167 f). Whether this was only a Buddhist interpretation of a Brahmanic belief is not clear.

However in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* feeding of brahamins become the most essential feature in a *Śrāddha*. Śankhāyana enjoins that at least three brahamins should be fed at the monthly *Śrāddha*, and *piṇḍa* offerings made to the fathers after that.[24] But some think that *piṇḍa* offerings should be made prior to brahmana feeding. An interesting formula recommended by Hiranyakesin[25] to be uttered before feeding the brahamins at a *Śrāddha* rite clearly indicated the whole purpose of this practice. "The earth is the vessel, the heaven is the lid. I sacrifice thee (i.e. the food) into the brahmana's mouth. I sacrifice thee into the inbreathing and out- breathing of the brahmana. *(brāhmanastva mukhe juhomi brāhmanānam tva pārnapanayor juhomi)* thou art imperishable, do not perish for the fathers yonder, in yonder world..." Thus what is fed to the brahamin does not perish but reaches the fathers in their world.

The belief also seems to be connected to another concept which identifies the brahamin priest with the sacred fire used from ancient times as the conveyor of the oblation to gods and fathers. According to the *Aitareya Brahmana* the *purohita* is the *Āhavanīya* fire. The *purohita* is Agni-Vaiśvānara possessed of fire-missiles etc.[26] The *Katha Upanishad*[27] too identifies a brahamin guest with fire. That this concept was known to later authors is seen from Manu who prescribes that, in the absence of sacred fire, the offerings meant for the fathers should be placed in the hand of the brahman, because 'what fire is, even so is brahamin." *Āpastamba* also holds that, at a *Śrāddha*, the brahamins fed represent the *Āhvanīya* fire.[28] One could, therefore surmise that this concept also contributed to the rise and the growth of the custom of feeding brahamins at sacrifices to manes.

Another possibility, however, is that the brahamins fed at the *Śrāddha* were identified with the ancestors themselves. According to Śamkhāyana[29] the brahamins invited to a *Śrāddha* represent the fathers *(pitṛivat)*. The commentator explains this to mean that the sacrificer "invites the youngest, the middle-aged, and the eldest brahamins to sit down in the places of father, grand-father and great grand- father" respectively[30] the *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[31] also agrees that the brahamins invited to a *Śrāddha*, whether it be a *Pārvana*, *Ābhyudayika* or *Ekoddiṣṭa*, represent the fathers. The belief that what is fed to the brahamin priests gratified the fathers represented by them must have been a commonly accepted notion. That the ancestors can be represented by certain living persons at such ceremonies was a commonly accepted view in a number of ancient cultures.

The view that non-human beings can enter living human beings and feed themselves through them was prevalent in India from ancient times. Therefore it is not surprising that the view was extended to fathers as well. According to Manu, "Manes attend the invited brahmins, follow them (when they walk) like the wind and sit near them when they are seated".[32] The

commentator explains that the manes enter the bodies of the invited guests.[33] Later writers were confronted with the problem as to how offerings made in this world reach the dead in a far off unknown place. One such writer tries to solve the problem saying that some of them receive the offerings through the power of formulae and rites, while others receive them by attending the sacrifices personally and entering, in an airy form into the bodies of the brahamin priests.[34] The *Bhavishyat Purāna* claims that even gods, *ṛsis* and *nāgas* take food from the mouth of the brahamins.[35] Therefore the view that fathers feed themselves, through the brahamin priests who receive offerings on their behalf seem to have been quite a well established one in post Vedic India.

There are several forms of the *Śrāddha* ceremony as explained by Monier Williams (infra). Of these the *Ekoddiṣṭa* is a *Śrāddha* meant for a single person, deceased recently, until his or her soul reaches the abode of Yama, and is ultimately united with the general company of fathers through the *Sapiṇḍikarana Śrāddha*. Another form of *Śrāddha* called the *Pārvana*, which according to Monier Williams[36] is performed in honour of ancestors at the conjunction of sun and moon, i.e. at new moon and other periods of moon's changes. A third form of *Śrāddha* is called the *Ābhyudayika* which, according to the same source, is an offering made to ancestors on occasions of rejoicing.

Śrāddhas Received While on the Path to Yama.

Vedic Indians believed in two paths available for the dead to travel, viz. *pitṛyāna* and *devayāna*. It is by the former that the unemancipated dead travel to reach the world of the Fathers presided over by Yama. Early Vedic texts do not speak about the length of time taken by a deceased person to complete this journey. It was generally accepted that the living relatives have to help the dead to make this journey without any problem. On the other hand the dead, who have a very unstable existence during this period between the two worlds of the living and the dead, tend to be quite irritable and could even try to harm the living at their slightest mistake in carrying out funerary and post funerary rites. The end of the period of mourning, which usually coincides, with the period of intermediate existence when the deceased reach the abode of the dead and join the company of ancestors, is a time of joy for both the deceased and the living.

Vedic texts do not make any reference to an intermediate existence between death and the abode of Yama. In fact Berriedale Keith (*HOS*. 32 p. 410 ff) surmises that the Indians of the Rg Vedic period believed they joined the fathers immediately after death. However that this view was not strictly so is proved by the descriptions of funeral rites needed for the passage of the dead to reach the world of Fathers. It is with the cremation of the body and not immediately after death that the full personality of the deceased is effectively transferred to the world of the dead.

These beliefs and rites, though absent from the Vedic texts, are found in abundance in the post-Vedic law books etc. of the Hindus. In them the dead are believed to take one year, sometimes reduced to three fortnights, to reach the company of the fore-fathers. Funeral offerings made to a newly dead person is called *ekoddiṣṭa* or 'dedicated to a single person' and, unlike in offerings made to Fathers in general under normal circumstances, only one lump of rice or flour is offered. Moreover, no invitation is made to Fathers showing that the deceased for whom it is meant is close at hand and awaiting the offerings. No offerings are made in the fire at this ceremony, may be, because the services of Agni is not required to carry them to the world of the Fathers. At the end of the required period the deceased is united with the forefathers in a ceremony called the *sa-piṇḍīkarana* which, again, quite clearly indicates that the dead do not join the Fathers immediately after death"[37].

It would not be completely out of place here to mention the view, probably introduced in the later *Purāṇas*, of a subtle-body' with which a soul is invested for its passage from this world to the world beyond. The funeral offerings, according to these sources, are vital for the formation of this subtle body without which the soul cannot make its journey across. Speaking on this subject Monier Williams says, "Were it not for this intermediate frame ——— believed to be created by offerings made at funeral ceremonies the spirit would remain in the condition of an impure and an unquiet ghost *(preta)* wandering about on earth or in the air among demons and evil spirits. Its reception of the intervenient body converts it from a *preta* or ghost into a *pitri* or ancestor ....[38]

This view of Williams that the offerings made at the funeral ceremony invests it with an intermediate

frame, which converts it to a *pitri* from the condition of a *preta* is not borne out by all sources. He also says in the Sanskrit-English Dictionary (s.v. *Śrāddha*) that the deceased remains a *preta* until the *Śrāddha* is performed when it becomes a *pitri*.

What Williams calls the 'subtle body' should be the *Ativāhaka* body referred to in some *Purāṇas*. The deceased is said to assume this body as soon as the body is cremated and it is said to consist only of heat (*tejas*), air (*vāyu*) and space (*ākāsa*). No further rites are required to create this body. The view of the *smṛtis*, however, is that the deceased assume this body as soon as he dies.[39] The lumps of rice or flour offered to the deceased during the ten days following cremation invest it with the intermediate body, which is called, according to Śastri, *preta-śarīra*.[40] The *Garuḍa Purāṇa*[41] which does not refer to an *ātivāhaka śarīra* says that when a corpse is burnt a new one is formed by the lumps offered. In this body the deceased experiences the good and evil results of one's deeds while on the way to the next world. But it refers to a *yātana-deha*, body of torment', in which 'the man of the size of a thumb (i.e. the soul) is dragged out of the body, even before death, by the messengers of Yama, and taken to a sort of pre-view of the suffering the sinner would have to undergo in hell.[42] It is also in the intermediate body formed by the lumps offered in the first ten days after cremation that the deceased receives the *ekoddiṣṭa Śrāddhas* sixteen in number according to later sources performed within the space of one year or condensed into a much shorter period.[43] With the completion of these *Śrāddhas* and the *sapiṇḍīkarana śrāddha* the deceased *preta*— assumes the status of a father and enters into the company of the ancestor Fathers.[44] If this change does not occur the deceased would not be able to enjoy the monthly and other *śrāddha* sacrifices made by the living to the ancestor Fathers in general.[45]

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ŚRADDHĀ See **SADDHĀ**

SRĀKET. Wat Sraket (Srakeśa), in Bangkok, is noted for its Golden mount which towers above the avenue linking the Grand Palace to the Throne Hall. During festivals it is the central point of illuminations in the palace area. The *cetiya* on the summit contains the best authenticated sacred relic in Thailand. During the 1800's the cremation facilities of this *wat* were much used, particularly during epidemics, because of its location outside the city wall.

In April 1782 the commander of the Thai armed forces, Cao Pya Cakri, returning from a military campaign in the east, stopped at this monastery for a purification ceremony in which lustral water was poured over his head. After he ascended the throne as Rāma I, and established his capital in Bangkok, he began repairs on this and other monasteries on the Bangkok side of the river. Using prisoners of war he extended the Bang Lamphu canal along the west side of Sraket and dug the Mahanak canal along the north side. Smaller canals placed along the other two sides of the monastery completed the encirclement by water. The Mahanak canal bears the name of a monk at the Golden Mount Monastery near Ayudhya who had dug a canal in 1459 A.C. to defend the old capital.

In November 1801 Srakae, for such was the original name of this *wat*, celebrated its restoration. King Rāma I attended the seven-day consecration ceremonies, took the monastery under royal patronage, and altered the name to Sraket, (*sra* - pouring water; *ket* or *keśa* - hair) to commemorate the ceremony held in 1782 which preceded the king's accession to the throne.

In 1818 in this monastery was planted a cutting from the Bodhi tree at Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka. In March 1822 the chief monk of this monastery, Somdech Prà Vanaratana (Don), became "Supreme Patriarch of the Monastic order and took up residence at Wat Mahādhātu. He held office for twenty years.

During the reign of Rāma III (1824-1851) this monastery acquired most of its present features. Dwellings (*kuṭi*) for 300 monks were constructed of brick. The ***uposata*** hall (*bōt*) was restored and embellished.

The principal image in this building is that of Buddha seated in the posture of meditation. In the surrounding gallery are 163 seated images, and at each of the four corners a standing figure of Buddha. West of this *bōt* the king erected a vihāra of great height. He placed in the south chamber a bronze standing Buddha over nine metres high. It is known as the Pra Attharasa Buddha, and it was brought to Bangkok about 1829 from Wat Vihāra Tong, Pisnulok. In the north chamber is a bronze Buddha, brought from Wat Dusit when that monastery, was razed to make room for the Throne Hall. West of this *vihāra* is a pavilion for holding funeral ceremonies, and behind that is the crematorium.

Dominating all the buildings is the nearly seventy-five metres high Golden Mount, named after the great structure bearing that name near the old capital of Ayudhya. King Rāma III commissioned Pya Sri Vivaḍhana to erect a gigantic tower (*prāṅg*) with a dodecagonal base 100 metres long on each side. This was to be faced with brick, the centre to be filled with earth and stone. During construction the central mass of material sank eighteen metres into the alluvial subsoil. As subsidence continued the project was abandoned for a number of years. King Rāma IV (1851-1868) authorized Pya Sri Vivaḍhana to resume work on the shapeless mass and to make of it an artificial hill. It was completed early in the following reign and was so covered with brick and grey stucco as to resemble a steep Stone Mountain adorned with numerous shrines, small cetiyas, alcoves containing images, and memorials to the honoured dead. Its official name is Paramaparvata. Two stairways wind about it to the top. One starts at the base on the south side, the other on the north side. For many decades the platform at the top afforded the best view obtainable of Bangkok and environs. During the Wat Fair held each November the two stairways are thronged with climbers who come to venerate the sacred relic in the cetiya at the summit.

The sacred ashes came from a ruined stūpa at Piprāwā, near the border of Nepal and also the site of ancient Kapilavatthu. During the partial excavation by Peppe in January 1898 (*Revealing India's Past*, p 119) was discovered a sandstone box which contained jewels, ornaments, and small urns was discovered. There was an ancient early Brāhmī inscription which has been translated:

"These relics of the Lord Buddha have been presented by the supreme Sakya Lord together with his grandchildren, son and wife." (Sir Charles Eliott, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 23)

The British government presented the relics to king Chulalongkorn, who sent Cao Pya Yomarāja to receive them. Portions of the relics were also given to representatives from Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Japan, and Siberia. The rest was enshrined in the cetiya on the Golden Mount, Bangkok, 23 May 1899.

Tropical rain and vegetation continually attack the surface of the Golden Mount and after a period of years cover it with green shrubbery. In 1954 it was again restored and the cracks cemented up. It is a royal *Wat*, second grade. The height of the Golden Mount is 77 metres. More recently a two-storey school building for monks and novices has been erected near the *uposatha* hall (bōt).

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SRĪPĀDA See **SAMANTAKŪṬHA, SAMAN**

STŪPA: The words *stūpa, thūpa, caitya, cetiya, dhātugarbha* convey the same meaning. There are *stūpas* in Burma, Thailand, India and Indonesia. The *stūpa* was introduced to Sri Lanka with the introduction of Buddhism. A *stūpa* can be built over the bodily relics of not necessarily of the Buddha, but also in respect of any person who can be oonsidered as a great personage. The Buddha, Pacceka Buddha, Arahat and *cakravarti* monarchs have been honoured by erecting *stūpas* over their remains. The art of building *stūpas* was introduced into Sri Lanka as well as to countries of the Far East with the spread of Buddhism from India into those lands. Many *stūpas* which were found in ancient India have been systematically excavated by archaeologists. In ancient India were also built in pre-Buddhist times *stūpas* and remains of such monuments have been found. It should be mentioned that *stūpas* were built in honour of saints of the Jaina religion. There are also a large number of monuments named Pyramids in Egypt, which go back to periods like 2000 B.C. But they are not Buddhist. Even so, when we search for the beginnings of *stupa*-erection, we cannot ignore the Egyptian Pyramids. It is not only for preserving bodily relics of the Buddha that *stūpas* were built. Important places of worship such as, the place where the first sermon was delivered (Sārnath, Isipatana, Benares), places where the Buddha sat in meditation are shown by building *stūpas* over such places. After the passing away of the Buddha, the bodily remains were divided into eight portions. It is said that those kings who obtained their shares, took them over to their countries and built *stūpas* over them. (The collar bones and the four teeth-relics were not included in the eight shares). It is on record that most of these relics have found their way into the relic chamber of Ratnamāli-cetiya in Anurādhapura.

Within India itself, the *stūpa* assumed, in course ot time, various developments. In lands beyond India, the *stūpa* underwent changes peculiar to each country. In Far East India and the Malay Peninsula, the *stūpas* which we find now, show developments which are far removed from the original types in India. The changes are so varied and manifold that it is difficult to say that their origins were in India. The *stūpa* in Sri Lanka shows less differences than those in other parts of Asia.

The first historical *stūpa* in Sri Lanka was built by the first Buddhist king of Sri Lanka, Devānampiya Tissa (307-267 B.C.). The tradition is that the left collar bone of the Buddha was deposited here. It is called the Thūpārāma (in Anurādhapura). It can be seen even today, but it does not represent the form in which it was built by that king in the third century B.C. On many occasions, it was repaired and what has come down to us is something very much modern - that is to say, it is in the form that is constructed in the present century.

The story of this *stūpa* goes back to over 2000 years. There are two other *stūpas* which claim a remoter antiquity. That is to say, the Mahiyangana-*stūpa*, in the Uva Province and the *stūpa* at Tiriyay, near

Trincomalee. It is said that the Mahiyangana- *stūpa* was built by God Saman of Adam's Peak; the *stūpa* at Tiriyaya (which is called Girikaṇḍika-caitya) was built by the two merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka (who were the first to give a meal to the Buddha after Enlightenment.) Historians and archaeologists are not in favour of regarding these traditions as historical facts. It is therefore unnecessary, to speak about these two monuments.

The king who succeeded Devanampiya Tissa was his brother Uttiya (267-257 B.C.), who is reported to have built several *stūpas* over the relics of Mahinda-thera (the first Buddhist missionary to Sri Lanka). One such *stūpa* is the Ambasthala-cetiya at Mihintale. The mesaurements of this *stūpa* can be compared with that of Thūpārāma. Slightly later in date to this are those built at Tissamahārāma, Kalani and Seruvävila. But even in theae instances, the ancient features have disappeared. The *stūpa* built by King Duṭṭhagamani Abhaya (161-137 B.C.) was larger in size. This king first built the Maricavaṭṭiya-cetiya. It was 168 ft. in diameter. Its superstructure disappeared later, but at the present day it has been restored. It has been reported that King Gajabāhu I (113-135 B.C.) carried out repairs to this *stūpa*. Even then, the greater part of this *stūpa*, helps us greatly to study its evolution.

The diameter of Ratnamāli-cetiya is 298 ft. (at present). At the beginning it was 300 ft. high. The *Mahāvaṁsa* calls it Mahāthūpa. King Duṭṭhagāmani's brother and successor Saddhā Tissa (137-119 B.C.) executed the unconstructed parts of the Mahāthūpa and brought it to a completion. He also built the Dighavāpi-cetiya and also sevaral other *stūpas*. Saddhā Tissa'a son Lanja Tissa (119-109 B.C.) caused to be made several decorative features to the Mahāthūpa and repaired and enlarged the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya at Mihintale. Vaṭṭagāmani Abhaya (88-76 B.C.) is credited with the building of Abhayagiri- *stūpa*. In later times it came to be 350 ft. high. Its diameter was 355 ft. The monument called Dakkhiṇa-thūpa also belongs to the reign of this king.

During the first three centuries of the Christian Era (1-299 A.C.), there was much interest in the building of *stūpas*. King Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (9-21 A.C.) caused to be built the Mahā-cetiya on the summit of Mihintale hill. King Vasabha (66-110 A.C.) is credited with the building of several *stūpas*. He caused to be built the *vaṭa-dā-gē (caitya-gṛha)* to the Thūpārāma. King Gajabāhu I (113-135 A.C.) is credited with the building of four *ādimukhas* at the four gates of Abhayagiri-*stūpa*. Kaniṭṭha Tissa (160-193 A.C.) set up four *vāhalkaḍas* at the Abhayagiri-*stūpa* according to an inscription. The caitya-gṛha at Attanagalla was the work of King Gothābhaya (254-267 A.C.). King Mahāsena (277-304 A.C.) was the last of the great *stūpa* builders of the early age. His Jetavana-stūpa is a colossal monument. Its diameter is 370 ft. Its height up to the broken part of the spire is 231 ft.

Stūpas built during the period 5th to 10th century A.C. were small in size. In these *stūpas* were deposited not relics of the Buddha, but extracts from Mahāyāna texts.It is during this period that changes in the upper portion of the *stūpa* of the ancient plan took place.

During the Polonnaru period many of the *stūpas* which had been destroyed by the Dravidian invaders were repaired. Kiri-vehera which was newly built by Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.), can be safely attributed to the Polonnaru period. It is of medium size. To this period also belongs Pabalu-vehera; Koṭa-vehera at Dādigama was built to commemorate his birth place. The Damiḷa- thūpa which was started by Parākramabāhu I has been left unfinished. It was put up on a natural elevated ground, by building the triple berm on bricks. The summit of the *stūpa* was flattened and a fresh *stūpa* was built over it. At the present day only a part of this construction remains. Nissankamalla who succeeded Parākramabāhu also built several *stūpas*. One is the Rankot-vehera, which is 186 ft., in diameter. He named it Ratnamāli-cetiya. His intention was to make a *stūpa* greater in size than that of the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura. After this period, there were very few *stūpas* built which are of any interest, aesthetically or of archaeological value.

A contemporary of King Devānampiya Tissa was the Emperor Asoka. The Indian *stūpas* at Bharhut and Sānchi belong to the period of this king. These are to be seen today in almost the same form as they were, when they were first built. In Sānchi and Bharhut *stūpas* there are the *toranas* and railings and in these, there are carvings or model *stūpas*. They are shown within panels depicting stories. These can be dated to about the 2nd or 1st century B.C. There are the *stūpas* of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda which are of a slightly later date. From the panels in *toranas* and railings, we can learn of

the nature of the *stūpas* of South India, in that period. In our chronicles also, there are passages which describe *stūpas*. In recent times, when excavations were made, there came to light reliquaries which show how the *stūpa* existed in those times. General Cunningham who excavated the great *stūpa* (No. 1) at Sānchi, says about its formation: "At the top it is flat. The dome or (*udara*) (*aṇḍa*) is hemispherical. At its base was a *medhi* (a circuma-mbulatory path). To reach this path, there was a flight of steps. (It contained three steps). Around the base of the *stūpa* was a railing. It may have been used as a second circumambulating path. On the top of the dome there was a *harmikā* which was enclosed by a railing on the four sides. On this *harmikā* was the *silā-chattra* or the umbrella. To enter the premises of the *stūpa* there were four gateways (*toranas*) on the four sides. These gateways were decorated with panels containing incidents from the life of the Buddha or the *Jātakas*. A very interesting description of the building of the Mahāthūpa at Anuradhapura is given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. General Cunningham who excavated Sānchi-stupa No. 3 says that the description of the *Mahāvaṁsa* tallies with the building plan of *stūpa* No. 3 at Sānchi.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* states that great care and effort was made in the laying of the foundation of the Mahāthūpa. In the first instance, the foundation was made by digging 7 cubits of the earth. It is not possible to verify the truth of this statement, but we know that the foundation of the Abhayagiri-stūpa rose from a depth of 26 ft., from ground level. This was reported upon by H.C.P. Bell who excavated the Abhayagiri-stūpa. When the Mahāthūpa foundation was being prepared, round stones were brought into the spot by able-bodied men. They were then hammered out and simplified into small pieces. Then they were made to be stamped upon to the earth by getting elephants having leather bound on to their feet. The *Mahāvaṁsa* states that the shape of the Mahāthupa was bubble-shaped. The *Thūpavaṁsa* states that the Thūpārāma was planned according to a heap of paddy shape (*dhanyākāra*).Ghantākāra, Ghaṭākāra, Bubbulākāra, Dhānyākāra and Padmākāra are the well-known types of stupas (bell-shape, pot-shape, bubble shape, heap of paddy shape and lotus shape).

Most of the stūpas in Sri Lanka, of a considerably large size, begin the dome at the top of the third berm (*pesā-valalu*). This triple berm consists of the largest one which begins at the base (the one having the largest circumference); the second berm is relatively smaller and the third is the smallest. *Mahāvaṁsa* calls these circular berms *Pupphādhāna*, (a Pali word). 'Place for offering flowers' is the meaning. At the present day, there are separate places for the offerings of flowers. During those early days, flowers were placed on these berms. There is also reason to believe that these berms, at one time, were used at circumambulating paths (*pradakṣiṇā-patha*).

Once the three berms of the Mahāthūpa were completed, before the work on the hemispherical dome was started, the relic chamber was built in the centre in line with the topmost berm. There is a very long description of it in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The relic chamber was built, by piecing together slabs of stone, in order to form a box. It was in the centre on level with the third berm. In *stūpa* No. 3 at Sānchi, where the relics of Sāriputta Thera were deposited, the relic chamber was built in the centre of the building, as at the Mahāthūpa in line with the circular path. But in the great *stūpa* at Sānchi (No. 1) the relics were found deposited in the rectangular superstructure on the top of the dome. This rectangular structure was also called *harmikā*.

All the *stūpas* in Sri Lanka have not been systematically excavated and studied but from whatever excavations that have been done and researches carried out, it is possible to get some information on the structure of the *stūpas*. In the Sigiri-stūpa, there were three relic-chambers, one above the other. The one that was on top had been despoiled by treasure hunters. Below that, there was a square chamber. Its base was of bricks and over it was placed a kind of casket which was named *yantragala*. In this *yantragala* there were 25 compartments. The third chamber contained sculptured slabs made of alabaster. There were also sculptures of *nāgas* there. Furthermore there was also a small scale pilaster made of alabaster. In the opinion of some scholars this was in imitation of the Mahāmeru-rock. Over this Mahāmeru was a slab of stone containing footprints of the Buddha. There is no reason to believe that any one base of a relic chamber was on level with the topmost berm (*pupphādhāna*) of the *stūpa*. At the Kirivehera in Polonnaru, the base of the chief relic chamber was on level with the topmost of the berms (*pesāva*).

The Topāvāva-stūpa gives ample information on how the relic chambers of a *stūpa* were prepared. There were six relic chambers there. The largest chamber was on the top (6 ft. long, 6 ft. broad and 4 ft. deep). It was made of stone slabs. The second chamber measured $3^{1/2}$ x $3^{1/2}$ x $3^{1/2}$ ft. Below this was a vessel made of brick. It was divided into 25 compartments. The third chamber measured 3 ft. on each side i.e. (3 x 3 x 3 ft.). Its base was on level with the ground floor. In the middle of this chamber was the Mahāmeru which was 1 ft. 8 ins. high. It was kept on three stones which were placed triangularly. On the Mahāmeru was placed a golden relic casket which had the form of a small *stūpa*. Below this third relic chamber was a vessel made of brick, with 9 compartments in it. Below this there were three relic chambers which diminished in size and which were placed one below the other. These three chambers were below ground level. These chambers which were below ground level are not considered as relic chambers. They were meant to deposit auspicious symbols. The Mahāmeru stone which was placed in the middle of a relic chamber is considered to symbolise the universe (according to some authorities). The most important relic which was meant to be deposited in the stūpa would have been kept inside the largest relic chamber, which was on level with the third (berm) of the three tiers. Inside these chambers were placed not only relics, but also, images of the Buddha, of the four guardian deities, *svastika* symbols and such other auspicious items like conch shells. The rest of the hemispherical dome was divided into parts and filled with earth. It was very rarely that the *udara* (the drum) was filled with bricks.

Among the numerous stūpas in Sri Lanka, the most common type is the bell-shaped one (*ghanṭākāra*). The chronicles state that the early stūpas were made according to the bubble-shape (*bubbulākāra*). It has been stated that the Thūpārāma at Anuradhapura was made according to the heap of paddy shape. Some relic caskets which have been discovered at Tissamaharama provide grounds for us to believe that pot-shaped (*ghaṭākāra*) stupes were also in existence in this country.

The main differences in the evolution of the *stūpa* in Sri Lanka from the Indian counterparts are to be noticed with regard to the superstructure. The triple berm (*pesā-,valalu*) and the dome (*garbha*) did not go through much changeas in Sri Lanka for quite a long period of time. Above the dome (*garbha-udara*) was the rectangular enclosure. It was also called *harmikā*. Above the *harmikā* was a cylindrical structure which is called *devatā-koṭuva* in Sinhala. In the Sānchi-stūpa (No. 1) the *harmikā* (or rectangular enclosure) had a railing. At one time this *harmikā* contained the relic deposit. The railing in Sārnath *stūpa* was made of stone. In the earlier Indian *stūpas*, there was an umbrella (*chattra*) which was placed in the middle of the *harmikā*. The *Mahāvaṁsa* says how Saddhātissa (brother of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya) showed the ailing king (Duṭṭhagāmaṇi), the Mahāthūpa at Anuradhapura (as if the work was completed).

Before Duṭṭhagāmaṇi could complete the building activity of Mahāthūpa, he fell ill. He asked his brother to complete it and show it to him before he breathed his last. Following is the description as given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*:

"He had a covering made of white cloth by tailors and therewith was the *stūpa* covered. Thereon did he command painters to make on it a *vedikā* and rows of filled vases likewise and the railing with the five-finger ornament. And he had an umbrella made of bamboo reeds and on the upper *vedikā* (the base of the conical spire) a sun and moon. And when he had this *stūpa* painted cunningly with lacquer, he showed it to the king'.

According to this description, in the early stūpas, there was no *kotkärälla* (series of umbrellas) over the rectangular enclosure. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, there were two railings in a stūpa i.e. *kucchi-vedikā* and *muddha-vedikā*. The last named was the railing on the top of the hemispherical dome. *Kuccha-vedikā* was the railing along the triple berm at the base of the *stūpa*. In the early days, these were made of wood. Furthermore, instead of the rectangular structure, originally there was a wooden railing to enclose the pole that held the umbrella (*chattra*). The wooden railing had to be replaced very often because it used to get decayed very often due to natural causes. Therefore it is usual in course of time to replace it with more durable material. It is not possible to state at what time the replacement came into effect.

After the 4th century A.C., there is no mention of a *muddha-vedikā* in the chronicles. Therefore it is possible to surmise that by the 4th century, this practice

of fixing wooden railings went out of vogue. A stone umbrella fixed on to a stone pilaster had been found at Rajagala (in the Eastern Province). In the Sanskrit *śilpa-śāstra* works, this stone pilaster ia called *yūpa-yaṣṭi*..In the numerous sculptures at the Amaravati-stūpa, there are examples of miniature stūpas having *yūpa-yaṣṭi*. The last mention of *yūpa-yaṣṭi*, on *stūpas* in the *Mahāvaṁsa* occurs in the 7th century. After this period, there are to be found changes in the superstructure of the *stūpas*. Therefore by about the 7th century, the practice of fixing umbrellas over *stūpas* came to a halt. In the early days, there was only one umbrella fixed on to the top of a *stūpa*. But in later days, says the *Mahāvaṁsa*, there came to be fixed several umbrellas, one over the other above a *stūpa*. The name given to such a structure is *chattāhichatta* (according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*). The one on the top was called *dhuracchatta*. *Chattrāvāli* which means a series of umbrellas, is also the same as *chattramālā*. Thera ia also a reference to a *vajra-cumbaṭa*, a band or circle of diamonds (adamants) placed on the top of a *stūpa*. It was meant to place a jewel on the top and also to counter-act lightning. In the Rankot-vehera and Kiri-vehera (at Polonnaru), it is possible to see a circular cylinder which has been placed on the superstructure (i.e. the rectangular square) above the dome. In the *śilpa śāstra* work it is called *sura-koṣṭa*. In local parlance it is called *devatā-koṭuwa*. Over this *dewatā-koṭuwa* was built the *kot-kärälla* (series of umbrellas). In the Abhayagiristūpa at Anuradhapura, as well as at Kirivehera (in Polonnaru), it is possible to see this feature. This is a development of the *yaṣṭi* and *chattrāvāli* of the early Indian and Sri Lankan *stūpas*. This development in Sri Lanka may be traced to 5th century A.C.

In the early *stūpas*, there is a structure called *vāhalkaḍa* which was built against the *stūpa*, in all four directions. This can be found in Mirisavaṭicetiya and at Kanṭaka-cetiya, Mihintale. On either side of the *vāhalkaḍa* there is a stone pillar, on the summit of which can be seen one of the following animal figures: lion, elephant, horse, bull. There are bands in the *vāhalkaḍas* running horizontally. They are decorated with sculptures of all sorts. The summit of the *vāhalkaḍa* consists of three *vimānas* (domes).The purpose of these domes was to deposit images or sculptures. On the horizontal bars, there appear certain hooks which were meant to keep something hanging. May be that they were meant to hold on to lighted lamps. But it is not possible to state conclusively, for what purpose they were meant. The summit of the *vāhalkaḍa* at Kanṭaka-cetiya consists of 3 *vimānas* or domes, made of brick. In the central *vimāna*, there is an image of a god deposited therein. At the front of *vāholkaḍa* at Anuradhapura and Mihintale, a stone altar, containing simple mouldings had been fixed. These were meant to place offerings of flowers by devotees. It is not possible to state conclusively the meaning of these *vāhalkaḍas*. Could it be that they were placed there to enhance the strength of the brickwork of the *stūpas* - or were they meant as a device similar to the *toraṇas* at Sānchi?

At Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa stūpas, there are pillars of stone,placed at their bases which are referred to as *āyakas* or *āyaka-khambhas* (in the inscriptions). On these *āyaka khambhas*, there were sculptured slabs of alabaster, hung on to them. Even then there are great differances between these *āyakas* of South India and the *vāhalkaḍas* of Sri Lanka. Around the *stūpas* various kinds of adjuncts were added. At the Rankot-vehera and Kirivehera in Polonnaru, there were built eight small scale image houses with Buddha statues inside them, along the base of the *stūpa*. Furthermore, the compound of the *stūpa* extending from its base up to a considerable extent was made out by laying slabs of stone. This was called the *mālaka* and it was encircled by a railing of stone. If the *stūpa* was small, a roof was built over it to protect it from sun, wind and rain. There is archaeological evidence to establish that the pillars standing in concentric circles around the Thūpārāma at Anuradhapura, supported a wooden roof over the *stupa*. Such an enclosure was called a *vaṭa-dā-gē*. Thūpārāma, Lankātilaka, Mädirigiriya, Polonnaru *vaṭadāge* are examples. Within the precincts of the *stūpa*, and around it, flower altars, image houses, Buddha statues and Bodhisattva figures were caused to be put up. On the four sides of the *stūpa*, beyond the *mālaka*, was a railing of stone.

Around the Mahāthūpa, instead of a stone railing, there was an elephant wall. It contained a series of elephant heads and was called *hatthi-pākāra*. The precincts of the stupa could be entered upon through a stairway containing steps, which were held together by wingstones (which, in common parlance came to be called *koravak-gal*). They are ahaped in the form of a head of a *makara* (mythical animal). At the entrance to this flight of steps is a moonstone.It is a semi-circular

in shape and contains animal and vegetal designs. On either side of the wingstones is a guardstone which contains figures of cobras, who hold on to their hands vases containing flowers (*purṇna ghaṭa*). The cobra could be identified by means of the five hoods behind its head. The cobra is usually of human shape. It sometimes contains the cobra in coils, with its head raised. These guardstones are available, not only at the entrance to *stūpas*, but also at the entrance to image houses or residences of monks. From a study of these details, it will be seen that, the stūpa in Sri Lanka developed in ways peculiar to this island, differing in details from the mainland. It therefore becomes obvious that the medieval *stūpa* in Sri Lanka, differed widely with regard to details from the early Indian *stūpas* such as Sānchi and Bharhut.

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Nandasena Mudiyanse

SŪBHUTI WASKADUWE SRI : Ven. Waskaduwẹ Sri Subhuti (1835-1917), better known in academic circles as "Pavaranirutti Ṭikācariya Mahāvibhāvi Rājaguru Waskaduwe Sri Subhuti", was one of the early Pali scholars of international repute in the island. He kept close contact with European scholars of the day and often encouraged them to study Oriental Languages. His parents were Karunāmuni Pānis de Silva and Nilamuni Punchihamy de Silva. He was the youngest in a family of seven, five boys and two girls. He had his primary education at the age of seven years at the Weslian School in the village.

He was ordained by Ven. Saranapāla Silakkhandha of Sumanārāmaya in Kalamulla in Kalutara. He received initial education and training under his teacher. At that time there were no facilities for monks to proceed with the higher education, learned monks were very rare, and books were equally rare. Printing of books was not yet commenced. The only available opportunity of higher education for monks was at Pelmadulla Purāna Vihāraya, where Ven. Gālle Medhankara and afterwards his pupil Induruve Sumangala taught a limited number of monks of their own arrangement. However, Sāmanera Subhūti got the rare chance of studying at Pelmadulla Purāna Vihāraya under Ven. Induruve Sumangala, the chief High Priest of the Low Country and the High Priest of the Adams Peak, foremost among the learned monks of the day. Being a brilliant student, Sāmanera Subhūti studied seven years under difficult conditions and became one of the few erudite monks of the day. He was wellknown for his mastery of the Pali Language. He was able to gain thorough knowledge of English which enabled him to develop his friendships with the European scholars. He received his higher ordination in 1859 at Balapitiya, with Ven. Siri Saddhammawamsapāla Dhīrānanda Lankāgoda as his preceptor. Later a teaching institution was commenced in his own temple, where students from distant places such as Badulla, Walapane came to learn from him. Even foreign students from Siam, Burma and Cambodia came and studied under him.

A British civil servant R.C. Childers came to Ven. Subhūti to learn Pali from him. Later Childers compiled the first Pali English Dictionary. Sir Robert Chalmers, a Pali scholar who later came to the island as its Governor General knew Ven. Subhūti even before coming to Sri Lanka. He invited Ven. Subhūti to the Queen's House, his official residence and entertained him. European scholars like Fausboll, Maxmuller, Richard Morris were known to him personally. It is said that there were no European scholars who did not know about Ven. Subhuti at the time.

Ven. Subhūti played a leading role in the Tripiṭaka Sangāyanāwa organized by Iddamalgoda Nilame at Pelmadulla. He was among the leading monks who represented Amarapura Nikāya at the Sangāyanāwa. He also supplied important points to Ven. Migettuwatte Gunānanda to debate with the Christians at the religious controversy (Pānaduravādaya) held at Panadura.

Ven. Subhūti's most worthy contribution to Pali learning was his edition of the Pali Nigaṇḍu (Dictionary of Pali Synonyms) ; better known as Abhidhānappadipikā compiled by Ven. Moggallāna during the Polonnaruwa period. He edited it in the Sinhala script

with the English equalents. Furthermore he has arranged the words contained in the *stanzas*, according to the alphabetical order for easy reference by the modern students. The colonial government of Sri Lanka has helped him to print the book in the Ceylon Government Press.

Ven. Subhūti was known to King Culakone the king of Siam, better known as king Culalankara in Sri Lanka. The king presented to Ven. Subhūti a set of Tripiṭaka printed and published to commemorate his 25th year of accession to the throne, with his signature. When the king came to Sri Lanka, Ven. Subhuti met him at the Queen's House (Colonial Governor General's residence in Colombo) on invitation. The Siamese king's brother Prisdon Chumsan came to Sri Lanka in 1896 and ordained himself under Ven. Subhū ti at Abhayārāmaya where Ven. Subhuti resided. The royal monk was known as Ven. Jinavaravamsa, and as a result Ven. Subhūti got the epithet "Rājaguru" the teacher of the king.

Ven. Subhuti died on 19th April 1917 at the age of 82, at his temple at Waskaduwa in Kalutara.

K. Arunasiri

SUDDHODANA, the father of Gautama Buddha and hence the husband of Māyādevi and her sister Mahāprajāpati Gotami who became his chief queen after the death of the former, who died seven days after the birth of Prince Siddhārtha.

He thus belonged to the Sakya clan, who were a north Indian tribe at the time. Suddhodana was accordingly a provincial king, ruling over his tribe with his capital at Kapilavastu in the foothills of Himālayas. His parents were Sīhahanu and Kaccānā. He had three brothers named Dhotodana, Sakkodana and Amitodana and two sisters named Amitā and Pamitā.

Suddhodana assumes significance in the history of Buddhism because he happened to be the father of the Buddha, and in playing that role he was faced with a vital problem from the time of the prince's very birth. This was because the soothsayers had predicted that his son would either be a world- ruler (*rājā cakkavattin*) or a Buddha, while Suddhodana's only wish was that he would remain in the household life and would become a world-ruler. As such he took every possible precaution to prevent his son from going from home to homelessness. On the positive side he posited the prince with every possible kind of luxury to keep him tethered to the household life. Externally devoted to his son he spared no pains to see that he would fulfill his sole wish of becoming a universal monarch. His fondness and attachment to his son became stronger and stronger with the passage of time, owing to this unstable position with the prediction of Asita, also haunting in the background for it was Asita, king's own teacher, who foretold on the very day of the prince's birth that he would become a Buddha after going from home to homelessness.

Never relaxing his efforts to make his own contrary wish to come true, he went on increasing his precautionary measures such as providing the prince with every possible luxury such as three separate palaces suiting the three seasons, special teachers at home, getting him trained in all the martial arts and skills available at the time as qualifications necessary for a contemporary king. He also got the Sakya princess Yasodarā married to him and provided an all female orchestra for their entertainment.

Despite all this, his eager wish failed to see fruition when the prince went forth from home to homelessness, leaving the tightly guarded royal palace, quite unknown both to him and other close members of the family circle and proceeded to far away Uruvelā. Although he failed in his great expectation of universal ruler ship for his son, he next extended his hopes for his alternative role of Buddhahood and was awaiting its fulfillment by following every step in the son's progress towards his chosen cherished goal of full enlightenment.

Once when news was brought to the effect that prince Siddhartha had died owing to the severity of his austerities during the six year struggle of exertion, he fully refused to believe the news maintaining that his son would never die without achieving his goad of full enlightenment.

Ultimately, when he received the news that his son had become a Buddha he dispatched a messenger to Veḷuvana in Rājagaha with a retinue of 10,000 to invite the Buddha to his home-town Kapilavatthu. But the messenger and his companions after listening

to a discourse of the Buddha on their arrival there, fell for the Dhamma and entered the Order and forgot their mission. This same incident was repeated nine times in identical manner. However, in the tenth attempt Suddhodana selected his minister Kāludāyin, a long- standing lay-time friend of the Buddha for the mission and succeeded in getting down the Buddha to Kapilavatthu, even here too Kāludayin entering the Order but only after fulfilling the king's mission as well.

Thus the Buddha visited Kapilavatthu, staying there in the Nigrodhārāma, named after the Sakyan who had got it put up for the Buddha. It was on the second day that an interesting incident occurred in the city-streets when the Buddha went there for alms along with his retinue of monks. Having got the news the king hurried to the center of the city quite alarmed at the incident, requesting the Buddha not to bring discredit to him as the king. Here the Buddha appeased him by explaining that begging for alms had been the traditional custom of all the Buddhas. Here the Buddha's elucidations and admonitions made Suddhodana a *Sotāpanna*, who next extended an invitation to the Buddha for alms at the palace. After lavishly entertaining the Buddha and the attended monks he became a *Sakadāgāmin*, followed by becoming *an anāgāmin* next, after listening to the *Mahādhammapāla Jātaka*. Later when he became terminally ill the Buddha hurried to his bedside from Vesali and made him an *arahant*, when his death accordingly, became unique as he died as a lay *arahant*. (*ThagA*. 141).

Suddhodana's words spoken to the Buddha when the latter ordained both Nanda and Rāhula are worth quoting here as highlighting the strength of the paternal feeling to one's offspring in general. "The love of a son cuts through the skin, having cut through the skin, it cuts through the hide, the flesh, the sinew, the bone, the marrow" (*Life of the Buddha*, E.J. Thomas p. 102). It was with reference to this incident that Suddhodana obtained from the Buddha, the Vinaya rule, that none should be ordained without the prior permission of his parents (*Vin*.... I, 82).

There are several stories informing us that Suddhodana was the father of Gautama Bodhisatta on several occasions, during the Samsāric Journey, as in the *Jātaka* stories of *Kaṭṭhahāri, Alīnasatta Mahādharmapāla, Dasaratha, Vessantara* etc.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

SUHṚLLEKHA: *Suhṛlleka (suhṛd+lekha)*, Friendly Epistle or A Letter to a Friend, is one of the shorter works attributed to Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist philosopher and author of the famous *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, who most probably flourished in the second century A.C. in South India.

The original Sanskrit text of the work is no longer extant, our knowledge of it being derived from mainly a Tibetan translation of which there exist various editions, and three Chinese translations, the earliest of which dates from 431 A.C., and also from three commentaries on the former in Tibetan, written in the 14th and 15th centuries. The work is in the form of a letter addressed by Nāgārjuna to his life-long friend, patron and benefactor, King Gautamīputra Śātakarni of the Sātavāhana dynasty. This helps us to arrive at a plausible date for Nāgārjuna. Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, has been assigned to the first century B.C. Śātakarni, the third ruler of the dynasty, is known to have strengthened his power and prestige by extensive conquests. He conquered Eastern Malwa and is said to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. He ruled from Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paithan, on the northern bank of the Godavarī in the Hyderhad State. He is probably to be identified with the Sātavāhana ruler who was defeated by Kharavela, king of Kalinga. Very little is known about his immediate successors, but Gautamīputra Śātakarni has been hailed as the one who restored the power and prestige of the Sātavāhana dynasty by defeating the Śaka Satrap Nahapana and over-throwing the Śakas, Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians). His dominions extended not only over Mahārāṣṭra and the districts around Paithan, but also over North Konkan, Saurāṣṭra, Berar and Malwa. He was the son of the Andhra queen Bālā Sri who records in an inscription at Nasik, dated in the reign of her grandson, Vasiṣṭhīputra Sri Palumavi, the conquests of her son, probably the greatest of the Andhra Kings. According to some historians he ascended the throne after 106 A.C. and ruled for at least twenty-four years. His son, Vasiṣṭhīputra Sri Palumavi, most probably reigned from 130 to 154 A.C. Thus, if we may take the liberty to consider Nāgārjuna as a senior contemporary of Gautamīputra Śātakarni who was bold enough as to address this letter from a position of prestige and authority, we may safely place Nāgārjuna between the last quarter of the 1st century and the first quarter of the 2nd century A.C.

The most celebrated work of Nāgārjuna is of course the *Mūlamadhyama-kārikā*, which presents a

systematic treatment of the contents of the *Prajñā Pāramitā Sūtras*, particularly the *Śūnyatā* or the Doctrine of the Void. Among his other major works are the *Sūtrasamuccaya* or *Accumulated Sūtras* and his commentary on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. His *Catuḥstava* is a short work of the highly devotional character.

Four English translations of the *Suhṛllekha* have appeared so far. The earliest one done from a Tibetan version of the *Suhṛllekha* by H. Wenzel, which was published in the Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1886, under the title Nāgārjuna's Friendly Epistle. S. Beale made a translation of the Chinese rendering of the *Suhṛllekha*, which appeared in Indian Antiquary, 1887. The third was the translation done by Bhikkhu Khantipalo from the Tibetan text, which was published from Bankok in 1966 in *The Wisdom gone Beyond*, under the title *The Letter of Kind-heartedness of Ācārya Nāgārjuna*.

The latest rendering of the *Suhṛllekha* into English appeared in 1978 under the title *Nāgārjuna's Letter to King Gautamīputra*, accompanied by explanatory notes. The Tibetan text that has been used for this translation was published by A. Sonam Tenzin in Vārāṇasī, India, in 1971, under the title *slab. dpon.klu.sgrub.kyi.bshes. pai.springs.yig.dang. de'i.ruam.bshad.dge.bshes.blo. bzang.sbyin.pas. mdzal.pa.bcas.bzhugs.so*. The main body of this compilation consists of the translation of the 123 root verses of the Tibetan version of the *Suhṛllekha*. The copious notes that accompany the translation serve as the commentary for the text. For these explanatory notes the translaters have used three Tibetan commentaries of the *Suhṛllekha*, by Jetsun Rendawa, Shonnu Lodo, Lozang Jinpa and Rongton Sheja Kuring, all of whom lived in the 14th and 15th centuries. Jetsun Rendawa Shonnu Lodo (1349-1412) was a reputed scholar who belonged to the Śākya sect. His commentary is held by most Tibetans as one of the most authoritative. The other commentator Lozang Jinpa who used Jetsun Rendawa's work for his commentary was a monk of the Geluppa Sect who resided in the Tashi Lhunpo Monastery. Rongton Sheja Kuring (1367-1449) was a renowned scholar of the Śākya sect and founder of the Nalanda Monastery in Tibet.

The *Suhṛllekha*, though a comparatively short work, has been held in high esteem among the Buddhists of Tibet as a fundamental text for those who have taken to the path of Dharma. Although it is addressed to one individual, its generic character has made it a work of universal appeal. It is virtually a concise and comprehensive summary of the teachings of the Buddha, meant especially, for the laymen. Even today the *Suhṛllekha* enjoys wide popularity among the Tibetans as a basic manual for teaching Buddhist doctrine. The Chinese traveller-pilgrim I-Tsing who visited India in the 7th century assert that the *Suhṛllekha* was a basic text for students of Buddhism in India and that the most devout made it their special object of study throughout their lives.

It is most surprising that the *Suhṛllekha* contains elements belonging specially to Mahāyāna, but much of its content provides a common foundation for the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. A brief outline of the work may be given as follows:

(I) The reader is encouraged to listen to the *Dharma*.

(II) Direct teachings of the Buddha.

(a) The general practice of virtue.
- (i) Counsel to both monks and laymen
- (ii) Counsel principally for laymen
- (iii) Counsel to both monks and laymen to practise the *Dharma* resulting in heaven and liberation

(b) Production of Revulsion for *Saṃsāra*
- (i) First, in brief
- (ii) Second, the detailed explanation
- (iii) To establish the understanding of *Saṃsāra* as unfortunate

(c) Consideration of the excellent qualities of *Nirvāṇa*, and practise the Path resulting in Nirvāna
- (i) General counsel with respect to all the disciplines which result in *Nirvāṇa*
- (ii) Counsel to practise the path of *Mahāyāna*.

The work opens with three stanzas encouraging the reader to listen to the *Dharma*:

'O righteous and worthy one endowed with virtue, it is fitting you hear these few *Āryā* verses which I have composed so that you may aspire to the merit which rises from the Sugata's words.

'For example, an image of the Sugata, if it is made of wood or whatever it be like, is worshipped by wise men. Likewise though this poem of mine lacks grace, do not despise it since it is based upon a discussion of the holy *Dharma*.

'However much of the Great Sage's words you may have listened to and may have even comprehended, still is not a white-painted (mansion) made whiter by the midnight moon?'

The direct teaching of the Buddha which follows has been treated of under three main headings: (1) how to lead a virtuous life, (2) why should man develop an aversion to the *Saṃāsra*, and (3) the nature of the *Nirvāna* and treading the path of *Nirvāna* leading to perfect enlightenment.

The first section dealing with the general practice of virtues, covers topics such as six things to remember, namely, the Buddha, Dharma, Sangha, dāna, sīla and gods, the practice of the ten precepts and the six pāramitā. Then follow instructions especially for laymen such as having respect for one's parents, removing faults of mind, practising heedfulness and patience, practising correct conduct of body, words and mind, knowing the quality of one's associates, abandoning desire for the wives of others, uprooting the causes of attachment, practising wisdom and morality, being indifferent to *aṣṭakadharmas* and so forth. Things to be followed by monks and laymen alike, resulting in heaven and liberation constitute the general practice of *Dharma*, such as being watchful of food, sleep, meditation and the four concentrations, the practice of *Dharma* resulting in liberation and making fruitful the foundation which has been achieved, such as renouncing attachment to one's body, making fruitful the opportune conditions through realizing how rare they are and counseling to the king to exert himself having achieved an extraordinary good foundation.

The second section of the text revalues on the production of a revulsion for this mundane existence. It covers topics such as considering the uncertainty of *Saṃsāra* leading to dissatisfaction, losing one's body again and again being born again and again, journey through the various realms of *Saṃsāra* and considering the suffering in the five realms of hells, animals, hungry ghosts (*pretas*), gods and demigods. The section closes with an endeavour to realize that the *Saṃsāra* is unfortunate.

The last section discusses the excellent qualities of *Nirvāna* and the path leading to *Nirvāṇa*. It exhorts the reader to practise the seven branches of enlightenment, to realize that *Nirvāna* is to be achieved through the combination of quietude and insight, reject speculation upon that which is inexpressible, understand interdependent origination which frees one from the *Saṃsāra*, meditate on the Noble Eightfold Path and the Four Noble Truths.

The journey leading to the *Nirvāna* is to culminate in the practice of the path of the Mahāyāna. One is to enter the Mahāyāna path through rejoicing in the demonstrations of the *Dharma*. One ends up having attained the Buddhahood and having accomplished the benefit of all living beings. This idea is expressed in the two concluding verses as follows:

'Having spread to the gods' realms, the sky and on the earth (your) great unblemished fame arising from wisdom morality and giving, having surely subdued the delight of gods in heaven and men on earth in the enjoyment of excellent maidens, and having gained the Lordship of the Conquerors extinguishing the arising of fear and death for multitudes of living beings afflicted by the defilements, attain the faultless, ageless, fearless state (which is) peaceful, only nominal and transcendent.'

It will thus be seen that the *Suhṛllekha* embodies the teachings of the Buddha in succinct form and occupies a high position among the manuals of Buddhism meant for both monks and laymen alike. The letter though addressed to one individual of the royalty is in its wider sense meant for those men who are bent on treading the path of liberation which results in attaining the Buddhahood and total dedication to the benefit of living beings.

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SUICIDE, can be defined as the act of intentionally causing one's own death. As the *Kodhana Sutta* (*A.* IV, 97) explains, even though beings love themselves most, spurred on by anger some will go so far as to commit suicide, using a sword or taking poison, jumping from a mountain or hanging themselves. Not only anger can be a driving force for suicide, but also excessive affection and attachment. In the *Piyajātika Sutta* the Buddha, in order to illustrate how affection (*piya*) will result in sorrow, recounted a past event in which a woman's relatives wanted to separate her from her husband against her will and marry her to someone else (*M.*II, 109). In despair, the husband killed his wife and himself, in the deluded hope that the two of them would in this way at least be able to remain together after death.

Such attempts to 'solve' a particular problematic situation by committing suicide are misdirected, since they attempt to redress at the physical level a situation that needs to be addressed at the mental level. The common act of committing suicide is under the influence of aversion, attachment and delusion, negative emotional forces that will adversely affect the circumstances of the next rebirth and thereby worsen the situation, instead of improving it.

From the perspective of the four noble truths, the common worldly case of suicide is an expression of craving for non-existence (*vibhava taṇhā*) and hence a factor leading to the arising of *dukkha*, not to its cessation. Not only that, but the common case of suicide can also be under the influence of craving for existence (*bhava taṇhā*). Only too often the suicide, though convinced that he or she has no alternative to this act of self-destruction, at the same time entertains fantasies of timely rescue and intervention by others. Thus both these modes of craving can be present in the mind of the same prospective suicide, being but alternative modes of the same operational mechanism of craving, which in turn is based on the illusion of a self. As the Buddha pointed out in the *Pañcattaya Sutta* (*M.* II, 233), the attempt to annihilate one-self is still in bondage to a sense of self comparable to a dog moving in circles around a post to which it is bound.

In relation to the more specific case of spiritually motivated suicide, the *Pāyāsi Sutta* (*D.* II, 330) presents the dilemma why accomplished practitioners, if they really knew that after death happiness lies in store for them, do not commit suicide right away in order to quicken their reaping of such pleasant results. In his answer to this dilemma, the monk Kumāra-Kassapa explained that the continuity of life of accomplished spiritual practitioners constitutes a source of increasing merit for themselves and at the same time is of much benefit for others. To untimely hasten the end of such a life by suicide would be, according to the simile given by him, like a pregnant woman taking a knife and cutting open her belly in order to know if her baby was male or female, thereby foolishly destroying the embryo and herself. The reply and simile offered in this context by the monk Kurmāra-Kassapa indicate that from the early Buddhist perspective for someone spiritually accomplished to commit suicide is a foolish act, since it will be depriving the practitioner and others of the benefits that a well conducted spiritual life holds in store for both (*Miln.* 196).

Another passage of interest in the present context is the *Puṇṇovāda Sutta* (*M*. III, 269), which reports the Buddha asking the monk Puṇṇa how he would react if people were to abuse, hit, injure or even kill him. In reply, Puṇṇa stated that he would consider himself fortunate even if he were to be killed by others, since while other monks, disgusted with their body and lives, had resorted to suicide, here he was getting the same without even needing to go seeking for it. This reply by Puṇṇa shows that the idea of suicide by monks was not as uncommon as one might believe. In fact, among ascetics and wanderers in ancient India the idea of spiritual suicide was often deemed to be an expression of spiritual accomplishment.

The case of monks resorting to suicide, to which Puṇṇa referred in his reply to the Buddha, could well be the mass suicide of a group of newly ordained monks reported in the *Vinaya* and the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*Vin*. III, 65 and *S*. V, 320). This group of newly ordained monks had engaged with too much fervour in contemplating the unattractiveness of their own bodies, with the result that they felt disgusted and ashamed of their own bodies. In the end, a considerable number of them committed suicide or got someone else to assist them in killing themselves.[11]

This event was the cause for the Buddha to lay down the third *pārājika* rule against killing a human being. In his formulation of this rule (*Vin*. III, 71) he pointed out that it is 'not fitting' (*akappiyaṃ*) and 'not to be done' (*akaraṇiyaṃ*) for monks to commit suicide, to kill each other, or to request someone else to kill them. His formulation makes it clear that even though the *pārājika* rule itself refers only to causing the death of another, which also includes inciting someone else to commit suicide (*Vin*. III, 73), the case of committing suicide oneself would also come in for his criticism as something 'not fitting' and 'not to be done'.

The issue of suicide comes up again in the *Vinaya*, which reports the Buddha to have categorized the attempt to commit suicide by jumping from a cliff as a *dukkaṭa* offence (*Vin*. III, 82). A close inspection of the formulation of this rule indicates that the *dukkaṭa* is not for the act of attempting suicide as such, but for the act of jumping from a cliff. In the case leading to this rule this aspect was indeed the problem, since the suicide had jumped on someone else, causing the latter's death but surviving himself. The next story found in this part of the *Vinaya* applies the same ruling to the act of throwing down a stone from the same cliff with the result of unintentionally causing the death of someone below. This corroborates that the suicidal intention in the first case was only incidental to the rule. The commentary (*VinA*. II, 467), however, understands the rule about jumping from a cliff to cover attempts at suicide in general, explaining that even stopping to eat so as to end one's life is only allowable under specific circumstances.

Apart from this account of mass suicide, the discourses have also recorded several individual instances of suicide. According to the *Godhika Sutta* (*S*.I, 120) the monk Godhika committed suicide because on six successive occasions he had attained and again lost "temporary liberation of the mind", an expression which according to the commentary (*Spk*. 1, 182) refers to a "mundane" attainment, i.e. some concentrative attainment. The commentary explains that his repeated loss of the attainment was due to illness. According to a statement made by the Buddha after the event, Godhika died as an arahant.

The *Vakkali Sutta* describes the monk Vakkali, gravely ill, being visited by the Buddha and receiving a short instruction on the nature of the five aggregates from him. A little later on Vakkali committed suicide (*S*.III, 123). In this case too, the Buddha explained that he had died as an arahant.

According to the *Channovāda Sutta*, the monk Channa was also gravely ill. Being visited by Sāriputta and Mahā Cunda, he had announced his intention to commit suicide while at the same time giving to understand that he believed himself to be an arahant. Sāriputta's reaction in this situation is telling, since he immediately offered his personal services in order to prevent Channa from committing suicide. This reaction clearly indicates that to commit suicide was not an act generally approved of among the early Buddhist community. Once Channa had committed suicide, Sāriputta went to inquire about his fate from the Buddha. Here too the Buddha declared Channa to have died as an arahant. The way he answered Sāriputta's question suggests that Channa could have been an arahant already at the time of making his declaration to Sāriputta (*M*. III, 266 and *S*. IV, 59).

In regard to all these three cases, the commentaries explain that each time realization of arahant-hood took place at the moment of death itself (*MA*. V, 83; *SA*. I, 184 and *SA*. II, 314). According to their explanation, Vakkali and Channa had still been worldlings at the moment of intending to commit suicide. Even though it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion about what actually happened at that time, the commentarial explanation seems somewhat contrived. Underlying the commentarial gloss on these suicide cases could be the idea that an arahant cannot commit suicide. In fact, an arahant committing suicide would be about the only conceivable case where those, who otherwise are the paradigm for proper behaviour, undertake something which is not to be emulated by others. Moreover it could also be objected that the discourses quite explicitly state an arahant to be unable to deprive a living being of life (e.g. *D*. III, 133), though again it is not clear how far this would also include suicide. The *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhpA*. II, 258), however, in relation to another attempt at suicide, quotes the Buddha to have declared that an arahant does not 'use the knife', a saying which however is not preserved in the Pāli discourses themselves.

The discourses not only report these three cases of 'successful' suicide, they also have preserved two suicide cases not less successful, though in both cases the suicide survived. One of these cases concerned the nun Sīhā who, for seven years having tried to overcome sensuality without success, tried to commit suicide by hanging herself. At the moment when she was just about to kill herself with the rope around her neck, she attained awakening (*Thig*. 81). The second case concerns the monk *Sappadāsa*, so called because on an earlier occasion he had already tried to commit suicide by getting a poisonous snake to bite him (*DhpA*. II, 256). On a later occasion he tried to do the same by cutting his throat, (*Thag*. 407-409) the reason in his case being too the inability to calm his mind. Razor in hand and ready to die, he instead attained awakening.

A final case to be mentioned in this context occurs in the *Mahaparinibbāna Sutta*, which reports the Buddha to have given up his life deliberately.[3] According to his own statement in the same discourse, he did this even though he would have been able to live for a considerably longer period. Evidently this act of deliberately letting his life end cannot have taken place with an unwholesome state of mind. Though it would not seem proper to speak of the Buddha committing 'suicide', this passage does leave some room for an arahant to take the deliberate decision to let life come to an end.

Not only did the Buddha give up his last life deliberately, but according to later Buddhist tradition in his former lives he also had been willing to sacrifice his own life. The *Jātakamālā* Sanskrit work of the Northern Tradition, reports the bodhisatta in a previous life committing suicide in order to prevent a hungry tigress from eating her own cubs.[3] According to the Pāli collection of Jātaka tales, in another former life as a hare, the Buddha too had been willing to sacrifice his own life for the sake of others (*J*. III 55, no. 316).

The *Jātaka Nidānakathā* (*J*. I, 31) reports also another bodhisatta attempting suicide by self immolation. According to its account, Maṅgala Buddha in a former life tried to burn himself in order to worship the *cetiya* of a past Buddha. Similarly the 22nd chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* reports the *bodhisatva Priyadarśana* burning himself as an incense offering for the Buddha.[4] Suicide by self-immolation has continued throughout Buddhist history, a famous case being a monk burning himself on the market place of Saigon in Vietnam on the 5th of October 1963.

Whatever may be the motivation behind such acts, from the perspective of the early discourses it would seem that the human birth, with all its limitations, provides a precious opportunity to practise the path to liberation. To cut short this opportunity before having made proper use of it to its fullest potential is, to use the Buddha's own words, an action that should not be done (*Vin*. III, 71).

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Anālayo

References

1 Here it needs to be pointed out that the Buddha had not instructed them directly to undertake this meditation. A close reading of the passage show that he had only spoken in praise of such meditation in general, before retiring into solitary retreat. Thus possibly the monks had engaged on their own in this type of meditation, without having received proper instructions and without being supervised, which then let to the fatal results.

2 *D*. II, 106: *sato sampajāno āyu-saṅkhāram ossaji*

3 J.S. Speyer: The *Jātakamālā*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971, pp 2-8.

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SUKHA is a Pāli term whose meaning ranges from 'pleasant' feeling to a 'happy' state of mind. As a qualification of feeling, *sukha* occurs frequently in the Pāli discourses, forming part of a distinction of feelings into three mutually exclusive types (*M*. I, 500): pleasant (*sukha*), painful (*dukkha*) and neutral (*adukkhamasukha*).

Pleasant feelings can be of a 'worldly' (*sāmisa*) or an `unworldly' (*nirāmisa*) nature. While 'worldly' manifestations of pleasant feelings arise in relation to sensual pleasure, 'unworldly' pleasant feelings arise during absorption (*jhāna*), and 'more unworldly than unworldly' pleasant feelings (*nirāmisā nirāmisatara*) stand for the pleasure experienced by *arahants* when reviewing their mental freedom from defilements (*S*. IV, 235).

This distinction of pleasant feelings into worldly and unworldly types reflects their potential relation to the underlying tendency to lust (*rāgānusaya*). This underlying tendency will be activated and strengthened by engaging in sensual types of pleasure (*M*. III, 285), whereas unworldly types of pleasant feelings do not activate this underlying tendency. The propensity of pleasant feelings to result in the arising of lust and craving may well be the reason why pleasant feeling, distinguished into worldly and unworldly types, features in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* as one of the objects recommended for the development of mindfulness (*M* I, 59).

The distinction into worldly and unworldly manifestations is however not the only way of carrying out an analysis of pleasant feelings. Pleasant feelings can also be distinguished into bodily (*kāyika*) and mental (*cetasika*) types. A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S*. V, 209) associates feelings of *sukha* arisen through bodily contact with the 'faculty of pleasure' (*sukhindriya*), and feelings of *sukha* arisen through mental contact with the 'faculty of joy' (*somonassindriya*). Though later developments of Buddhist philosophy show a growing tendency to use *sukha* predominantly for bodily feelings and to reserve *somanassa* for its mental counterparts, in its use in the discourses the term *sukha* comprises both bodily and mental feelings.[1] The same usage can also be found in the *Abhidhamma*, the term *sukha* being used in the *Dhammasaṅganī* and the *Vibhaṅga* to refer to mental feelings (*Dhs*. 17 and *Vibh*. 85).

The basic distinction between worldly and unworldly pleasant feelings recurs also in relation to the complementary usage of the term *sukha* as 'happiness'. A recurring emphasis on this distinction can be seen in a set of analytical schemes applied to *sukha*, most of which revolve around the basic difference between worldly (*sāmisa*) and unworldly (*nirāmisa*) types of happiness, highlighting the same by contrasting the happiness of lay life (*gihisukha*) to the happiness of the life of one gone forth (*pabbajitasukha*), sensual happiness (*kāmasukha*) to non-sensual happiness (*nekkhammasukha*), happiness related to attachment (*upadhisukha*) to happiness free from attachment (*nirupadhisukha*),

happiness related to the influxes (*sāsavasukha*) to happiness not related to the influxes (*anāsavasukha*), and noble (*ariya*) happiness to ignoble (*anariya*) happiness (*A.* I, 80).

Other distinctions of happiness, occurring as part of the same discourse (*A.* I, 81), are related to the development of deeper levels of concentration, contrasting the happiness that arises together with bliss (*sappītika*) to that without bliss (*nippītika*), happiness associated with pleasure (*sātasukha*) to happiness associated with equanimity (*upekkhāsukha*), happiness derived from concentration (*samādhisukha*) to happiness not derived from concentration (*asamādhisukha*), and happiness having a form as its object (*rūpārammana sukha*) to happiness with a formless object (*arūpārammana sukha*).

These analytical schemes highlight two aspects in relation to *sukha*. In addition to the basic discrimination between wholesome and unwholesome types of happiness, they draw attention to the successive refinement of happiness during deeper stages of concentration. Both aspects are of central importance in relation to *sukha* and build on each other, the first indicating what should be developed and avoided, while the second depicts a progressive refinement of what is to be developed. These two complementary perspectives on *sukha*, distinguishing between unwholesome and wholesome types and treating the development of its wholesome manifestations, run like a red thread through the entire compass of the Buddha's teaching, from his instructions on basic morality through the path of mental purification all the way up to full awakening.

If to develop and do what is wholesome were not possible and would not lead to *sukha*, the Buddha proclaimed, he would not ask his disciples to develop it. But since it is possible and leads to *sukha*, he kept on instructing his disciples to develop and do what is wholesome (*A.* I, 58). Moral restraint, such as abstaining from killing, theft etc., will lead to future happiness, whereas to indulge in immoral activities will inevitably result in future suffering. Hence to maintain moral conduct and to avoid evil is a fundamental condition for achieving *sukha* (*Dhp.* 333).

Happiness, as the Buddha emphatically asserted, is not achieved by mere wishing. Who wants happiness has to undertake the path that leads to happiness (*A.* III, 48: *sukhasaṃvattanikā paṭipadā*). The path to happiness, however, requires a long-term perspective, a perspective based on the awareness that what yields happiness right away may be conducive to future happiness or to future suffering, depending on its ethical quality.

Who harms others, and thereby destroys their happiness, will himself subsequently not be able to achieve happiness (*Dhp.* 131). As *Ānanda* once explained to king *Pasenadi*, conduct that does not harm oneself or others is conduct that results in happiness (*M.* II, 115: *sukhavipāka*). The wise person, who maintains moral conduct, will experience the happiness of blamelessness in the present life and happiness of a fortunate rebirth as a retribution for his wholesome conduct (*M.* III, 171 and *It.* 67). One who thus acts in accordance with the *Dhamma*, a *dhammacārī*, will fare happily in this world and the next (*Dhp.* 169).

In several discourses, the Buddha showed a very practical sense of happiness. Considering happiness from the perspective of a man in the world, the Buddha acknowledged that a householder can expect four types of happiness from rightfully undertaking his livelihood (*A.* II, 69): the happiness of acquiring wealth by his own effort (*atthisukha*), the happiness of using this wealth to give pleasure to himself and to do meritorious deeds (*bhogasukha*), the happiness of being free from debt (*anaṇasukha*), and the happiness of being free from blame (*anavajjasukha*).

To use rightly gained wealth in a proper way brings happiness to oneself and others (*A.* II, 67). To support those worthy of support, in particular one's mother and father, as well as recluses and brahmins, is a source of happiness (*Dhp.* 332). By giving food to monks and recluses one gives happiness, and therefore will gain happiness in return (*A.* III, 42). Hence merit, the Buddha explained, is but another name for happiness.[2]

The main wellspring of happiness lies however in the training of the mind, which is the real source of happiness. No other thing is so conducive to happiness, the Buddha proclaimed, as a mind that is well trained and developed (*A.* I, 6). As the famous twin verses standing at the opening of the *Dhammapada* declare, mind is the forerunner of all things, hence who acts or

speaks with a pure mind will be followed by happiness just like a shadow (*Dhp.* 2).

To train the mind requires however a re-evaluation of happiness. The Buddha readily acknowledged that to indulge in sensuality does produce feelings of pleasure, which constitutes the aspect of gratification of sensual pleasures (*M.* I, 85: *kāmānam assādo*). Yet against this gratification stand their multiple disadvantages. Though pleasant feelings may cause happiness as long as they last, their changing nature inevitably spells dissatisfaction.[3] Sensual happiness is not only ephemeral, but also has undesirable after-effects that outweigh the pleasure obtained. In the *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta* the Buddha vividly depicted the multifarious problems resulting from the pursuit of sensual pleasures, showing that criminality and warfare can, ultimately, be traced back to desire for sensual gratification (*M.* I, 87).

Another problem with the pursuit of sensual types of *sukha* is that gratification fuels ever stronger desires, a predicament the Buddha compared to a leper cauterising his wounds over a fire (*M.* I, 507). Though by cauterising his wounds the leper will experience momentary pleasure, the act of cauterisation causes the wounds to become more infected and thus inevitably leads to a deterioration of the leper's condition. In a similar way, the more beings indulge in sensual pleasure, the more they will burn with sensual desire, a vicious circle turning into a bottomless vortex of ever greater desires clamouring for satisfaction.

Thus the happiness gained through sensual pleasures, if examined from a long-term perspective, turns out to be spurious. Beings indulging in sensuality suffer from a perceptual distortion (*saññāvipallāsa*), which causes them to attribute *sukha* to what on proper examination turns out to be otherwise (*A.* II, 52). Such proper examination led the Buddha to call sensual pleasures a 'filthy' happiness (*mīḷhasukha*), a 'lowly' happiness (*puthujjanasukha*) and an 'ignoble' happiness (*anariyasukha*), which should not be pursued (*M.* I, 454). This thorough re-assessment of the nature of *sukha* finds a succinct expression in the dictum that 'what others call happiness, the noble ones call unsatisfactory'.[4]

A motivation for a reorientation against the powerful pull of sensual desires can be found in the reflection that it is reasonable to give up a smaller happiness, if in this way a greater and superior happiness can be gained (*Dhp.* 290). Consequently the Buddha invited his disciples to find out what really constitutes true happiness and, based on this understanding, to pursue it.[5] He was well aware of the fact that all beings are desirous of happiness,[6] hence he skilfully redirected this natural tendency in such a way as to lead to real happiness. The Buddha's injunction to find out what really constitutes happiness refers in particular to the happiness experienced with deeper states of concentration, a form of happiness far superior to sensual pleasures. Such happiness he explained to be a 'divine' happiness (*dibba sukha*), with which all interest in the vulgar happiness of sensuality ceases (*M.* I, 504). Such divine happiness is moreover the happiness of renunciation (*nekkhammasukha*) and of seclusion (*pavivekasukha*), it is a peaceful type of happiness (*upasamasukha*) and therewith a type of happiness that leads to awakening (*sambodhasukha*), so that it should indeed be pursued and developed (*M.* I, 454).

The injunction to develop and pursue such happiness leads from the distinction between *sukha* to be avoided and *sukha* to be developed to the other major perspective on *sukha* found in the early discourses: its gradual refinement through the practice of the path. The function and importance of *sukha* as a means for progress on the path appears in fact to be a direct outcome of the Buddha's own experience when still a *bodhisatta* in search of liberation.

Before his awakening, the Buddha himself had followed the ancient Indian belief that to gain liberation all pleasure has to be shunned (*M.* II, 93). Once his ascetic practices had proved fruitless, the Buddha remembered the happiness of a deep state of concentration experienced during his youth. Reflecting on this experience, he asked himself: 'why am I afraid of a happiness that is aloof from sensuality and unwholesomeness?', and came to the conclusion: 'I am not afraid of such a type of happiness!'[7] The realisation that *sukha* need not be avoided, since the type of *sukha* experienced during deeper states of concentration is a wholesome and recommendable type of happiness marked a decisive turning point in his quest for liberation.

The Buddha's newly found attitude to *sukha* stood in stark contrast to his ascetic contemporaries, a contrast highlighted in the *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha Sutta*. This discourse reports the Buddha in discussion with other ascetics, who believed that future *sukha* requires undergoing self-inflicted suffering at present. Their discussion ended with the Buddha making the humorous point that, in contrast to the pain experienced through self-mortification, he was able to experience *sukha* continuously for up to seven days. Hence his experience of happiness was superior even to the happiness experienced by the king of the country (*M.* I, 94).

In a similar vein, the verses composed by awakened monks and nuns extol their experience of happiness achieved through successful practice of the path.[8] The early Buddhist monks delighted in their way of life, as testified by a visiting king, who described them as 'smiling and cheerful, sincerely joyful and plainly delighting, living at ease and unruffled'.[9]

As the Buddha on another occasion indicated, one should not give up the happiness that accords with the *Dhamma*, if one wishes one's efforts to bear fruit.[10] The reason for the Buddha to make such a statement is not merely a higher form of hedonism, but the very reason that the development of wholesome happiness constitutes a crucially important factor for progress on the path. That is, spiritual happiness has a clearly delineated function in the early Buddhist path scheme.

From this perspective it becomes increasingly clear why the arising of a Buddha and his teaching of the *Dhamma* are quite literally a source of happiness (*Dhp.* 194), and why the motivation behind the teaching activity of a Buddha and his disciples is the happiness of men and gods (*S.* I, 105). Simply because teaching the *Dhamma* they teach the path to true happiness.

In several discourses the Buddha indicated that the development of wisdom and the achievement of realisation depend on developing *sukha*. These discourses depict a conditional sequence that begins with delight (*pāmojja*) and leads via bliss (*pīti*) and tranquillity to the arising of happiness (*sukha*). Based on the presence of happiness, concentration naturally arises, which in turn forms the basis for wisdom and realisation. The Buddha compared the dynamics of this causal sequence to the natural course of rain falling on a hilltop, gradually filling the rivulets and rivers, and finally flowing down to the sea (*S.* II, 32). Once spiritual happiness is present, he indicated, there is no need to wish for the mind to become concentrated and wisdom to arise, since this will naturally happen, as a matter of course (*A.* V, 3).

The *Kandaraka Sutta* reveals that during the gradual path of training a progressive refinement of spiritual happiness takes place (*M.* I, 346). The first stage of this ascending series is the happiness due to blamelessness (*anavajjasukhaṃ*), a happiness that results from maintaining moral conduct. Such happiness due to blamelessness will grow and become stronger when a frugal life style and contentment become additional contributing facts. Contentment, according to a *Dhammapada* verse, is in itself a source of happiness (*Dhp.* 331).

The next stage of happiness envisaged in the *Kandaraka Sutta* comes from leaving sensual distractions behind through the practice of sense-restraint. This type of happiness is a happiness that is 'unimpaired' (*abyāsekhasukha*). 'Unimpaired' since the bondage of sensuality has temporarily been left behind. According to another discourse (*It.* 24), to know measure with food and practise sense-restraint leads to both happiness of the body (*kāyasukha*) and happiness of the mind (*cetosukha*).

The *Kandaraka Sutta* continues from the unimpaired happiness through freedom from sensual distraction to the different types of happiness experienced with deeper levels of concentration, the 'bliss and happiness of seclusion' (*vivekajaṃ pītisukhaṃ*), the 'bliss and happiness of concentration' (*samādhijaṃ pītisukhaṃ*) and the 'happy dwelling in equanimity and mindfulness' (*upekkhako satimā sukhavihārī*) of the first, second and third *jhāna* respectively. These types of happiness corroborate that diligent practice of meditation is indeed a source of pure happiness (*Dhp.* 27).

This holds good not only for the development of tranquillity, but also for the practice of insight meditation. Contemplating with right wisdom the impermanent nature of phenomena is a source of joy (*M.* III, 217), and to see the rise and fall of the five aggregates can lead to delight and bliss (*Dhp.* 374). The rapture of rightly contemplating the *Dhamma*

transcends worldly types of rapture (*Dhp.* 373), and even fivefold music cannot compare with it (*Thag.* 398 and 1071).

In fact, though the Buddha's teaching of the four noble truths places much emphasis on *dukkha*, the third and the fourth noble truth are actually concerned with the positive values of freedom from *dukkha* and the practical path leading to that freedom. As the Buddha himself expressly proclaimed, insight into the four noble truths is not a matter of sadness and despair, since such insight will be accompanied by happiness and joy (*S.* V, 441).

The further the path has been developed, the deeper the happiness becomes. Hence it comes as no surprise that the culmination point of the successive stages of happiness described in the *Kandaraka Sutta* is the happiness of complete freedom through liberation.[11] The eradication of defilements and of ignorance are a well-spring of happiness indeed (*D.* I, 196).

A complementary presentation of a progressive series of types of happiness can be found in the *Bahuvedanīya Sutta*, proceeding not only through the four *jhānas* but also through the four immaterial attainments. Notably the Buddha considered the four immaterial attainments to be also types of happiness, even though with such sublime levels of concentration, 'feelings' of happiness are left behind.

The culmination point of this progressive series in the *Bahuvedanīya Sutta* is the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling (*M.* I, 400). This the Buddha reckoned to be a happiness superior to the other types of happiness he had mentioned earlier. Here some might object that it seems contradictory to speak of happiness when all feelings have ceased. In reply to such objections, the Buddha explained that his conception of *sukha* was not limited to the experience of feeling.

A similar perspective on *sukha* recurs in those discourses which declare *Nibbāna* to be the highest form of happiness (*M.* I, 508 and *Dhp.* 203). When on one occasion *Sāriputta* was asked how *Nibbāna* could be considered as *sukha*, since with *Nibbāna* all feelings cease, he readily replied that precisely the cessation of feeling is what causes *sukha* (*A.* IV, 415).

With these presentations by the Buddha and *Sāriputta*, the early Buddhist conception of *sukha* goes beyond the *sukha* envisaged by their contemporaries. At this point, the two main meanings of the term *sukha*, 'pleasant' feeling and a 'happy' state of mind, no longer coexist. By presenting the cessation of feeling as supreme forms of happiness, the culminating point of the early Buddhist conception of *sukha* transcends the entire range of felt experience.

From the lofty viewpoint of such transcendence, the attitude to pleasant feeling changes. An *arahant* no longer delights in pleasant feelings or clings to them, but experiences them with detachment and wisdom (*S.* II, 82). What attraction could they hold for one who knows the destruction of craving, a happiness superior to any mundane or divine form of happiness, the happiness of liberation[12]?

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See also DELIGHT and HAPPINESS.

Anālayo

References

[1] Cf. e.g. *M.* I, 302: *kāyikaṃ vā cetasikaṃ vā sukhaṃ sātaṃ vedayitaṃ - ayaṃ sukhā vedanā.*

[2] *It.* 15: *sukhass'etaṃ adhivacanaṃ ... yadidaṃ puññāni.*

[3] *M.* I, 303: *sukha vedanā ṭhitisukhā vipariṇāmadukkhā.*

[4] *Sn.* 762: *yaṃ pare sukhato āhu, tad ariyā āhu dukkhato.*

[5] *M.* III, 230: *sukhavinicchayaṃ jaññā sukhavinicchayaṃ ñatvā ajjhattaṃ sukhaṃ anuyuñjeyya.*

[6] *D.* II, 269: *sukhakāmā hi devā manussā.*

[7] *M.* I, 246: *kinnu kho ahaṃ tassa sukhassa bhāyāmi, yaṃ taṃ sukhaṃ aññatr'eva kāmehi aññatra akusalehi dhammehi?... Na kho ahaṃ tassa sukhassa bhāyāmi.*

[8] Cf. e.g. *Thag.* 35: *sukhaṃ sukhattho labhate tad ācaraṃ*; *Thag.* 63: *sukhen'anvāgataṃ sukhaṃ*; *Thag.* 220: *sukhena sukhaṃ laddhaṃ*; *Thag.* 545: *vimuttisukhena sukhito ramissāmi*; *Thag.* 888: *sukhaṃ sayāmi ṭhāyāmi, sukhaṃ kappemi jīvitaṃ*; and *Thag.* 24: *aho sukhan'ti sukhato jhāyāmi*.

[9] *M.* II, 121: *bhikkhū passāmi haṭṭhapahaṭṭhe udaggudagge abhiratarūpe pīṇitindriye appossukke pannalome paradavutte migabhūtena cetasā viharante.*

[10] *M.* II, 223: *dhammikañca sukhaṃ na pariccajati ... evam pi saphalo upakkamo hoti saphalaṃ padhānaṃ.*

[11] *M.* I, 349: *nibbuto sītibhūto sukhapaṭisaṃvedī.*

[12] *S.* I, 196: *vimuttisukha.*

SUKHĀVATĪ-VYŪHA-SŪTRA: The most important text belonging to the devotional Buddhism of the Mahayana School, in which Sukhāvatī, the Buddha Land or paradise of the Divine Buddha Amitābha himself is glorified. It exists in two versions, a longer and a shorter which latter some scholars believe to be the earlier text.

The *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, the Larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* in particular, was one of the most popular books of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka and was widely studied, translated and commented upon in China and Japan from a very early age prior to the second century A.C. up to the tenth century. During this period at least twelve translations of the larger text were made in China, of which only five are now in existence. But unfortunately, not a single copy of the Sanskrit text on which the Chinese translations were based has not been found either in China or in Japan. However, there are five MSS. of the Larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* now available all in libraries in Europe: one at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, one in the Bodleian Library, one at Cambridge and two in Bibliotheca Nationale in Paris. All these five MSS. come from one and the same country, Nepal, and share the same corruption and omissions making it virtually impossible to restore a satisfactory text of the *Sūtra*.

According to the ancient catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the following is a list of the twelve translations of the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha. It must however be mentioned that none of these Chinese titles corresponds to the exact meaning of the title of *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*. On the contrary, all of them contain the name *Amitāyus-sūtra* or *Amitayur-vyūha*. The titles given below are the Sanskrit translations of the Chinese ones.

1. *Amitāyus-sūtra*, translated by An Shi-kao (148-170 A.C.)
2. *Amita-buddha-samyaksambuddha-sūtra*, by Lokārakṣa (147-189 A.C.)
3. *Amita- sūtra*, by C'Chien (223-253 A.C.)
4. *Amitāyus-sūtra*, by Saṅghavarman (252 A.C.)
5. *Amita-buddha samyaksambuddha-sūtra*, by Po Yen (257 A.C.)
6. *Amitāyus-sūtra*, by Dharmarakṣa (266 –313 A.C)
7. *New Amitāyus-sūtra*, by Buddhabhadra (398-421 A.C.)
8. *Amitāyur-arhat- samyaksambuddha-sūtra*, by Cu Fa-li (419 A.C.)
9. *New Amitāyus-sūtra*, by Pao-yun (424-453 A.C.)
10. *New Amitāyus-sūtra*, by Dharmamitra (424-453 A.C.)
11. *Amitāyus-tathāgata-parṣad* (the *Sūtra* spoken by the Buddha on the *Tathāgata Amitāyus* at an assembly), by Bodhiruci (693-713 A.C.)
12. *Mahāyānāmitāyur-vyūha-sūtra*, by Fa-hien (982-1001A.C.)

Of these Nos. 2,3,4,11 and 12 are now available. The other translations appear to have perished before 730 A.C. when the catalogue titled *Khaiyuen-lu* was compiled. While the five Chinese translations that have survived differ considerably from each other, none of them entirely agrees with the Sanskrit text as preserved in the Nepalese MSS. However, all the translations and the Sanskrit text agree with the following details:

(a). The dialogue takes place on the Gṛdhrakūṭa Mountain near Rājagṛha

(b). The principal interlocutors are the Buddha (also referred to as Bhagavat), Ānanda and Maitreya.

(c). The subject-matter consists of a glorious description of the Buddha Land Sukhāvatī and the life story of Amitāyus or Amitābha, beginning with his early days when he was yet a Bhikṣu named Dharmākara during the time of the *Tathāgata* Lokeśvararāja.

The first edition of the Smaller *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* appeared in 1880. This text much shorter than the Larger *Sūtra* (for it contains only 169 lines on the printed page) differs from the latter in the following details:

(a). The discourse takes place in the Jetavanārāma at Śrāvasti and not on the Gṛdhrakūṭa Mountain at Rājagṛha.

(b). The discourse is delivered to Ven. Śāriputra by Śākyamuni in the company of a large concourse of Bhikṣus, Bodhisattvas and gods.

(c). Before describing the Sukhāvati in glorious terms, the Buddha explains to Śāriputra why the Buddha Land is so called. Similarly he explains the meaning of the names Amitāyus and Amitābha of the Divine Buddha residing in Sukhāvatī.

Besides the two *Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtras* discussed above, there is a third *Sūtra* dealing with the Buddha Land Sukhāvatī, of which two translations were made by two Indians named Kālayaśas and Dharmamitra respectively, between 420 and 479 A.C. under the Sun dynasty. Of these two, Dharmamitra's translation had been lost by 730 A.C. when the catalogue *Khai-yuen-lu* was compiled. Both the translations carry the same title, i.e., *Buddhabhāsita-amitāyur-buddha-dhyāna-sūtra*, which emphasizes on meditation. The Sanskṛit title of the original *sūtra* too appears to have been *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* as it minutely describes the animate and inanimate objects in *Sukhāvatī*, which are divided into sixteen classes for purposes of meditation.

These three *sūtras*, i.e., Saṅghavarman's translation of the Larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, Kumārajiva's translation of the Smaller *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* and Kālayaśas' translation of the now lost *Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra* are the most important texts of the Pure Land Sect in China and Japan. They are commonly called *Ta-cin* or Large *Sūtra*, *Kwan cin* or *Sūtra* of Meditation and *Siao-cin* or Small *Sūtra* respectively.

E.W. Marasinghe

SUKHODAYA: Sukhodaya (Sukhothai) one of the first independent Thai (Siamese) kingdoms that flourished in the Menam valley (Indochina) *circa* 1350-1460 A.C. and one of the early centers of Theravāda Buddhism in Thailand (Siam). Thais belong to the Mongolid group of people, supposed to have originated either from the Tibetan foot-hills or South China. At the beginning they were a nomadic tribe that wandered seeking fresh pastures, sometimes preying upon settled societies. Their southward movement is supposed to have commenced *circa* eighth century A.C. The gradual migration took several centuries before they finally settled down in the land known, as Thailand at present. While moving towards the south they converged in the Nanchao Hills and founded the kingdom of Nanchao under the leadership of Ko Lo Feng in the 9th century A.C., with the support of the Tibetans. Ko Lo Feng is reported to have destroyed the Puy civilization in Burma. He earned the title "Emperor of the East" for him and his military exploits are commemorated in a stele. The Thais of Nanchao are said to have had a good system of administration and land tenure. Some historians believe that the actual history of the Thais begin from the point they established the kingdom of Nanchao.

But Kublai Khan's conquest of Nanchao in 1254 pushed the Thais further down to the Menam valley in the proper Thailand. The sudden influx of more Thais to the Menam Valley added to the Thai population already there and strengthened their position in their new homeland. In the meantime the situation in the Menam valley was very much favaurable to the new settlers. The Pagan kingdom of Mons and the Dvāravarti kingdom of Khmers which dominated Menam valley were already on the decline. It is learnt that the kingdom of Pagan collapsed as a result of the Mongol attacks while that of Khmers also collapsed due to the economic strains thrust upon them by their kings, who undertook extravagant building projects. Under the circumstance the Thai

chiefs who were under the Khmer suzerainty at the beginning got the opportunity to carve out small kingdoms for themselves.

The establishment of the Sukhodaya (Sukothai) Kingdom is one of the earliest independent Thai Kingdoms: Towards the middle of the thirteenth century A.C. two small Thai principalities, Muang Bang yang (Mo'an Pan yam) and Muang Rat (Mo'an Rat) were governed by two Thai chieftains named Bang Kalang Thao or Pan Kalang Dav and Pha Muang or Pha Mo'an, under the Khmer sovereignty. These two states revolted against the Khmer governor at Sukhodaya and Sri Sachanlai and established the first independent Thai Kingdom at Sukhodaya. The chieftain of Muang Bang yang became the first ruler of the newly established kingdom of Sukhodaya and established a new royal dynasty in Thailand. He assumed the title Indrapratindarāditya or Indrāditya and he was acclaimed a national hero. Siamese claim to have assumed the name "Thai" (free) after they got themselves free from the Khmer suzerainty. But some do not agree with this claim. Both the kingdom and the capital were known by the same name Sukhodaya or Sukhothai. It was known for a time as Sajjanalai –Sukhodaya and then simply Sukhodaya. It is significant that Sukhodaya was built on the ruins of Dvāravarti the Khmer Kingdom.

King Ramkamheng (1275-1317 A.C.) Indrāditya was succeeded by his youngest son Ram Kamheng. In the course of his reign he made Sukhodaya a prosperous and powerful kingdom. In fact he was the real founder of the Sukhodaya kingdom. He gives an account of his kingdom in one of his inscriptions thus: "On the east it extended to the banks of Mekong and beyond it to Chava (perhaps a name of Luang Prabang): "On the south to the sea, as far as Sri Dharmarāja or Ligor: on the west to Hamsavati or Pegu. Siamesse (Thais) had no alphabet of their own at the beginning. They were using the Khmer or the Cambodian script. King Ram Kamheng invented an alphabet for Siamese based on the Khmer script. It was the script that subsequently developed into the modern Thai script."

It is quite possible that the Thais who came from South China were acquainted with the Chinese form of Mahāyāna Buddhism. By the time they entered the upper Menam valley, the king Anoratha, the king of Pagan (Burma 1044-77 A.C.) has already spread the Theravāda form of Buddhism in the region. It is seen that the migrant Thais first came in contact with the Theravāda form of Buddhism after their arrival in the Menam valley. Moreover the kingdom of Dvāravati, on the ruins of which Sukhodaya was established, was earlier a Theravāda Centre before its annexation to the Khmer empire and subsequently it came under the influence of the Khmer form of Mahāyana Buddhism and Brahmanism. Thus at the beginning the religion of the new kingdom of Sukhodaya was an infusion of Brahmanism, Mahāyāna and Theravāda Buddhism.

The king Ram Kamheng took necessary steps to introduce and popularize Theravāda Buddhism in his kingdom. He invited a venerable preceptor learned in all three baskets (of the canon of Buddhism) to his kingdom from Nakon Sri Dharmarāj and stationed him in the forest- monastery west of the city. The fact that the venerable preceptor is hailing from Nakon Sri Dharmarāj is specifically mentioned in the inscription of the king which commemorate this event. As Nakon Sri Dharmarāj in the Malay Peninsula had religious intercourse with Lanka for a long time before this event, it is reasonable to assume that the venerable preceptor belonged to the *Sihala Saṅgha*. If so Ram Kamheng should be given the credit of introducing *Sihala Saṅgha* to Sukhodya.

As evident from his inscriptions, the king Ram Kamheng tried to rule his kingdom according to Buddhist ideals. The emphasis was on Buddhist values such as simplicity, integrity honesty, compassion etc. The king is the fountain of justice. This would appear as contrast to the traditional Khmer concept of god king (Devarāj), accountable only to his gods. He was a thorough believer in personal contact with his subjects. It is said that he had a bell hung up at the palace gate for any one who was aggrieved could ring the bell and bring his grievance to the king's notice.

Ram Kamheng is supposed to have ushered a "Golden Era" for Buddhism in his kingdom. In one of his inscriptions installed in 1292 A.C. king Ram Kamheng described the flourishing state of Buddhism in his kingdom thus:

"The people of the state of Sukhodaya are inclined towards charity and observe the precepts. The king Ram Kamheng of Sukhodaya as well as his household and his court..... men or women, they all have faith in the religion of the Buddha. They observe the precepts through the duration of the rains, after which they present the "*kaṭhina* during the stipulated month thereafter. In this ceremony they present by way of offerings......"

In another inscription the king describes how he made arrangements for the monks to deliver sermons on holy days for the public thus: "King Ram Kamheng of this state of Sukhodya had in 1214 (1292) year of the dragon, planted palms for fourteen harvests and ordered the workers to fashion this stone slab and place it in the midst of the palms. Venerable monks were invited to sit and deliver sermons on holy days to public congregations.

In addition to his service for the cause of Buddhism in his kingdom he made Sukhodaya a powerful kingdom in the region. He maintained a cordial relationship with the powerful imperial court of China. He personally visited the Chinese court more than once and supposed to have married a Chinese Princess. Chinese court wanted to have a good relationship with him and appointed an envoy to his court. He brought artisans from China who introduced ceramic crafts in his kingdom. He extended his territory up to Nakon Sri Dharmarāj in the Malay Peninsula. Possibly the king of Nakon Sri Dharmarāj was under his sovereignty. Unfortunately, according to the traditional story the king Ram Kamheng after a long reign ushering a period of prosperity and stability to Sukhodaya found a watery grave, shortly before 1318 in the rapids of a river.[1]

Successors of Ram Kamheng: The king Ram Kamheng was succeeded by his son Lodaiya (Lothai) in 1317, who bore the title Dharmarāja. He is described as a weak king and supposed to have been killed by a usurper. According to the *Jinakālamāli* the introduction of *Sihala Sangha* to Sukhodaya had taken place during the reign of Dharmarāja. As appearing in the *Jinakālamāli*, a Thera named Sumana, resident at Sukhodaya, went to Ayojjapura(Authai) and having learnt the religious doctrines from the teachers at Authai returned to Sukhodaya. At the time a great Thera named Udumbarasāmi came to Rāmaññadesa from Lanka. Ven. Sumana having heard about Udumbarasāmi went to Rāmañña with a friend of his and received re-ordination according to the *Sīhala* tradition from the Mahāsāmi. At the time two of them were with the Mahāsāmi. The king of Sukhodaya identified as Lodaiya or Lothai (1317-47 A.C.) having come to know the reputation of the Mahāsāmi requested him to send a monk who could perform all ecclesiastical acts of the *Sangha*. The Mahāsāmi complied by sending Ven. Sumana to Sukhodaya. *Mūlasāsana* a chronicle[2] writen in Nabbipura in the 16[th] century helps us with more details. The *Mūlasāsana* reports that the friend who accompanied Sumana to Rāmañña was Anomadassi and both of them were pupils of the Sangharāja of Sukhodaya and had mastered the Tipiṭaka at Ayuthia. The name of Udumbara Mahāsāmi is given as Udumbarapuppha Mahāsāmi. The king Dhammarāja rejoicing at the arrival of Ven. Sumana and his friend, prepared the Ambavana monastery for his residence and supplied him with the four requisites. After the re-ordination the two monks (Ven. Sumana and his friend) stayed with their preceptor for five years before they were sent back to Sukhodaya with instructions to come back in five years. They went back to Rāmañña (Martaban) *circa* 1341 with eight other monks who also received re-ordination. The two monks Ven. Sumana and Ven. Anomadassi received release from the obligation to live dependent of the preceptor (*Nisamutti*) and were titled Mahātheras. Having stayed there for three more months they left for Sukhodaya. Ven. Sumana took residence at the Ambarukkārāmaya and Ven. Anomadassi at Rattavana Mahavihāra at Sajjanālaya. It is said that the two Mahā Theras and the eight juniors popularized the *Sihala Saṅgha*. This is regarded as the official establishment of the *Sihala Saṅgha* in the Kingdom of Sukhodaya.

Luthai (Liddaya, Lideyya or Litai) 1347-78

The king Lodaya was succeeded by his son Luthai, the *uparāja* at Sajjanālaya, who has left several inscriptions that are helpful to study about his reign. He was a reputed scholar and bore the title Sūriyavaṃsa Rāma Mahādhammarājādhirāja. Though he was pious and devoted to the religion he was not a weak ruler. When his father was killed by an usurper he fought with him and defeated him and secured the throne for himself. Though he had to face hostilities of some tributary kings including Paramarāja, his

brother in law, the ruler of Subanpuri, he was able to subdue them. By the time of his death he was able to restore the kingdom of Sukhodaya to its original boundaries as had under his grandfather Ram Kamheng, when it encompassed the greater part of Siam, the Malay Peninsular, Rāmaññadesa in the lower Burma and part of Laos. This was accomplished both by tact and force which he applied to the local chiefs and petty principalities within his kingdom.

He was a celebrated scholar and his learning embraced both Buddhism and Brahmanism.He was the author of a Pali treatise on cosmology named *Tri Bhūmikathā* which is believed to be the only existing book of the period. It is important that the treatise contains references to the authorities from which he drew the materials. The treatise and the commentaries he has consulted shows the royal author had a wide knowledge of the Theravāda literature. Further he was versed in astrology. hydraulic engineering, military strategy and statecraft.

He reformed the administration as a means of unifying the country after its political disruption at the hands of rebellious vassals. It is significant that his real recipe for national unity appears to have been his own policy of religious tolerance. He extended patronage to all faiths. The images of Śiva, and Visnu were installed in the Mango grove in West Sukhothai, which was a centre of Brahmanic and ascetic cults. The religious palladium of the kingdom was the Mahābodhi monument which was opposite the palace and in it he had enshrined two relics of the Buddha, obtained from Lanka. This monument which was in the form of a tall lotus bud tower and the replicas of it which were installed throughout the country served as spiritual symbols to forge its unity. His reign was thus an attempt to achieve political unity through spiritual means and toleration for all creeds under the benign patronage of Theravāda Buddhism which he may have personally followed.

The most important religious event relevant to the *Sihala Saṅgha* is the visit of a Mahāsāmi Sangharāja[3] of Lanka to Sukhodaya on the invitation made by King Luthai, which is recorded in two inscriptions installed by the same king. The two inscriptions, one in the Khmer language and the other in Thai, commemorate the event. The Mahāsāmi Sangharāja is described in the inscriptions as a resident of the island of Lanka, observant of the precepts,one who has studied the three *piṭakas* in full and a master of the subject matter of the precepts like a *kṣīṇāsava*. The inscriptions give a detailed account of elaborate arrangements made on the orders of the king, to welcome the Sangharāja. When the king heard that the Sangharāja had left the town of "Canna" and had come to the road leading to Sukhodaya, he sent artisans to prepare a building, '*kuṭis*' and a vihāra to the west of the city of Sukhodaya, in the Mango grove, which he made smooth, levlled, strewn with sand, made from every point of view as beautiful, as a work conceived by Viśvakarma. When the arrival of the Mahāsāmi and the retinue was made known to the king he prepared areca nuts, milk rice, candles, flowers, *kalpavṛkṣas*...... to render homage along the route. He instructed the ministers, mandarins and the members of the royal family to go and receive the Mahāsāmi. The Mahāsāmi was accommodated at the "Mango Grove" monastery, where he spent the "Rainy Retreat" of three months. The inscriptions further adds that the king Suriyavamsarāma Mahādhammarājādhirāja got himself ordained as a monk at the end of the rainy season. However the welfare of the kingdom was threatened by foreign enemies and the people begged him to resume the reins of the government and restore order while the monks requested him to live as their head. The dispute between the clergy and the laity was finally referred to Sihala Sangharāja who decided in favour of the people. Consequently the king resumed his worldly activities and proceeded at once to chastise the enemies of his country. The name of the Sangharāja who was invited to Siam from Lanka is not given in the inscriptions and there is no account of these events in the writings of Lanka. The other important developments witnessed during the reign of king Luthai is the Thailand's direct intercourse with the island of Lanka. It was through the kingdom of Nakon Sri Saddharmarāja (Ligor) that Thailand had contacts with Lanka previously. But in the reign of king Luthai, Thailand commenced direct contacts with Lanka.

The golden age of Buddhism dawned during the rule of king Ram Kamheng and reached its zenith in the reign of Luthai, his grandson. Luthai was not second to his grandfather as an outstanding ruler in leadership and devotion to religion.

Wondrous Sihala Buddha Image (Sihalapaṭimā) and Sukhodaya: *Jinakālamāli*[4] narrates an episode of a wondrous image of the Buddha supposed to have had its origin in Lanka, later taken to Thailand and was held in high esteem. In the Thai language this image is called "Phra sihing". As per the account found in the *Jinakālamāli*, seven hundred years after the "*Parinibbāna*" of the Buddha there were twenty *theras* who have overcome passion. At the time a Sihala king desirous of seeing the form of the Buddha, went to the monastery and questioned the *thera* (in the following manner) "Our Lord Buddha, when living came thrice to this island Lanka. Can one who has seen Him be found". At this instance, through the power of the saints, the king of Nāgas came in the form of a young man; and in order to dispel the doubts of the Sihala king created a likeness of the Buddha. The king worshipped that image seven nights and days and then sending for a master sculptor, caused a waxen Buddha image resembling the one created by the Naga king and a mould of the same to be made and into this mould he poured a molten alloy of lead and silver. After being rubbed and polished the image appeared bright and resplendent like the living Buddha. The Sihala king constantly adored that image in various ways and after him, his sons and grand sons followed the same practice.

Thereafter, eighteen hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha a certain Rocaraja[5] desirous of seeing the great ocean went accompanied by an innumerable multitude of warriors down the river Nan and reached the city of Siridhammanagara where king Siridhamma was reigning. There the king Rocaraja heard about the wondrous image[6] and wanted to possess it. Thereafter, the two kings discussed and sent a joint envoy to the Sihala king and Rocaraja returned to Sukhodaya. The Sihala king gave the image to the envoy after paying respects for seven days and nights.

The royal messenger bringing the Sīhala image returned in a ship, which being caught in a storm stuck against a reef and was wrecked. The Sīhala image rested on a board which after three days arrived in Siridhammanagara. The king of Siridhammanagara having come to know of the arrival of the *sīhala paṭima* dispatched boats in various directions in search of the image. The king himself boarded a vessel, went in search of the image and found the plank on which the image rested and sent a message to Rocaraja. It is said that Rocaraja was overjoyed with the message and personally came to Siridhammanagara and conveyed the image to Sukhodaya where he paid homage to it. This image appears to have enjoyed some mystic significance and some of the monarchs went to war to gain possession of it. Many duplicates appear to have been made of it, but it is believed that the statue in the Bangkok Museum is the closest to the original Sīhala *paṭimā*.

There exists a Pali treatise on this *Sīhala* image, named "*Sihinga, Buddharūpanidāna*" known shortly as "*Sihinganidāna*" written by a monk named Bodhiramsi of Chienmai in the 15th century.

Architecture, Sculpture etc. of the Sukhodaya period: The Theravāda Buddhist tradition of Sri Lanka has left its indelible mark in the architecture, sculpture etc. of the Sukothai.[7] However a careful examination shows Khmer and Mon elements too have influenced it. Therefore arts and architecture of Sikhothai could be described as an infusion of Sri Lankan Theravāda, Mon and Khmer traditions. Sri Lanka influence is mostly seen in the *Thūpas* of Sukhodaya. In fact Thai *Thūpas* are almost identical to their Sri Lankan counterparts. The Sukhodaya *Thūpas* have adopted basic features such as square platform, circular terrace, dome, "Hataras koṭuwa" conical spire etc. The conically tapering spire was a striking example of this similatiry. Sri Lankan influence is clearly seen in Wat Chang Lom in Sajjanālaya, the super structure of which with its stucco elephants in the middle reminds the main Mahā Thūpa (Ruwanweli seya) in Anuradhapura. The influence of Sri Lanka is also seen in the temples like Wat Maha tat, Cri-Dhun, and Chang Lom etc.

The sculpture of Sukhodaya too shows the influence of Sri Lankan sculpture specially in the Buddha image. The Buddha Image with its oval face, the effeminate grace of the body matching the half mystic expression, in a mood suggestive of inward spiritual bliss, which is such a contrast to the bulky and stern impassivity of the Khmer Buddha image, is definitely the influence of the Sri Lankan sculpture. Another distinctive feature of Sukhothai statue is the head piece rising erect from the back of the head called "Ketumālā" is described as an adaptation from Sri Lanka. The existence of the double *sīmā* in the premises where the *uposatha* ritual is held is also thought to be due to Sri Lankan influence. It is said

that when the *Sīhala* monks started to propagate their own doctrine, an extra *sīmā* had been fixed by the side of the old *sīmā* to indicate that the halls have been properly demarcated in accordance with their orthodox procedure. The *Makaratorana*, the decorative piece above the entrance to a shrine representing "Dragon", too, appears to be adopted in the Sukhothai architecture. In addition to the Sihala monks supervising these constructions, it is thought that workmen from Sri Lanka, too, have been employed along with the Thai workers. Thus "Sihala Sangha" has implanted not only the Sihala Theravāda tradition in Sukhodaya but also the arts and architecture of Sri Lanka, which is seen up to date.

The kingdom of Sukhodaya lasted only for a century. It is thought that civilizing effects of humanitarian policies of the kings like Luthai might have weakened its military spirit and made it a prey to its rival kingdoms. Some time in the third quarter of the fourteenth century a new Thai kingdom was founded south of Sukhothai at Ayudhya in the lower Menam valley by Rāmādhipathi, a prince of Supanaburi connected to the Royal family of Sukhothai. Some say the kingdom of Supanaburi, expanded and occupied the capital of Sukhothai expelling its king. But others say the king had stood his ground and successfully resisted encroachments. However it is clear that after him his kingdom became a part of the newly established kingdom of Ayudhya. In spite of its vicissitudes of its history, the kingdom of Sukhodaya (Sukhothai) was an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism following the Sihala tradition till its last days.

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2 . *Mūlasāsana* (Origin of Buddhism) dealing with the history of Buddhism, in the Lanna kingdom of Northern Thailand by an unknown author, in the Lanna dialect.

3 The name of this Sangharāja is not given in the inscription. The scholars have different views regarding the identity of Udumbara Mahāsāmi who re-ordained Ven. Upali and Mahāsāmi Sangharaja who visited Sukhodaya on the invitation of King Luthai . It has been pointed out that Udumbara Mahāsāmi is not his personal name, but the name of the forest monastery he hails from. Prof. S. Paranavitana has identified Udumbara Mahāsāmi as Sangharāja Medhankara, author of *Lokadīpakasāra*. It is stated in the colophon that it was written while residing at the Golden Monastery built by the mother of the king of the sacred city (*uttamanagara*) named Siriratana. Probably Martaban (Muttimanagara) of Ramañña (Lower Burma) and which reveales the author was living in Burma when he wrote *Lokadīpakasāra*. But the last line of the colophon (*Lokappadipakasārappakaranam mahasangharājena lideyyarājassa garunā racirtā*) which says it was written by the

Sangharāja, the teacher of King Lideyya is difficult to reconcile. If so the author wrote it when living in Thailand. Now it has been pointed out, the above line which says he was the teacher of King Lideyya apparently has been added in Thailand. The scholars have finally come to the conclusion that Mahāsāmi Udumbara referred to in King Lideyya's inscription refer to the same Mahāsāmi Medhankara. He was of Sri Lankan origin and was first living in Rāmañña where he wrote *Lokappadipakasāra* and six years later he went to Sukhodaya, being invited by King Lideyya. The last line of the colophon referred to above has been added in Thailand as an honour to the venerable author..

4 *Jinakālamāli* a Pali chronicle, a study of epochs of Buddhism written by a monk named Ratanapañña of northern Thailand during the first half of the 16th century A.C. Pali text edited by A.P. Buddhadatta *PTS* London 1962, p. 74 ff. English Tr. "Epochs of the Conqueror" by N.A. Jayawickrame *PTS*. London 1968.

5 The identity of Rocarāja is disputed. Some try to identify him with Indraditya, the founder of the kingdom of Sukhodaya. The others do not agree with this identification, because the kingdom of Sukhodaya did not extend up to Malay peninsular during the reign of Indrāditya. Therefore they identify him with Ram Kamheng who actually extended the kingdom from all the directions.

6 Sri Lanka chronicles are completely silent on the story of the *Sihala Paṭimā*. The king of Lanka during the period under reference appear to have been Parakramabahu II (1236-71) of Dambadeniya during whose reign a Javanese king named (Chandrabhānu) invaded Lanka twice, as per *Mahāvamsa* (LXXXIII-36-48); and his aim of one of the invasions is said to be to gain the possession of the tooth relic. Sinhalese literature call Chandrabhānu the king of Tambalinga or Tamalingamu and a Buddhist. A Sanskrit inscription found at a place called Jaiya at Sridhammanagara (Ligor), refer to its king as having the epithet Tambalingesvara. Therefore it is possible to identity the king of Sirisaddhammanagara, the friend or vassal of Rocarāja as Chandrabhānu of *Mahāvamsa*. It is conjectured whether the *Jinakālimāli* story of the Sihalapaṭimā taken to Sukhodaya, a distorted version of Chandrabhanu's unsuccessful invasion of Lanka to take away the Tooth Relic. Or Did Chandrabhanu actually took away some unique Buddha image forcibly or by peaceful means, from Lanka which chroniclers of Lanka did not consider worthy of recording.

7. An inscription of King "Luthai" installed at a place named "Nagara jum" records the enshrinement of an authentic relic of the Buddha (Sri Ratanamahadipa) brought from Sri Lanka. The inscription also testifies to the planting of a bo-sapling brought from Lanka at the same place. Prof. Paranavitana is of the opinion that it was a sapling from the sacred bo-tree Anuradhapura. The second part of the inscription refers to the establishment of several "Buddhapādas (Buddha's Foot Prints) on the model of the Sumanakūta Buddha's foot print of Sri Lanka. Samantakūta parvata inscription at Sukhodaya got its name because of a replica of the Buddhapāda of Samantakūta parvata installed there by king Sūriyavamsa Rāma Mahādhammadhammādhirāja in 1359. (Kanilal Hazra, *History of Theravāda Buddhism in South Asia* New Delhi, 1982 p. 148 f.).

SUKKAVIPASSAKA See **ARAHANT**

SUMANA See **SAMAN**

SUMANGALA (1) : Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala was the pioneer of the pirivena education system in the modern era in Sri Lanka. He was the founder of the Vidyodaya Pirivena, a religious and a social reformer, a scholar of international repute, a debater, and a disciplinarian. He was one of the key personalities who rescued the Buddhasāsana, which some predicted would vanish from Sri Lanka by the close of the 19th century A.C.

The introduction of the Siamese *upasampadā* by Ven. Welivita Saranankara (later Sangharāja) with the

patronage of King Kirti Sri Rajasingha (1747 –82) gave a new lease of life to Buddhism which had faced a serious crisis situation by the mid 18th century. But before the country and the religion could fully recover from that crisis situation, the country was plunged into another disastrous situation, which hampered the religious renaissance ushered as a result of the untiring efforts of Saranankara Sangharaja. Internal disunity resulted in the cession of the Kandyan provinces to the British. The Britishers did not abide by the convention they signed with the Kandyan chiefs, wherein they agreed to safeguard the religion of the natives. Quite contrary to the agreement they openly commenced the propagation of Christianity, utilizing money from the government coffers. The education system was in the hands of the Christian missionaries, who made use of it for the propagation of Christianity. The Christians were given preference in giving government jobs. Christianity became the religion of the elite and Buddhism was considered the faith of the heathens. The Buddhists were not given the facilities to educate their children in a Buddhist environment. In fact the Buddhists had no option but to send their children to Christian schools, to be brought up in an alien environment. Similarly there was no system to educate the Buddhist monks. The reputed pirivenas of the Kotte Period ceased to exist long ago. The novices got the initial education only from their teachers at the respective temples. The position of the Buddhists had deteriorated to such an extent that Buddhists feared to disclose in public that they are Buddhists. It was under these circumstances that James De Alwis, a Sinhala Christian scholar predicted, at a meeting held in Colombo on 25th October 1861 that Buddhism would be extinct from Sri Lanka by the close of the 19th century. Such was the situation in the country as far as Buddhism was concerned, when the child who later became renowned as the prelate Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala was born.

Ancestry, Parents and the Birth: Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda, who wrote the biography of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala has traced the ancestry of Ven. Sumangala to a Kandyan family of Hatkorale (present Kurunegala district). According to this account Mudiyanse Bandara, one of two sons of *Rate Mohoṭṭāla* of the village *Walakulpola*, in the *Tiragandaha Koralaya* of the *Weuda Willhathpatthuva* in the *Hathkoralaya*, through fear of King Rājasingha II (1635-82), migrated to the village Hewessa in the present Kalutara District in the then Dutch territory and settled down circa 1677. He changed his name Walakulpola to Walakulge. One of Mudiyanse Bandāra's grand sons settled down in Induruwa in the Galle District. One of his sons migrated from Induruwa to Hikkaduwa. He settled down in the village Hettigoda, having married from the Hettiarachchi family. He was the grand father of Ven. Sri Sumangala. His son, Ven. Sri Sumangala's father was Walakulge Don Johanis Abeywiragunawardena, a fairly educated person, who was appointed as the *Mahaliyana Ārachchi* of Wellabadapattu. He married a lady from Telikaḍa Baddegama, named Dandangamage Kristinā Hāmine. The couple resided at Hettigoda, Hikkaduwa. They had six sons and three daughters. Ven. Sumangala was the fifth boy in the family.

The fortunate child who later became the celebrated Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala was born on 20th January 1827[1] to Johanis Kristina couple at Hettigoda, Hikkaduwa. However it is said that the village astrologers who were consulted, predicted that the child was unfortunate and therefore he is suitable only for Ordination. Apparently no name had been given to him immediately after the birth and the naming has been done when he was baptized.

This was the time when there were no registrars for the Buddhists.[2] All registrations, births, marriages, deaths etc. including those of the Buddhists have been vested with the schoolmasters attached to the churches. At the same time there had been a practice to baptize even the children of Buddhist parents. According to the records the child under reference too had been baptized. The great grand father of Mahamudalier Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranayake, Don Nikulas Pranandis Ubesekera, the Mudliyar of Wellabadapattu in Galle and Abekoon Lamāteni the mother of John Abekoon Mudliyar have acted as his God father & God mother. Further there had been a tradition to give a part of the God father's name to the child baptized. Accordingly the name "Nikulas" from the God father was given to him. Therefore the child's full name was Walākulge Don Nikulas Abeweeragunawardena. When the child was four years of age he was taught the alphabet at an auspicious moment in the month of May 1832, by Ven. Hikkaduwe Sobhita Thera at Tilakārāmaya, close to his home. It is said that when he was just eight years of age, he was able to read and write Sinhala well.

However there is no record of Don Nikulas Abeweeragunawardene being sent to a formal school. It should be noted that there were no secular schools at the time and all the schools were run by the Christian missionaires of different denominations. It is possible that his elder brother Don Luwis, who was sent to the Christian school at Baddegama was converted to Christianity and that might have prevented his parents from admitting Nikulas to a Christian school. According to Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda, Sumangala's parents were prepared to admit him to the "Central School, Galle," the only school at Galle at the time, but the prediction of the astrologers prevented them, in anticipation of his ordination.

It is significant the ordination of Don Nikulas Abewira Gunawardena has taken place at the historic Toṭagamuwe Rajamahāvihāraya, once an internationally reputed seat of learning. According to the records he was ordained by Ven. Melegoda Sirinivāsa Gunaratana Therō, the Chief High Priest of Galle, on the request of his teacher Māpalagama (Aruggoda) Revata /Mābotuwana Revata[3] at the historic Poyage of Toṭagamuwe Rajamahavihāraya. He was named Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala. Sāmanera Sumangala received his primary education and training under his teacher at his temple at Tilakārāmaya itself. It is also learnt that he studied under Pannamgoda Jeguttara Thera at the Toṭagamuwa temple.

He showed signs of a rare brilliant student who would one day revive and illuminate the Buddhasāsana and should be directed towards higher learning. But there was no such institution where he could receive higher education. At the time Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha, the most erudite monk at the time was teaching a limited number of monks at Paramadhamma cetiya temple at Ratmalana and it was the forerunner of the subsequent Pirivena system of religious education. His teacher decided to entrust his genius pupil to Walāne Siddhārtha Thero for his further education. He has been attached to Paramadhamma Cetiya educational Institute in 1844, three years after its establishment. There were no facilities to specially study subjects like Pali, Sanskrit etc. during the period.

The present day pirivenas have not yet come into existence. Erudite monks who could teach were very rare. It was a rare chance if one were to get an opportunity of studying under a teacher like Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha. During this period Ven. Bentota Atthadassi, in addition to Ven. Siddhārtha, was also teaching a limited number of monks at his temple Wanawāsa Vihāraya, Bentara. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Samanera was fortunate to get the chance to study under Ven. Siddhārtha. Printed books were not available except a couple of books. The students had to depend on ola leaf books. Transport facilities were rare. The Railway Service was in its infancy when Ven. Kalukondayawe Paññāsekera describes how Sāmanera Sri Sumangala walked from Ratmalana to Hikkaduwa to collect a book which the teacher gave a deadline to read. Next day, in order to keep to the dead line, he walked back to Ratmalana with the book. By the time he reached Ratmalana he was so exhausted by walking two days and he collapsed before he entered the class and the teacher had to nurse him.[4] Such was the difficult condition under which he studied. Such was the enthusiasm he showed to study. Overcoming various challenges Sāmanera Sumangala studied Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhala and other allied subjects at Ratmalana and mastered them. In addition to Ven. Walane Siddhartha, Ven. Batuwantudawe Devarakkhita who later disrobed and was known as Pundit Batuwantudawe was also among his teachers. It is significant that Ven. Ratmalane Dhammāloka, the founder of the Vidyalankara Pirivena, Peliyagoda was also studying at Paramadhammacetiya Pirivena with Ven. Sumangala and it is said that they were intimate friends. Ven. Sumangala, while he was yet in the prime of his youth, reached the position of an erudite monk, not second to any of his contemporaries, if not the most erudite of them. Further Ven. Sumangala was well versed in English too, which enabled him to communicate easily with the Europeans like Col. Olcott

Higher Ordination: (*Upasampadā*). When the Sāmanera Sri Sumangala was completing his higher education at the Paramadhamma Cetiya Vihāra, he reached the prescribed age for his higher ordination. It was the year 1848. He went to Mahawatta temple, Kandy, with his teacher and relatives on foot, as normally done those days. This was ten years before the opening of the Kandy railway line. At the *Upasampadā* interview he was able to answer all the questions put to him pertaining to *vinaya*. In addition he was able to recite the entire *Vinaya* text *Parivāra* by memory. Further he presented to the *Kāraka sangha sabhā* a Pali Poem of high poetic value composed by

him in praise of the Buddha. The quality of the poem was so high that some members of the *kāraka sabhā* entertained doubts whether the Sāmanera was it's real author. Sāmanera Sumangala at this instance took a style and ola book and instantly composed another Pali poem of the same standard in praise of Ven. Galagiriyāwe Dhammarakkhita Mahānāyaka Thera, who presided over the *Upasampadā*. On seeing it, those who doubted his competency, cleared their doubts. All those present, were full of praise of his incredible talents and his mastery of the Pali language. It is said that he was showered with various presents by the monks and laymen present at the occasion.

Erudite young monk: After the *upasampadā* he came back to his temple Tilakārāmaya in Hikkaduwa. His fame as an erudite young monk, spread throughout the country. He was in great demand as an expert preacher. He got invitations from various parts of the country. Both monks and laymen came in search of him to get their doubts cleared with regard to Buddhism. Some came to debate with him and were defeated by him and at the end became his devoted followers. For sometime he taught some monks and laymen at Tilakārāmaya. But did not want to stay there permanently. On invitation he went to distant places to spend the "rainy retreat". For sometime he was at Galle at Bogahagodella temple. Wherever he went he had a big audience. Irrespective of the *Nikāya* division or upcountry low country division he was able to command the respect of all. On the death of his teacher Ven. Walāne Sri Siddhārtha he was invited to accept the post of Principal of Ratmalana Paramadhamma Cetiya seat of learning, which he accepted. It was his 'alma mater'. There he taught a large number of monks and laymen. While teaching at the Paramadhamma Cetiya he went to Paramānanda Vihāraya, Kotahena, on invitation in order to help the Buddhists of Kotahena. However it so happened that none of those places he made his permanent abode. Perhaps none of the places was suitable for the purpose he had in his mind.

High positions start coming to him, one after the other: As his fame spread far and wide, high positions in the Buddhasāsana (*Sanghanāyaka* positions) came to him one after the other, without any effort on his part. In 1867, on a proposal made by the Mahāsangha and the nobles of Sabaragamuwa, he was appointed as the head of Sripāda (*Sripādasthānādhipati*), a prestigious position, since the days of the Sinhala kings. In 1880 he was appointed as the Chief Saṅghanāyaka of Galle, by the Malwatta Chapter, even before a formal request came from the monks of Galle. Once more in 1890 he was appointed as the Chief Saṅghanāyaka of Colombo, comprising nine divisions, (Nine korales).

Moreover the Malwatta Chapter appointed him a *Upādhyāya* (preceptor) of the Chapter House (*uposathāgāra*), a position up to then not given to any monk from the low country. Finally Ven. Sumangala was honoured by Malwatta by conferring on him the unique positon. "*Tipiṭakavāgisvarācārya*" (Master of Tripiṭaka) which was not filled since the 15th century. An instance of another monk getting so many supreme positions, one after the other spontaneously, is difficult to find in the history of the Buddhasāsana.

Establishment of the Vidyodaya Pirivena: Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala's service to the country particularly to the Buddhasāsana are manifold. But the establishment of the Vidyodaya Pirivena by him is the most important out of all his services which has immortalized his name.

As already described, Buddhism was in a very pathetic situation in the 19th century and the situation was so precarious that some did not expect Buddhism to survive till the dawn of the next century. Far seeing Ven. Sumangala correctly understood the need of the hour. He realised that only a generation of educated, disciplined monks could uplift the declining *sāsana* for which there was no system or a suitable organization at the time.[5] The limited education given at Bentara Vanavāsa Vihāraya and Ratmalana Paramadhamma Cetita Vihāraya were only a prototype of what was required. Ven. Sumangala had an idea of establishing a suitable educational institution for the monks for a long time and he was looking for a suitable location. Ratmalana or Kotahena where he stayed for some time did not suit him. Colombo was the ideal place for it.

It was at this juncture that a group of Sinhala Buddhist businessmen from the south residing in Colombo came forward to help Ven. Sumangala. H. Don Carolis Appuhamy, Don Philip De Silva Epa Appuhamy, Lansage Audrias Perera Appuhamy and several others collected money and bought a block of land at Dematagoda, Maligakanda and entrusted it to

Ven. Sumangala, for the purpose of establishing an educational institution for the monks and also for the lay pupils. They formed themselves into a society named *Vidyādhāra sabhā* to administer the proposed institution. The establishment of an educational institution of the required level with public contribution only, was not an easy task without the support of the state, but there was no support coming from the colonial Government at the time.

However, courageous Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumangala was able to put into action his long harboured noble idea in 1873 with the unfailing support of the said Buddhist philanthropists and it was named *Vidyodaya Pirivena*. It was Ven. Sumangala who used the name Pirivena for an educational establishment for the first time after the reputed Pirivenas of ancient Sri Lanka. Whatever buildings available on the land purchased were used for the purpose to begin with . According to the records, there were seven monks and about twenty lay pupils to start with.

The noble idea of Ven. Sumangala bore fruit beyond the expectations. The numbers increased steadily, new buildings had to be put up for the increasing numbers. There was no *nikāya* distinction or the up country low country division. The senior monks all over the country started sending their novices to Vidyodaya for higher education. After the *Prāchīna Bhāshopakāra Samitiya* (Oriental Society) was set up in 1902, under the ministry of Education, for the advancement of oriental education, the students of Vidyodaya Pirivena did extremely well at the examinations conducted under it, such as *Prāchina Paṇḍita* Degree. Those monks who studied at Vidyodaya and completed their education with the Paṇḍita Degree were highly respected in the society. Such monks exercised a positive influence over the Buddhist laity of the day and also provided the leadership. The educated monks developed and carried forward the Dhamma School Movement commenced by Col. Olcott in 1895.

In the meantime Ven. Ratmalane Dhammāloka, Ven. Sumangala's contemporary at the Parama Dhamma Cetiya, rendered a similar service from his headquarters at Peliyagoda North of Colombo. He augmented Ven. Sumangala's service by establishing Vidyalankāra Pirivena, on 1st Nov 1875, at Peliyagoda. Though Vidyodaya Pirivena and Vidyalankāra did not agree with each other on certain minor ecclesiastical points, and thereby appeared as belonging to two rival camps, there was no substantial differences between them in the ultimate sense, and both were engaged in uplifting the Buddhasāsana which was on the verge of collapse.

The monks who successfully completed their education at Vidyodaya Pirivena went back to their own temples in the districts and started establishing Pirivenas in the periphery. Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda has listed 51 such pirivenas established, while Ven. Sumangala was yet living and another 20, not long after his death. Again monks educated at those branch Pirivenas in the districts, too, established Pirivenas at the places where Pirivenas were needed. Ven. Y. Paññānanda reports of 7 such pirivenas. Thus it should be clear that within a short period of time there has been a network of Pirivenas in the island which provided religious education to the monks and also to a limited number of lay students. The Pirivenas which at the beginning sustained with the assistance of the Buddhist public, subsequently received Government assistance. The number of educated disciplined monks in the island increased steadily and became a recognizable force which could even influence the Government in power. For instance the passing of the Free Education Bill in 1945 which revolutionized the educational system in the country is descried as "the victory of the "shaven heads". Though the educated monks did not involve themselves openly in politics their silent service for the gaining of independence cannot be undermined. Thus it should be clear that it was the educated, disciplined, forward looking generation of monks which Ven. Sumangala reestablished, that saved Buddhism from the predicted extinction at the close of the 19th century.

Pupils:- It is important that Ven. Sumangala has produced a battalion of capable pupils to carry forward his good work, even better. His pupils are too extensive and no records have been maintained of them. Ven. Y. Paññānanda has successfully collected 236 among those ordained, in his part 1 of Ven. Sumangala's Biography. In the part II of the said Biography he has enlisted another 24 names of monks with the help of the public who have voluntarily supplied those inadvertently left out. It is of vital importance that we observe names of great Theras such as Heyyantuduwe

Dewamitta, Mahagoda Ñānissara, Kahawe Ratanasāra, Pelene Vajirañāna, Bihalpola Devarakkhita, Raigama Indajoti, Kukulnāpe Devarakhkhita, Madugalle Siddhartha, Palipāna Sirinivasa, Suriyagoda Sumangala, Yagirala Paññānanda, Bentara Saranankara, who have rendered invaluable service to the Sāsana in particular and to the country as a whole. It is clear that the above short list includes the names of Mahā theras who have later risen to the position of Mahānāyakas in their nikāyas, Heads of Pirivenas, authors etc.

While perusing the list of the pupils enlisted, it is observed that there are 23 Theras who have edited Pali Texts, commentaries and treatises. Among them is Ven. Suriyagoda Sumangala who has edited Pali manuscripts for the *PTS*. Yagirala Paññānanda who wrote the latest part of the Pali *Mahāvamsa* was one of his eminent pupils. Twenty four pupils, both monks and laymen, have composed Sinhala exegeses for the study of ancient Pali, Sinhala and Sanskrit works, numbering thirty . Twelve have authored their own books, numbering eighteen. Thus in the literary sphere, his pupils have gone further than their beloved teacher. Among his lay pupils are also Āyurvedic physicians, Notary publics, businessmen and government servants.

Foreign Pupils: Though Ven. Sumangala did not travel abroad, he has had a fair number of foreign pupils, who had come from several countries and studied under him. Among the Japanese students were Tacibānā who studied Pali and later became the Professor of Pali at the Osāka University in Japan, Sāto who studied Pali and Buddhism and composed a book on the island, Kojima, known as Kojima Kondañ ña who put up several rooms at Vidyodaya for the use of Japanese students , Kojin known here as Kojin Gunaratna who continued to be a Theravāda monk even after returning to his motherland, are well known. Among those from India was Dr. Satischandra Vidyābhūṣana, a Professor of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, was the most prominent. At his departure from Vidyodaya he presented a Felicitation volume in poetic Sanskrit, in honour of Ven. Sumangala. It was his own expert composition. Another Indian student, resident of Kosambi, later entered the Order as Kosambika Dhammānanda. Two more Indians, followers of Jainism were Becaradāsa and Harigovinda. There was another from Citagong (modern Bangladesh), named Cattigāma Puññānanda, a monk who later became a Pali teacher on his return to his motherland.

Anagārika Dharmapāla and Ven. Sumangala. David Hewawithārana who later came to be known as Anagārika Dharmapāla, the Buddhist Reformist, was Ven. Sumangala's pupil. Dharmapala always sought Ven. Sumangala's advice and guidance. In August 1893 when Ven. Sumangala was requested to nominate a suitable person to proceed to Chicago in America to address the "Conference of Religions", Ven. Sumangala selected Dharmapala. His address to the Conference on Southern Buddhism received high admiration of all the participants and it is regarded as an epoch making speech. At the same time Ven. Sumangala was the president of the Mahabodhi society, which Dharmapala established to win back Buddhagayā for Buddhists and revive Buddhism in India.

Pelmadulla Saṅgāyanāwa: Ven. Sumangala played a leading role in the Pelmadulla Revision of the *Tipiṭaka* which is also called *"Pelmadulla Sangāyanāwa"* (Pelmadulla Council) organized by Abayakoon Atapattu Mudiyanse Rālahāmilāge Iddamalgoda Bandāra Nilame, populārly known as Iddmalgoda Nilame. The manuscripts of the Tipitaka available in the country have been full of errors caused by some uneducated scribes, over the years. This was a worthy effort to compare various manuscripts and arrive at a final version acceptable to all. This was done at the Purāna Vihāraya in Pelmadulla with the participation of delegations from all the extant Nikayas at the time. Ven. Sumangala is reported to have headed the delegation of the Siam Nikāya on the instruction of his teacher Walāne Siddhārtha Thera. Further it is reported that Ven. Sumangala personally revised three books out of five books of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

Buddhist Organisations: The latter half of the19th century saw the rising of many Buddhist organizations to defend and uplift Buddhism which was thought to be heading for extinction. Ven. Sumangala patronized all such organisations that sought his patronage. His patronage added to the prestige of all such bodies. There was hardly any Buddhist organization or Academic Forum not connected to him in the country. He was a member of the Oriental Society (*Pracīna Bhāsopakāra Samitiya*) since its very inception. As already said, he was the patron of the Buddhist Theosophical Society (*BTS*)

and President of the Mahābodhi Society. Further he was the patron of the *Punyawardhana Samāgama* and the *Dharmadipti Samāgama*, member of the Royal Asiatic Society and many more such organizations of the day.

Newspapers: Newspapers, Periodicals and other print media, too, played a vital role to safeguard Buddhism during the dark period under reference. Though Ven. Sumangala did not have any newspaper under him, he always patronized, encouraged and sponsored the newspapers, periodicals and other print media of the day which looked after the Buddhist interest. When Ven. Sumangala was staying at Bogahawatta Sudarshana Paramānanda Temple in Galle, he encouraged the Galle Buddhists to establish the press named Lankopakāra in order to counter degrading Christian print media against Buddhism. The first Sinhala paper *Lankālokaya*, a periodical named *Sudarshana* and the booklets *Bauddhavāksāraya*, *Labdhitulāwa* and *Āgamparikshāwa* were issued from Galle, to defend Buddhism against the Christian publications, as a result of establishing the Buddhist Press above referred to.

Sarasavisandarāsa , the Buddhist paper established by the Buddhist Theosophical Society received the fullest patronage and the guidance of Ven. Sumangala since it's beginning. In fact its very name Sarasavisandarāsa was coined by him. Its first editor Weragama Punchi Banda was Ven. Sumangala's intimate pupil. Even the subsequent editors of the paper such as Thomas Karunarathna; W.A. Samarasekera etc. were Ven. Sumangala's pupils. When Anagārika Dharmapāla started the "Sinhala Bauddhaya", its first editor was Ven. Sumangala's pupil. In addition to the above, the editor of Lakmina, Alexander Welivita (later editor of Dinamina) and D.W. Wickramarachchi, the editor of Swadesa Mitrayā (later Dinamina editor) were among those who studied at the feet of Ven. Sumangala. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that he has provided the learned editors to contemporary newspapers. They consulted their *guru* whenever the need arose. At the same time articles written by him were often prominently seen in the newspapers and periodicals published during this period. Though Ven. Sumangala cannot be called a journalist, he was behind whatever print media published for the cause of Buddhism during the period.

Correspondence with Foreign Buddhists: Ven. Sumangala was in the habit of exchanging letters with kings, prominent monks and academics of the South Asian Buddhist countries like Siam, Burma and Cambodia. The medium of these correspondence has been Pali and it shows his supreme command of the Pali language. Among those with whom he had postal correspondence were Cullakoon, the king of Siam, Siriparama Maha Dhammādhirāja, the king of Burma and Sangharāja of Cambodia. Ven. Y. Paññānanda, the biographer of Ven. Sumangala has collected a large number of such Pali correspondence and also the replies received (Paññānanda Yagirala op.cit. part I p. 347 f). Ven. Sumangala has inquired about the condition of Buddhism in those countries while relating the situation of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. This has, no doubt, strengthened the ties between the three Theravāda Buddhist countries of South East Asia.

Ven. Sumangala's personal literary contribution: As his biography testifies Ven. Sumangala's life has been a very busy one. Hence it is not reasonable to expect of him to write many books. Yet it is clear that he has made some worthy contributions. The foremost among his literary contributions is the Sinhala translation of the *Mahāvamsa* which he executed with assistance of Pandit Batuwantudāwa, on a request made by the Governor Sir William Gregory, in 1879. It is also seen that he has composed several other works specially for the beginners, when he was quite young. He composed *Brahma Dharma* or *Anusāsanā Sangraha*, a Sinhala translation of selected Hindu and Jain *slokas* that do not disagree with the Buddha's teachings. A significant feature is that those verses have been rendered into Sinhala verse. It was Ven. Sumangala who started this direct versification and later others also followed him. He wrote *Varnarītiya*, a Sinhala grammar for the beginners. *Bālāvatāra ṭikā* or *Subodhika ṭikā* a guide to study Pali grammar for beginners, *Sīmā Vibhāgaya*, on *Sīmā* – Boundary on *Vinaya*, *Māsārthu Lakshanaya* : an astrological work. *Satya samgrahaya* , *Sandhisangrahaya*, *Akhyāna Sangrahaya*, and a *sanna* for *Kavyasekera*, are said to be among his other works.

Controversies (Debates on controversial points). Controversies or debates between the Christians and the Buddhists , debates on literary themes, among the learned and also debates between

the Buddhists themselves, on matters pertaining to Buddhism was a new development seen in the second half of the 19th century. It is natural that Ven. Sumangala, too, was drawn to them. Some of the debates were on paper and some controversies were face to face. *Adhimāsa* controversy (Extended month controversy) was one of the early debates that took place between the Malwatta chapter and the Low country monks, headed by Bentara Atthadassi Thera, one of the most erudite monks of the Low country. Ven. Atthadassi pointed out that the period of the Rainy Season (*Vassāna*) and also Vesak observed by Malwatta were not correct. He also forwarded his calculation and wrote to the Siamese king in Pali explaining his position. Ven. Sumangala was the chief speaker for the Malwatta side. The media of the debate have been Pali and Sinhala. According to the letters reproduced in the Biography of Ven. Sumangala, a learned discussion has taken place quoting from the texts, commentaries and the *ṭīkās*. But neither the group headed by Ven. Sumangala or the party headed by Ven. Atthadassi were prepared to accept defeat and the controversy has ended without a decision.

The other controversy to which Ven. Sumangala was drawn in was the "*pārupana*" controversy (*Pārupana Vādaya*), on the correct way of wearing the robe. The party headed by Ven. Sumangala held the view that the robe should be worn covering both shoulders and specially when entering the village, both shoulders should be covered. The opponents maintained that only the left shoulder need covering. Here too both camps were adamant, and stuck to their own guns. Though he could not convince the others, that the correct and more decent way of donning the robe was to cover both shoulders, he did not give up the idea and continued with his pupils to cover both shoulders. Even today the monks belonging to the Vidyodaya lineage use to cover both shoulders.

Budhists Versus Christians: Buddhists and Christians were constantly at Logger heads over each other's religion during the period under review. There has been controversies or debates all over the country and such debates are named under the locality they were held; "Baddegama vādaya," "Gampola Vādaya," etc. But the instances when Ven. Sumangala is said to have personally participated in such debates are very rare. It is said that once in a controversy held at Baddegama, Ven. Sumangala wrote an answer to a point raised by the Christians, running to eleven pages within 45 minutes. Ven. Sumangala's contribution to the debates of the day was the provision of data to the persons who took part in the debates. At the famous Pānadura controversy (*Pānaduravādaya*) held in 1873 between Buddhists and Christians at Panadura, Ven. Sumangala was present at the place where the debate took place, and supplied the necessary points to Ven. Migettuwatte Gunananda.

Col. Olcott and Ven. Sumangala: Col.H.S. Olcott the pioneer of Buddhist education in Sri Lanka had an intimate relationship with Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala. Ven. Sumangala was Olcott's adviser and gave his fullest co-operation and assistance to Col. Olcott's programme of establishing Buddhist schools. Col. Olcott came to the Vidyodaya Pirivena often seeking Ven. Sumangala's advice and assistance for his movement. Since its very beginning, Ven. Sumangala was the patron of the Buddhist Theosophical Society Olcott established and which managed the Buddhist schools. From time to time Ven. Sumangala was its General Manager together with other leading monks of the country. He gave Olcott authority in writing to convert non Buddhists to Buddhism by administering "Tisarana and Pañcasila."

Foreign Honours: Though Ven. Sumangala did not travel abroad his erudition was well known even in Europe. He had personal friendship with European academics like Sir Edwin Arnold, the author of the "Light of Asia", Rhys Davids who introduced Pali studies to Europe and Paul Dalke the German scholar. He was in correspondence with them.

European Academic Forums have recognized his erudity and have honoured him by conferring on him "Fellowships in their Academic Forums." To name some such honours, the Asiatic Society of Italy conferred on him a "Fellowship" and awarded an honorary Diploma "Diploma Desocid Hoinorario"; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, too, has awarded him a Fellowship. The "Socita

International of Hungary", an Academic Forum, has honoured him by bestowing a "Fellowship".

Death of Ven. Sumangala : Ven. Sumangala lived a long life. Though he was an octogenarian he continued to teach till his death. He was not suffering from any serious illness other than the normal weaknesses resulting from his advanced age. He fell from his bed and broke his hipbone. Neither western nor eastern treatments could cure him. He died on 29th April 1911 at the age of 83,having concluded an incomparable service to the Buddha sāsana in particular and to the country as a whole. His cremation took place at the Kanatta cemetery, Borella, on 3rd May 1911. It is reported that an unprecedented crowd including 3000 monks gathered at the cemetery to pay last respects to this uncrowned Sangharāja of Sri Lanka.

The pathetic situation Buddhism was in at the time of Ven. Sumangala's birth in the first quarter of the 19th century, which led to the prediction that Buddhism was leading for extinction, has been averted by the time of his death.

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1 Ven. Polwatte Buddhadatta quoting from the Biography of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumangala written by Ven. Matale Ratanajoti Thera in 1901, when Ven. Sumangala was still living, says that he was born on 20th January 1826. (*Samipātitayehi Bauddhācaryo* – i.e. *Buddhist teachers of recent past*". Polwatte Buddhadatta 1950 p. 93).

2 It was only on March 13 , 1888 , that the Buddhist Registrars of Births and Deaths etc. were appointed after the intervention of Col. H.S. Olcott. Incidentally the first Buddhist Registrar of Births and Deaths, so appointed was a Buddhist leader, Pandit Batuwantudawe.

3 Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda, ibid. states that Ven Hikkaduwe Sobhita had two pupils bearing the same name Revata, one from Māpalagama (Aruggoda)and the other from Māboṭuwana. Ven. Māpalagama (Aruggoda) Revata was a pupil entrusted to Ven. Sobhita by Ven. Galle Sumana, whereas Māboṭuwana Revata was the one ordained by Ven. Sobhita himself. Basing his facts on a certain old document, Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda states that out of the two Revatas it was Ven. Mabotuwana Revata who was the teacher of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumangala.

4 "Sri Sumangala" edited by Kadihingala Sorata and Premaratna Abesekera , Commemorative Volume of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumangala's 50th Death Anniversary 1962, Colombo (Sinhala), p. 83-96 (Ven. Kalukondayave Paññāsekera's article.)

5 *Yo hoti vyatto ca visārado ca*

Bahussuto dhammadharo ca hoti

Dhammassa hoti anudhammacāri

Sa tādiso vuccati sanghasobhano

The monk who is wise and confident, of learning deep, a dhamma bearer, and lives accordingly therewith, "Light of the Order" such is called.

– *Anguttara Nikāya* II p. 8

SUMANGALA (2). Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala Thera was an erudite Oriental scholar monk who lived in Sri Lanka during the 19th century A.C. He was born on 7th December 1825 at Weligama, a historic town in the south of Sri Lanka. His father was Lokubadu Jayasuriya Patabendige Don Abraham Appuhāmy. He was the fourth in a family of six children. The parents named him Punchy Appuhāmy Alwis. Punchy Appuhāmy Alwis's father handed over the child to the child's grand father who was a village headman. At the age of five he was nurtured by his sister at Werellāna in Hikkaduwa. He received his primary education under Ven. Päräliye Sri Jinaratana Thera, the chief incumbent of the Nelunvila temple in Werellāna.

Young Punchy Appuhāmy Alwis was ordained as a Sāmaṇera (novice) in May 1839 at Paduma Gabhārāma temple in Päräliya with Ven. Wilegoda Puññasāra thera, the Mahānāyaka of the Amarapura sect as Upādhyāya and the Chief incumbent of Paduma Gabhārāma temple Ven. Sri Jinaratana Nāyaka thera as the teacher. At the ordination he was named as Weligama Sri Sumangala.

After the ordination the Sāmaṇera received his further education at Wanawāsa Vihāra in Bentota under the scholar and chief incumbent of the said temple Ven. Bentota Atthadassi thera. Sumangala Sāmaṇera's contemporaries at the Wanavāsa Vihāra were Ven. Yathrāmulle Dharmārāma, Ven. Potuvila Indrajoti and Ven. Ambagahawatte Saranankara who teamed up later with Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera for the cause of Buddhist revival in Sri Lanka.

Novice Weligama Sri Sumangala received his Higher Ordination (*upasampadā*) on 8th December 1850, at the *sīmā* built on the Goiyapāna river in Ahangama under the tutelage of Ven. Matara Dhammārāma thera and Ven. Päräliye Jinaratana thera, Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumanatissa thera and Ven. Kahandamodara Dhammānanda thera as *Kammācāriyas*. Ven. Sumangala thera rendered invaluable religious services to the community for five years as incumbent of several temples in Galle and Ahangama.

In the year 1855 Ven. Sumangala thera went back to his teacher at Nelumvila Vihāra in Wärällāna and commenced his educational and religious activities from there. The year 1867 was a memorable one for Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala as he got the opportunity of participating in the *Tipiṭaka Saṅgāyanā* (recital of the *Tripiṭaka*) held at Pelmadulla, organized by Iddamalgoda Basnāyaka Nilame. The thera was entrusted with the revisioning of the *Pācittiya Pāli* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. However, although Ven. Dodanduve Piyaratanatissa thera was also entrusted with the same task, he could not participate in the *saṅgāyanā* and Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera with his pupils completed the task. He also revised six other texts in addition to what was given to him.

Ven. Salpita Gunaratanatissa thera, the chief incumbent of Rankot Vihāra in Panadura, recognizing the discipline and scholarship of Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera, proceeded to Päräliya and with the permission of his teacher (*guru*) invited the thera to Pulinatalārāma and in 1868 he came to reside at the above temple. At Pulinatalārāma Ven. Sri Sumangala thera commenced his educational activities. His famous pupils were Ven. Panadure Gnānawimalatissa thera, D.M.S. Kavirāja, Ven. Ambalangoda Medhankara thera, Ven. Mātara Gnāninda thera and Ven. Ambalangoda Devānanda thera.

In the year 1879 the rich Buddhists of Pānadura founded Saugatodaya College and Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera was appointed as its chief. During this time the Director of Education made Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera the Inspector of Pali and Sanskrit languages of the Vidyodaya Pirivena.

Although full credit of winning the Panadura debate is given to Ven. Mohottivatte Gunānanda thera, it should be noted, however, that while residing at Rankot Vihāra in Panadura it was Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera who organized the Panadura debate with the help of Ven. Walpita Gunaratanatissa Mahā thera. It is said that Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera wrote most of the speeches and replies to the Panadura debate. The articles submitted to English newspapers were drafted from the drafts written by Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera. It is now accepted that the Panadura debate was a collective effort of many distinguished Buddhist priests of the day, including Ven. Mohottiwatte Gunānanda thera and Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala thera was a pioneer of the Buddhist revivalist movement in Sri Lanka in the 19th century A.C.

Ven. Weligama Sri Sumaṅgala thera associated distinguished personalities of the day such as Edwin Arnold who visited Rankot Vihāraya in Panadura and Paul Cares, the German scholar who included a special article on Ven. Weligama Sri Sumaṅgala thera in his journal "Open court". When Col. H.S.Olcott visited Sri Lanka in 1880 the thera also participated at the reception ceremony held in Galle. The thera composed several Sanskrit verses on Col. Olcott's en-tourage from Galle to Colombo.

Ven. Weligama Sri Sumaṅgala thera was elected unanimously as the joint Mahānāyaka of the Amarapura sect with Ven. Dodanduwe Piyaratnatissa thera at a meeting held at Sunandārāma Mahā Vihāra at Ambalangoda on 6th October 1894. Although the Ven. Thera could not attend this ceremony, the act of appointment was handed over to him at Pulinatalārāma in Kalutara subsequently.

Ven. Weligama Sri Sumaṅgala thera's works clearly indicate his erudition in oriental languages and Buddhism. The works include: *Mramma Vaṃsa Viniścaya, History of the Karāva caste, Third Reader for the schools, Hitopadesa Padārtha Vyākyānaya, Hitopadesa Bhāva Sannaya, Upadesa Viniścaya* (printed in 1935). *Mugdābodha Vyākaranaya* and *Siddhārtha sekera.*

Ven. Weligama Sri Sumaṅgala thera passed away on 13th March 1905 at Pulinatalārāma in Kalutara. The remains of the thera were cremated on 20th March at the above temple premises.

K.D.G. Wimalaratana

SUMAṄGALA (3):Sumaṅgala Mahāsāmi was the Abhidhammic commentator of the Polonnaruwa period of Sri Lanka. He lived during the reign of King Parakramabāhu I (1153-86 A.C.). He was one of several pupils of the celebrated Sāriputta Sangharāja and lived in the Nandi pirivena in Polonnaruwa. He has been appointed to the position of Mahāsāmi, one of the most important positions in the Sangha community.

Sumaṅgala Mahāsāmi is credited for having written two important *Abhidhamma Ṭikās* (sub-commentaries of Abhidhamma); namely the *Abhidhammattha Vikāsini* on *Abhidhammāvatāra* of Buddhadattācariya which is called '*Vikāsini Ṭikā*' for convenience and *Abhidhammattha Vibhāvini Ṭikā* on Anuruddhācariya's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* which is popularly known as "*Vibhāvini Ṭikā*". It is observed that Sumangala first composed the *Vikāsini Ṭikā* and subsequently the "*Vibhāvini*", because he refers to the *Vikāsini* in his "*Vibhāvini*." He recommends the readers to consult the *Vikāsini* for details in his "*Vibhāvini*.

Though it is stated in the colophon of "*Vibhāvini*" that it was written by a pupil of Sāriputta Sangharāja, the author's name is not mentioned. But in the *Vikāsini* it is stated that it was written by Ven. Sumangala. As *Vikāsini* is referred to in the "*Vibhāvini*" for further details, it is clear that both belong to the same author. Out of the two *Abhidhamma Ṭikās* of Sumangala, the most popular and widely used is the "*Vibhāvini Ṭikā*". Specially in Burma it is the Abhidhamma treatise widely used by the beginners. There, when some one calls "*The Ṭikā*" it means "*Vibhāvini Ṭikā*.

It is significant that Ven. Sumangala has declared that the *Vibhāvini Ṭikā* was written in twenty four days following a Sinhala *sanne* (paraphrase) written by his teacher Ven. Sāriputta on *Abhidhammatthasangaha*. As he has written the *Vibhāvini* following his teacher's "Sinhala paraphrase", some tend to doubt his erudity in *Abhidhamma*. But his voluminous *Abhidhammattha Vikāsini* on the *Abhidhammāvatāra* testifies to his grasp of the subject. Further, it was Ven. Sumangala who invited Sangharakkhita Mahāsāmi, another pupil of Sāriputta Sangharāja to write the sub-commentary (*ṭikā*) on *Khuddasikkhā* which is named "*Sumangalappasādani*", possibly to honour the inviter.

Sumaṅgala Mahāsāmi had a great respect for his teacher Sāriputta Sangharāja as seen in his preface to his *Abhidhammatthavikāsini* which he express as follows:

Sāriputtaṃ Maha theraṃ pariyatti visāradaṃ
Namāmi Santavuttiṃ me garuṃ gārava bhājanaṃ

Nothing more is known of this great Abhidhamma Master of Sri Lanka.

K. Arunasiri

SUMANGALA (4): Ven. Induruwe Sumaṅgala (1860) was the Chief High Priest of the Low Country and Adams Peak (Sri Pāda), appointed by the British government. He too tried to keep the "Torch of Learning" burning during the early part of the British colonial rule, when such religious teaching was almost extinct. The details of his early part of life are not known, but it is clear that he hailed from the Induruwa hamlet in the Galle District.

He was the chief pupil of Ven. Galle Medhankara, Chief High Priest of the Low Country and the Adams Peak. He too was equally learned as his celebrated teacher. Ven. Medhankara commenced a teaching programme for the monks at his temple at Pelmadulla Purāna Vihāraya in 1826, when such facility was non-existent in the country. After the death of his teacher Ven. Medhankara, he continued the teaching programme. Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha (the teacher of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumaṅgala and Ven. Ratmalane Dhammāloka) who could not complete his education under Ven. Medhankara learnt under Ven. Induruwe Sumaṅgala and completed his education. Thus he too became a teacher of Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha.

Among the erudite pupils produced by Ven. Induruwe Sumaṅgala were Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha, Ven. Dodampahala Dipankara, Ven. Boralle (Migahagoda) Ratanapala and Ven. Waskaduwe Subhuti, who also contributed to learning during the period. He died in 1860 and after him the teaching institution at Pelmadulla ceased to exist.

K. Arunasiri

SUMAṄGALAVILĀSINI : Preliminaries: *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* or "the splendour of the Sumangala (pirivena)" is the Pāli commentary of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the first book of the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Theravāda school of Buddhism. According to the colophon it was written by the great commentator Buddhaghosa on a formal invitation made by Dāṭhānāga Thera residing at the Sumaṅgala Pirivena. It is also thought that Buddhaghosa named the commentary "*Sumaṅgalavilāsini* in honour of the pirivena, he was residing.

Sumaṅgalavilāsini is the first commentary Buddhaghosa wrote on the *Suttapiṭaka*. Therefore, he makes some preliminary observations regarding the important task he had undertaken, including the background. He says that the commentaries rehearsed and further rehearsed were brought to the island by Elder Mahinda and have been kept in the Sinhala language for the sake of the inhabitants of the island.[1] He says that he would take off the Sinhala language and translate them into the language of the text (*tanti*). Further Buddhaghosa assures that, in doing so he would not trespass the sound assertions of the Mahāvihāra residents who are lamps unto the Theravāda lineage. At the same time he states that he would avoid the repetitions. It is observed that Buddhaghosa has connected *Visuddhimagga*, his former treatise, with the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*. Addressing those who make use of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* he is proposing to write, he says: "I have explained *Sīla*, *Dhūtāṅgas*, *kammaṭṭhānas* etc. etc. well in the *Visuddhimagga*. Therefore I am not going to explain them once more here. In order to understand the *Dīgha Nikāya* one should connect this (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*) with *Visuddhimagga*.[2] These instructions of Buddhaghosa to readers is not confined to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* alone. It is relevant to his commentaries to the remaining three *āgamas*, because he has given the same instructions at the beginning of those commentaries too. Buddhaghosa says that the *Visuddhimagga* stands in the centre of the four *āgamas* and explain the meaning.[3] Buddhaghosa was well aware of the Herculean task he had undertaken. He had no time to waste repeating what he has already said. He was very precise. Probably he has had a time schedule before him within which he had to finish the commentaries. This further shows that *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* presupposes the *Visuddhimagga* and Buddhaghosa recognized four *agamas* only.

The account of the first council: Buddhaghosa commences his exegesis stating the number of *vaggas*, number of *suttas* in the *Dīgha Nikāya*. While commenting on '*evam me sutam*' in the *Brahmajāla sutta*, he proceeds to give an account of the First Council. Yet, he reminds us that the First Council is included in the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

It is clear that he refers to the account of the First Council in the *Cullavagga*. Yet, he says that it is given here in order to explain the context well (*nidāna*

kosalattham). Moreover, Buddhaghosa himself has already given the account of the First Council in the '*Bāhira Nidāna*' of his *Samantapāsādikā*, the commentary on *Vinaya* which he is supposed to have composed prior to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*. Perhaps, Buddhaghosa has thought that, if he begins his commentary on the *Suttapiṭaka* in a vacuum without an introduction he would not be fair by the readers. Under the circumstance, Buddhaghosa added the account of the First Council to *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*.

However, Buddhaghosa's account of the First Council in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* is important as regards the origin and the development of the Pāli canon. In the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. I, p. 16) he says, excepting the four *nikāyas* remaining teachings of the Buddha is known as *Khuddaka Nikāya* (*tattha khuddaka nikāyo nāma cattāro nikāyo ṭhapetvā avasesaṁ Buddha vacanaṁ*). Clarifying further he says that the *Vinayapiṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma piṭaka* in entirety and fifteen books such as *Khuddakapāṭha* etc. belong to the *Khuddakanikāya*. In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, too, he repeats the same view regarding the *Kuddhakanikāya*. In addition, Buddhaghosa has recorded two views of *Dīgha* and *Majjhima bhāṇakas* regarding the *khuddakanikāya* for posterity, in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* :

"*Tato paraṁ jātakaṁ, niddeso, paṭisambhidā maggo, suttanipāto, dhammapadaṁ, udānaṁ, itivuttakaṁ, vimānavatthu, petavatthu, thera theri gāthāhi imam tantim saṅgāyitvā khuddaka gantho nāma ayanti ca vatvā Abhidhammapiṭakasmim yeva sangahaṁ āropayimsūti dīghabhāṇakā vadanti. Majjhimabhāṇakā pana cariyāpiṭako apadāna buddhavamsehi saddhim sabbampi tam, khuddaka gantham suttantapiṭake pariyāpunam ti ti vadanti.*

Dīghabhāṇakas say that after having rehearsed *Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Thera Theri gāthā*, included them in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, calling them *Khuddaka ganthas* (small books). The *Majjhima bhāṇakas* add *Cariyāpiṭaka, apadāna* and the *Buddhavaṃsa* to the list and say that they were kept in the *Suttapiṭaka*.(*DA*. I, p. 15).

Thus it is clear that the books now accommodated in the *Khuddakanikāya* once were attached to the *Suttapiṭaka* as "small books". It is also seen that during a certain period they were in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.

Sumangalavilāsini records the arrangement made at the First Council for the continuation of the teachings of the Buddha through the oral tradition. Accordingly *Vinaya Piṭaka* was entrusted to the pupils of Ven. Upāli, the *Dīgha Nikāya* to the pupils of Ven. Ānanda, the *Majjhimanikāya* to the pupils of Ven. Sāriputta, the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* to the pupils of Ven. Mahā Kassapa and the *Anguttaranikāya* to the pupils of Ven. Anuruddha. It is said that they preserved the canon till it was committed to writing in Sri Lanka in the first century A.C.

Moreover the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* also gives the various traditional classifications of the teachings of the Buddha i.e. taste wise it is one for it has "*vimutti rasa*" (taste of deliverance), two fold as *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, three fold as *piṭaka*, five fold as *nikāyas*, nine fold as *aṅgas* (limbs). Thus it is clear that the account of the First Council or the introduction of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is of vital importance for the study of the evolution of the Pali canon.

Sources: In the colophon of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* Buddhaghosa states that he composed it having drawn the essence of the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* which is considered as the main commentary among the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā* (*Mahā Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ sāramādāya niṭṭhitā DA*. II, p. 280, Hewavitharana edition). It is thought that *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā* contained the exegesis of the complete *Tipiṭaka* while there have been Sihala commentaries like *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathā Sankhepaṭṭhakathā* etc. which were confined to certain sections, like *vinaya* only. Buddhaghosa's not quoting from the other *aṭṭhakathā* like *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathā* etc. and quoting only from *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā* for *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is further proof that those commentaries were confined to a particular section only. Therefore it is reasonable to consider *Mahā aṭṭhakathā* as the main source Buddhaghosa made use of for *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. It is seen that Buddhaghosa is quoting from a source named *Dīgha Nikāyaṭṭhakathā* (*DA*. 1, p. 87) in the *Sumangalavilāsini*. This shows that there has been Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās for the *nikāyas* separarately, in addition to the *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā* which covered the entire *tipiṭaka*. It is not seen that Buddhaghosa is referring to his commentaries to rest of the *nikāyas* i.e. commentaries to the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the *Saṃyutta*

Nikāya and the *Anguttara* Nikaya which shows that they were posterior to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. As already stated Buddhaghosa often refers the readers to his *Visuddhimagga* if he has already explained a particular point in the *Visuddhimagga* and avoids repetitions to save time (*DA*. I, pp.34, 105, 170 etc.).

In addition to the written sources, it is seen that Buddhaghosa is quoting unwritten sources coming down as opinions of renowned teachers of yore. Among such sources are *therasallāpa* (discussion of theras (*DA*. III, p.882). Another important unwritten source quoted by Buddhaghosa in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is "*Porāna*," the Ancients, on whom scholars hold different views. The quotations of *Porānas* in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* are found in the form of verses as well as in prose (*DA*. III, p. 747, 757).

Social Historical and other datas etc. It is significant that *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* contains valuable information for the students of History, Pali literature and contemporary society. Buddhaghosa's exegesis of the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* is very important in this context. The concluding lines of the *Maha Parinibbāna Sutta* describes the cremation of the corporeal remains of the Buddha and describes how the bodily remains were divided among the eight contending parties, kings etc. Further it says that eight *thūpas* enshrining eight parts of the bodily relics were put up by the respective parties. Two more *thūpas*, one enshrining the measure (*tumba*) used to measure the relics by the Brahmin Dona and another enshrining the charcoal leftover from the funeral pyre by the Moriyas of Pipphalīvana were also put up making the total number of *thūpas* ten. The proper *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* account of the relics ends here. But the commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* does not end after the distribution of the Buddha's bodily relics among the eight contending parties.[4] According to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*DA*. II, p. 610 f) the arahants (*khīṇāsavā*) thought that there would be a threat to the safety of the relics from wrong believers (*micchadiṭṭhika*) and advised the king Ajātasattu to make arrangements to establish a "central relics deposit "(*Mahādhātunidhāna*). Accordingly the arahants collected the relics deposited in the seven of those eight *thūpas* leaving a small portion for veneration (The relics in the Rāmagāma *thūpa* of Koliyas were spared because they were to be enshrined in the Mahāthūpa, Anuradhapura in future). The king Ajātasatthu is reported here to have built an underground chamber to deposit the relics collected by the arahants. It is said that after depositing the relics in the said underground cell, a stone *thūpa* was built over it. The relic deposit said to have remained unknown to be discovered by the emperor Asoka who was searching for relics to be enshrined in the *thūpas* he put up. The episode of the central relics deposit is referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, too (*Mhv*. chapter xxxi verse 20 f). The account of the central relics deposit is found in the sources of Sri Lankan origin only. Hence it is considered as a Sri Lankan tradition.

Concluding his exegies on the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Buddhaghosa makes an important statement in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. He identifies the five concluding stanzas of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* which gives the locations of the four tooth relics etc. as added by the theras of Tambapanni Dīpa. (*Atthadonam cakkhumato sariranti ādi gāthāyo pana tambapanni therehi vuttam DA*. II, p. 615).

This is a clear instance of an addition to *Dīghanikāya* after it was brought to Sri Lanka.

Buddhaghosa while concluding his comments on the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* makes another similar important statement. According to the concluding lines of the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (*D*.I, p. 86) the Buddha is supposed to have declared that if the king Ajātasattu did not kill his father he would have attained *nibbāna* in this very life itself. According to Buddhaghosa the Buddha is supposed to have declared that Ajātasattu descends to the Lohakumbhi purgatory for thirty thousand years and comes up for another thirty thousand years. Having come up to the top he will be released. Next he makes the most controversial statement. He says that the Buddha has declared so, but it has not gone into the *Sutta* "*Idam pi kira bhagavatā vuttameva pāliyan pana na āruḷham* (*DA* I, p. 238). Unfortunately he has not divulged the source of this information outside the canon.

In the Buddhaghosa's comments of the *Mahāpadānasutta* in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* too, similar statements are seen. While commenting on the early phase of the Buddha's life Buddhaghosa brings in materials outside the text such as the miracles supposed to have taken place etc. when the Bodhisatta

was born. Buddhaghosa admits that certain sections have come down in the texts while manifold sections (*sambahulāvārā*) have not come down and those should be taken from outside and explained. *"Ime vārāpāliyan āgatā sambahula vārā pana nāgatā āharitvā dīpetabbo"* (DA. II, p. 440).

Here Buddhaghosa admits that certain details, pertaining to the Buddha's early part of life have come down in the texts, while certain facts have not come down. He says what is not in the texts should be taken from outside and explained. But he has not given the source. Probably he refers to what has come down in the oral tradition.

According to the *Sumangalavilāsinī* there has been earth tremors whenever the *Brahmajālasutta* has been preached. When the Buddha preached it for the first time between Nālanda and Rajagaha there was an earth tremor. The same phenomena has been seen when it was preached in the island of Tambapanni too. When Mahā Mahinda thera preached it in the Jotiyavana, the earth has tremored according to the *Sumangalavilāsinī*. When the Pindapātiya Thera of Kalyāni Vihāra preached the *Sutta* in the cetiya premises, there too the earth quake has occured once more. Once Dīghabhānaka monks recited *Brahmajāla* in the Ambalaṭṭhikā east of Lohapāsāda, the earth tremor was seen again (*DA*. I, 131).

Some of the Maha theras etc. referred to in the Sumangalavilāsini:

Buddhaghosa in the *Sumangalavilāsini* has referred to several Mahā theras who were supposed to have lived during the Anuradhapura period. Among them was Ven. Mahā Nāga of Kālavalli Maṇḍapa who practised the observance "Gatāgata paccaya" who is referred to in the comments of the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (*DA*. I, 190.). Gāmantara pabbhāravāsi Mahāsiva is referred to in the *Sakkapañhasutta* exegesis. It is said that though he has not attained arahantship he was thinking he had attained it till one of his pupil's pointed out to him. (*DA*. III, 727).

Mahāgatimba Abhaya Thera, Dīghabhānaka Abhaya thera and Tipiṭaka Culābhaya Thera are referred to in *Sumangalavilāsinī* as examples of those who are endowed with sharp memories, who can remember very long past. When Mahāgatimba Abhaya Thera was questioned whence he can remember he is supposed to have said: On the fifth day after my birth auspicious milk rice (*mangalapāyāsa*) was prepared. When a crow tried to put his beak into the milk rice I can remember the "Hum" sound I made. He said he could remember (everything) since he was five days old. When Dīghabhānaka Abhaya was questioned, whence he could remember things, he has replied "on the ninth day after my birth my mother bent down to kiss me, the flowers on her hair fell on my chest, which inflicted me. He said he could remember things since he was nine days old. Explaining his memory Tipiṭaka Culābhaya supposed to have claimed : In the morning if I were to close three gates of the city of Anuradhpaura and release the residents through the remaining gate, ascertaining name etc. of everybody. In the evening I could remember name etc. of every body. (*DA*. II, p. 530). The above episode further testifies that the Anuradhapura city has had four gates and a large population.

The exegesis of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*DA*. II, 535) describes how during the famine Brahmanatissa, the devotees who supplied alms to theri Ñāgā fled the village Bhātaragāma without telling her and the theri had no way to get food.

Sumangalavilāsinī is full of such valuable secular data, in addition to its religious value. *Sumangalavilāsinī* is published by *PTS*. in three volumes edited by Dr. William Stede from the materials left unfinished by Dr. T.W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter. It is observed that the colophon usually found at the conclusion of Buddhaghosa's commentaries is not found in the *PTS*. edition. In Sri Lanka it is printed and published under the Simon Hewavitharana Bequest in Sinhala characters under the editorship of Ven. Heyyantuḍuwe Siri Devamitta and Boruggamuwe Siri Revata. *Sumangalavilāsinī Ṭīkā Linatthavanna* (sub commentary) was composed by the great commentator Dhammapāla. The ṭīkā is edited by Prof. Lily de Silva and published by the *PTS*. in three volumes.

K. Arunasiri

References

1 *Atthappaksanattham Aṭṭhakathādito vasisatehi Pan'cahi yāsaṅgitā anusaṅgitāca pacchāpi*

Sihaladīpaṃ panaābhathā vasinā Mahā Mahindena Ṭhapitāsihalabhāsāya dipavāsinamatthāya

Apanetvāna tatohaṃ sihalabhsaṃ.....

(*DA* I p. 1)

2 In the colophon Buddhaghosa wants the readers to add the eighty one *bhānavāras* (sections) in the *Sumangalavilāsini* to fifty nine *bhānavāras* of *Visuddhimagga* and consider the *Dīgha Nikāya* commentary as having one hundred and forty *bhānavāras*.
(*Sumangalavilāsini*, Hewavitharana edition (Vol. II p. 780)

3 *Majjhe Visuddhimaggo esa catunnampi āgamānamhi ṭhatvā pakāsayissati tattha yathā bhāsitam atthaṃ*. (*DA*. I, p.2)

4 According to the *Sumangalavilāsini* (*DA* II.p. 609) Brahmin Dona while he measured the relics took the right canine tooth (*dakkhinadāṭham*) and concealed it in his turban. Sakka snatched it from the Brahmin without his knowledge and took it to the Devaloka. This information is not found in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*.

SUMEDHA, the name by which Gautama Bodhisatta was known when he was born as a Brahmin during the Buddha Dipaṅkara's time and received from that Buddha the first affirmation (*niyata-vivarana*) that he would become the Buddha Gautama in the future.

At this time Sumedha had been born as a wealthy brahamin of Amarāvati, which city was then designated as such because it was inhabited by men who were like gods (*amarā* = gods who never have untimely deaths). Sumedha is here described as (*J*. I. I ff.)"having an uncorrupted or clean genealogy back to seven generations as per both parents". Very handsome and appealing in personality, he was not employed in any common or ordinary branch of activity like commerce or agriculture but being highly educated in all the branches of brahamanic lore such as the four *Vedas*, grammar, astronomy and astrology etc. etc. as well as in other dignified branches of knowledge prevalent at that time.

His parents died when he was young and a Brahmin named Rāsivaḍḍha, who was the administrator in charge of the vast inherited property, handed over to him the keys to all the treasure troves consisting of gold, silver, gems, pearls etc. He also explained to him in detail the different portions of this great treasury as per those inherited from the father's, mother's grand-parents' side etc. as well, and requested him to accept its ownership and utilize them as he pleased.

At this point Sumedha thought to himself that his ancestors have amassed so much wealth but have failed to take along with them even a single coin and accordingly as for him he should take along with him the merits earned by giving them for charity. Accordingly, he got the king to make a public announcement to the effect that anybody in need of wealth should come to his residence. When people came in hundreds he opened all his treasure-troves and exhausted them by public distribution for seven consecutive days.

Next, he developed the thoughts of renunciation (*nekkhamma*) as it is usual in such cases, by considering the vanity of mundane pleasures and comforts and decided to renounce the household life for the sake of the supra-mundane, sensing that there should be a state of ultimate freedom as opposed to the trammels of samsāric existence. Thus thinking he went forth from home to homelessness and left the city of Amara and proceeded to a hill named Dhammika in the Himalayas and became a fully-fledged ascetic on his own (*isipabbajjā*). Through intense practice he developed the five higher knowledges and the eight attainments (*pañcābhiññā-aṭṭasamāpatti*) within seven days.

It was at this time that the Buddha Dipaṅkara was visiting a place called Rambagāma in the vicinity and the people were preparing the road for the Buddha when Sumedha also joined them and was apportioned a muddy stretch to be prepared. As he was unable to finish the work undertaken in time and the Buddha Dipaṅkara came his way beforehand, and having no

way out of the problem Sumedha lay prostrate across the muddy stretch as a bridge for the Buddha to walk across. Although Sumedha was able to realize Nirvāna on that very day as an Arhant, he wanted to become a Perfectly Enlightened Buddha so that he could help so many others also to realize ultimate freedom from *Samsāra*. Accordingly, at this point of time, the Buddha Dipankara declared the initial affirmation of Sumedha's prospective Buddhahood (*niyata-vivarana*) as Buddha Gautama, four *asankheyya* aeons hence.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

SUNGAS: The Maghadhan empire that witnessed the changing of ruling dynasties during its long period of existence developed clear signs of decline and disintegration sometime after the death of the great emperor Asoka. The rivalry between the chief minister and the commander-in-chief of the army was well known in the court circles throughout the period, after the death of Asoka. Bṛhadṛta the last of the descendants of Asoka ruled at Pāṭaliputra but his authority was weakening all around him. This opportunity was grabbed by the *senāpati* or the commander-in-chief of his army, one Pusyamitra, who assassinated the king and installed himself in the throne of Pāṭaliputra. Thus, the Magadhan empire changed hands yet again, giving rise to the Sunga dynasty.

Only a very few contemporary or near contemporary sources are available for the study of the history of the Sunga dynasty, and all others belong to much later periods. It is the *Purāṇas* which were revised and reconstituted in the Gupta period that mention the fact that Pusyamitra belonged to the Sunga dynasty. Several Vedic and post Vedic texts refer to Sungas as a prestigious *brahamana* family. However, as usual the Purānic information is restricted very much to the king—lists and the reign periods of individual members of the Sunga dynasty and therefore, one has to turn to other sources for more detailed information.

According to the *Divyāvadāna*, Pusyamitra's empire included the cities of Pāṭaliputra (which was the capital), Ayodhyā and Vidisā, but the *History of Buddhism in India* by Tāranātha, the Tibetan monk, includes Jalandhara and Sakala. Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* informs us that the crown-prince Agnimitra served as the ruler of Vidisa (in central India). Agnimitra's trusted brother- in-law Virasena had been stationed at a fortress on the banks of river Narbada. The fact that Pusyamitra held sway over Ayodhya is attested to by an inscription found there which mentions that Kosalādhipa Dhana, the sixth son of Pusyamitra, was the ruler of this city. It appears that Pusyamitra relied much on the members of his immediate family in his administration. According to the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* "all eight sons of Pusyamitra will reign simultaneously"

The *Mālavikāgnimitra*, though belonging to a much later period is the only source that provides some insight into Pusyamitra's political activities. It speaks of an independent kingdom that had been established 'recently' in the Vidarbha region. Yajnasena, the ruler of Vidarbha, was the brother- in-law of a minister under the Mauryans. It is apparent that the capture of the Magadhan throne by Pusyamitra was not looked at favourably by at least some of the regional rulers like Yajnasena, who acted in defiance of the Sungas. In the meantime, relations between Vidarbha and Vidisa became strained and war broke out between the two. It was Agnimitra who took the initiative in subjugating Vidarbha which was annexed to the Sunga domain.

Also according to the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the Sungas had to ward off an invasion by the Indo-Greeks, again during the reign of Pusyamitra. The clash took place in connection with the *Aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice) to be performed by Pusyamitra, when his troops under the command of Prince Vasumitra, the son of Agnimitra, escorting the horse was disturbed by the Yavanas or the Indo-Greeks, on the south bank of the Sindhu. In the ensuing battle, the Yavanas were defeated and the horse retrieved. Nevertheless, it does not seem to be a major conflict between the Indo-Greeks and the Sungas. Yet, some passages from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Mahabhaṣya* of Patanjali, the grammarian, have been taken by several scholars to mean that there were at least two Indo-Greek invasions into central India during the reign of Pusyamitra. However, it has been argued very convincingly that these invasions cannot be assigned to the reign of Pusyamitra when considering the situation in the Indo-Greek kingdom as well as in northern India. It is very probable that the Indo-Greek invasions into the Gangetic plane were possible only in much later times (see Indo-Greeks)

when they managed to have a firm foot hold in the Indian soil.

Pusyamitra is described in several literary works as a Brahamin who uplifted Vedic religious practices and beliefs. The *Divyāvadāna* and the Tibetan historian Tāranatha both describe Pusyamitra as a persecutor of Buddhism. He is said to have destroyed monasteries and killed Buddhist monks during his march to Sāgala (Sialkot in Northern Pakistan). According to the *Divyāvadāna* he made a public offer of one hundred gold *dinaras* per head for each Buddhist monk, but there is no independent evidence to corroborate this information. Perhaps his zealotry for Brahmanism pushed him to ill treat Buddhism.

Pusyamitra had a fairly long reign according to the *Purāṇas* and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. As Agnimitra had served as the regional ruler of Vidisa earlier he must have had acquired experience in administration there. As shown earlier, he was instrumental in dispelling the Indo-Greek threat and annexing the Vidarbha state in the Sunga empire. He had a very short reign of only eight years, and his successor again according to the *Purāṇas*, was one Sujyestha (or Vasujyestha according to some) of whom no details of activities can be found. Probably he was a brother of Agnimitra. His successor was Vasumitra who as a young prince, battled the Indo-Greeks to rescue the sacrificial horse on the banks of the Sindhu during the time of Pusyamitra.

The *Purāṇas* inform us that the dynasty produced ten rulers. No ruler after Vasumitra is noted for any achievement. An inscription from Pabhosa near Allahabad records the excavation of a cave by one Mitra Asadhasena in the tenth regional year of a king whose name has tentatively been read as Udaka. This ruler has been identified with the fifth king of the Sunga dynasty with Odraka or Bhadraka as given in the *Purāṇa* list. The Besnagar (Bhilsa) Garuda Pillar inscription of Helidorus, who describes himself as the envoy of the Yavana ruler Antialcidas of Taxila, to an Indian king named Kasiputra Bhagabhandra who was reigning in his fourteenth year. This ruler is generally identified with Bhadraka the fifth of the Sunga dynasty. The tenth and the last of the Sunga rulers, as given in the *Purāṇas* was Devabhūti or Devabhūmi. According to the *Harsacarita* of Bāna, this ruler was assassinated through a conspiracy by his minister Vasudeva who ascended the throne and gave rise to the Kanva dynasty. It is quite possible that the Kanvas were the *de facto* rulers of the Kingdom in the last few decades of the Sunga rule.

The above delineations would have made it clear that apart from the king- lists, very little is known about the history of the Sunga dynasty. From the very few information we can glean from the limited amount of sources, it is nevertheless clear that at least some Sunga rulers like Pusyamitra and Agnimitra, were mainly responsible for the arrest of the decline of the Magadhan Empire. They managed to keep together the areas that fell into their hands and also recover some lost territories like Vidarbha. However, no other ruler seems to have made any lasting contribution and in all probability the last rulers of the dynasty were more like figure -heads during whose reigns the Magadhan empire disintegrated rapidly, triggering the Kanva takeover. The Kanvas inherited only a very small, part of the original empire of the Sungas. Although the *Purāṇas* inform us that the ten Sunga rulers reigned for a total of 112 years, when the reign periods of each ruler are added up it comes to 120 years thus creating a discrepancy. This shows again as to how difficult it is to rely completely on *Purāṇic* evidence in reconstructing even the dynastic history of the Sungas. It is generally believed that the Sunga rule can be broadly placed between the end of the second century B.C. and *circa* 75 BC.

The emergence of the Sungas as successors of the Mauryas of Magadha has been described as a change that triggered a Brahmanic revival which resulted in a backlash against Buddhism. The information found in the Mahāyāna Buddhist works like the *Divyāvadāna* and Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* that Pusyamitra persecuted the Buddhists is taken as evidence to this effect. There is little doubt that the Sungas, particularly Pusyamitra, were responsible for the revival of Vedic practices, especially the performance of the major *yajnas* such as the *Aśvamedha* which most probably had fallen into abayence under Asoka. It is a well known fact that even during the reign of Asoka, some members of his own family disliked his support for Buddhism. Though the Brahmanic religion and the Vedic practices suffered some reverses as a result of the rapid spread of Buddhism under royal patronage, the followers of

the Brahmanic religion did not take these developments lightly. The fact that Pusyamitra was a *brahmana* by birth who revived Vedic religious practices clearly shows that he had no enthusiasm for Buddhism. Such a hypothesis further supported by the fact that no Sunga ruler took the trouble to extend royal patronage to Buddhism.

It has also been argued that there was no direct evidence of persecution of Buddhism under the Sungas and on the contrary, Buddhism in fact, flourished under these rulers. The *stupa* and other archaeological monuments found at Sanchi and Bharhut in present Madhya Pradesh which have been dated to the Sunga period are cited as evidence in support of this argument. However, this does not necessarily negate the possibility of Sunga persecution as there is no evidence of royal support for these Buddhist constructions. These *stupas* were in fact, constructed, renovated and new additions, were made from contributions coming from the Buddhist clergy and the lay devotees. Pusyamitra may have earned the ignominious reputation as violently anti-Buddhist because it was he who, as suggested by John Marshall, inflicted deliberate damage on the Sānchi *stupa* initially constructed by Asoka.

Even if there existed persecution of Buddhism under Pusyamitra it does not appear to have had a lasting effect on the religion as is evident from the monuments at Sanchi and Bharhat. The Sanchi *stupa* No. 1 which is the earliest of the well-preserved *stupas* in India and its famous gateways and other constructions are regarded as masterpieces of early Indian art. Sanchi which is situated six miles south west of Vidisa which was a major administrative centre, both under the Mauryas and the Sungas and several other sites such as Sonari, Satdhara, Bhojpur and Andher, in its close vicinity, present a number of Buddhist monuments datable to the Sunga era. In addition to the cluster of Buddhist centres situated around Sanchi the other major centre was Bharhut where only the base structure of a *stupa* and some fragments of gateways and stone railings were found.

The Sanchi *Stupa* I which was in all probability initially constructed during the time of Asoka was enlarged and re-decorated during the time of the Sungas. During this period four gateways embellished with lavish carvings were added. The entire face of the gateways is decorated with bas-reliefs depicting several events from *jātaka* stories including the *Vessantara, Mahākapi, Chaddanta* and *Ambusa jātakas* in addition to incidents from the life story of the Buddha. These decorations also include depictions of events of later times such as the division of relics after the Great demise,, the division of relics at Rāmagārna and Asoka's homage to the *Mahabodhi*.

The *stupa* no. 2 at Sanchi which is without any gateways is noteworthy for its exquisite ornamental bas-reliefs. This *stupa* is significant in that it yielded the relics of famous Buddhist *theras* of three generations. The *stupa* no. 2 contained four relic caskets which had in them the relics of the famous Buddhist theras Kasapagota, Majjhima, Haritiputa, Mahavanaya, Apagira, Kodini-puta, Kosikiputa, Goti-puta-Mogaliputa and Vacisuvijayita. The *stupa* no. 3 contained relics of the *Agraśrāvakas* Mahamoggallāna and Sāriputta. Among the names mentioned in the first relic casket, *theras* Kassapagotta and Majjhima are of significance, as they have been identified as the missionaries sent to Himavata or the Himalayan region after the Buddhist Council, as is known from the Sri Lankan Pali chronicle *Mahāvamsa*. Thera Moggaliputta, has been identified as Moggaliputta Thera who presided over the Third Council. The presence of the relics of the two chief disciples of the Buddha at Sānchi is also important. The fact that relics of the most important Buddhist monks who played a significant role in the Third Council and the missionary activities and those of the Agrasāvakas must have been enshrined there because at least by the time of the Sungas, if not earlier, Sanchi must have developed into and acquired recognition as one of the major Buddhist centres of Northern India. Although several other constructions have been found at Sanchi most of them belong to later times, but what is important is that these later monasteries and other constructions have come up on *stupas* and other building sites going back to the Sunga period. This proves beyond doubt that Sanchi had already developed into a massive Buddhist religious complex by the time of the Sungas.

Bharhut, the other major Buddhist centre belonging to the Sunga period is situated a few miles to the

South of Sanchi. Although the early Buddhist monuments at Sanchi, when discovered in the nineteenth century, were in a fairly good state of preservation, the same cannot be said of the monuments at Bharhut.

There, the *Stupa* had completely disappeared leaving only the traces of its base and pieces of the main gateway had been removed by the villagers at the time the first archaeologists visited the scene. Thus only a number of fragments of the railings and some pillars were found and preserved. The available pieces of railings are filled with beautiful cavings and also provide the names of benefactors who contributed to defraying the cost of the constructions. These pious people had hailed from different places of the sub–continent such as Karahakota, and Nasik in the Deccan, Kausambhi and Pataliputra in the east and Vidhisa from central India suggesting that Bharhut had acquired a wide recognition as a Buddhist centre by the Sunga times.

The railings at Bharhut had been carved with bas-reliefs depicting various episodes connected with Buddhism. These include scenes from different *Jātaka* stories and events from the life of the Buddha. An unmistakable characteristic of these art works is the absence of the Buddha image. Instead the Buddha is depicted in symbolic forms such as a vacant seat, foot-prints, the *thri-ratna* symbol, Bodhi-tree, the wheel of Dhamma or a *stūpa*. The subject matter of the carvings included scenes from the life of the common people and the nature. Motifs of different kinds of birds, animals, serpants, fruits, flowers and plants are also are exquisitely carved in these bas-reliefs. The pillars found at Bharhut and their decorations are unique in that they depict large-size standing figures of *yakṣas* and *yakṣinis* and *nagas* which betray the unmistakable influence of the folk-art traditions of the pre-Mauryan times. Thus the art of Bharhut has aptly been described as "the vigorous expression of a mass movement compared to the imperial court-art of the Mauryas with its classical qualities, this indigenous folk-art appears archaic'. It is significant that if there is any architectural or art work that can be called Sunga art or architecture undoubtedly it all belongs to the Buddhists.

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ŚUÑÑATĀ See ŚŪNYATĀ (1)

ŚŪNYATĀ(1), or its Pāli equivalent *suññatā*, is a term pregnant with meaning and of central significance in all Buddhist traditions. In order to exhaustively deal with this important subject, it will be discussed in two separate articles. The present article will focus on its implication from the perspective of the Pāli canon, while a different article will treat *śūnyatā* from the perspective of the *Mahāyāna* tradition.

Suññatā is an abstract noun formed from the adjective *suñña*, which means 'empty' or 'void'. It is noteworthy that in the Pāli discourses the adjective *suñña* occurs with a much higher frequency than the corresponding noun *suññatā*. This is not a matter of mere philological interest, but points to an emphasis in early Buddhism on qualifying phenomena as 'being

empty' rather than on an abstract state of empty-'ness'.

The word 'empty' (*suñña*) occurs often in a straightforward and simple sense to qualify a place or location to be empty in the most common sense of the word. A typical example for this is *suññāgāra*, an 'empty place', which due to being devoid of people, noise, distraction etc. is a place suitable for meditative seclusion (*D.* II, 291). To find delight in the seclusion afforded by such an 'empty place' counts as an important requirement for one gone forth (*A.* V, 88). The same quality, however, renders such an empty place less suitable as a resort for gathering alms (*M.* I, 519) or for proclaiming one's teachings (*D.* I, 175).

Suñña can also be predicated of a group of people, in order to specify that they are bereft of a certain quality. For example, the members of a particular group of ascetics are 'empty of' going to heaven, in the sense that none of them will be able to gain a celestial rebirth (*M.* I, 483). According to another usage of a similar type, as long as there are those who undertake the noble eightfold path, the world will not be 'empty of' *arahants* (*D.* II, 151).

Though qualifying a place or a group of people as empty of something may at first sight appear to be far from the deeper connotations of emptiness, the two senses are actually intertwined. To speak of 'emptiness', as far as the Pāli discourses are concerned, is necessarily to speak of a particular phenomenon as 'empty of' something. Hence even the peak of emptiness, the realization of full awakening and unsurpassable mental freedom is 'empty of'. Empty of what? Empty of lust, anger and delusion (*M.* I, 298).

In some passages the Buddha used the expression 'empty' in both a common and a deeper sense, for example when he employed the image of an empty village as a symbol for the six sense-bases (*S.* IV, 173). Though the primary sense of *suñña* here is clearly to be physically empty, in the sense that this village has been deserted by people, the Buddha brought in the deeper notions of *suñña* by explaining that when a wise person investigates the senses he or she will find that they are empty (*suñña*), void (*ritta*) and vain (*tuccha*). In this way the 'empty' quality of the village, representative of the village being devoid of people, finds its equivalent in the 'empty' nature of the senses, highlighting that the senses are devoid of a self.

A similar nuance can also be found in a set of similes for the five aggregates found in the *Pheṇa Sutta*. Though the *Pheṇa Sutta* does not use the term *suñña*, it does employ the two terms used as near equivalents of *suñña* in the above simile of the empty village: void (*ritta*) and vain (*tuccha*). According to the *Pheṇa Sutta*, closer inspection will reveal each of the five aggregates to be vain (*tucchaka*), void (*rittaka*) and insubstantial (*asāraka*). The same discourse offers a set of similes illustrative of the manifestation of this void and vain nature of each aggregate individually: the insubstantial nature of material form is similar to a lump of foam carried away by a river, feelings are like the impermanent bubbles forming on the surface of water during rain, perception is as illusory as a mirage, volitions are devoid of essence like a plantain tree (since it has no heartwood), and consciousness is as deceptive as a magician's performance (*S.* III, 142). The *Pheṇa Sutta* concludes with a verse envisaging eradication of all fetters and attainment of the final goal as the outcome of contemplating the void and insubstantial nature of the aggregates in this manner.

A lead over from the empty nature of a location to deeper aspects of emptiness as a step by step meditative development can be found in the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta*, the 'smaller discourse on emptiness' (*M.* III, 104). This discourse begins with Ānanda inquiring about an earlier statement by the Buddha, according to which the Buddha often was 'dwelling in emptiness' (*suññatāvihāra*).

In order to show Ānanda how to achieve such dwelling, the Buddha directed Ānanda's attention to the immediate environment where they were staying. He pointed out that the place was 'empty' of the human hustle and bustle of township. Giving attention to this absence as a type of emptiness experience yields a unitary perception of the forest. Based on such a unitary perception of the forest, the Buddha continued with a meditative deepening of emptiness that proceeded from a unitary perception of earth, through the four immaterial attainments, to signless concentration of the mind (*animitta cetosamādhi*).

Each step of this meditative deepening of emptiness requires a clear awareness of what has been transcended at each point, of what the present experience is 'empty of'. When, for example, the perception of earth has been transcended by developing the perception of boundless space, this experience of boundless space is 'empty of' any perceptual experience of earth.

The meditative deepening of emptiness described in this discourse requires at the same time a clear awareness of what is still present. Thus when one has proceeded from the perception of earth to the perception of boundless space, this experience of boundless space is 'not empty' (*asuñña*) of perception of space. It is precisely this 'non-emptiness' that needs to be left behind in order to proceed further. Leaving behind the 'non-emptiness' of the perception of space then leads on to the next experience, to attaining the perception of boundless consciousness. This step, then, is 'empty' of space perceptions. Yet this same experience is 'not empty', in so far as the perception of boundless consciousness is still present.

Properly undertaking this genuine, undistorted, pure and gradual descent into emptiness, the Buddha declared, will lead to the destruction of the influxes. Once the influxes have been left behind and one's experiences are forever 'empty' of any perception coloured by these unwholesome influxes, the supreme and unsurpassable peak of emptiness has been reached.

This presentation in the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta* has several important implications and thus well deserves to be reckoned outstanding among those discourses that are 'connected with emptiness' and therefore worthy of special attention (*S.* II, 267, *S.* V, 407, *A.* I, 72 and *A.* III, 107). No wonder that this discourse has remained of continued interest to later Buddhist traditions, and the Chinese and the Tibetan discourse collections have each preserved a version of the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta* which corresponds closely to the Pāli version.[1]

One of these implications is that the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta's* treatment shows the early Buddhist concept of emptiness to be a qualification, not an entity. This can be inferred from the recurring refrain, according to which the meditating monk considers what has been transcended as 'empty of', and what is still there as 'not empty of'.

In fact, the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta* introduces the Pāli term *suññatā* only once the peak of realisation through the destruction of the influxes has been reached. In contrast, the description of all the preceding stages merely employs the adjective *suñña*, 'empty'. This indicates that the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta* reckons only the destruction of the influxes as 'emptiness', furthermore qualified as 'unsurpassable'. The preceding stages are only the *suññatāvakka*, the 'entry into emptiness', but nothing short of total freedom from the influxes deserves to be reckoned as 'emptiness' true and proper.

Other Pāli discourses also use the term 'emptiness' (*suññatā*) predominantly in relation to realisation experiences. This nuance can best be seen in the *Vinaya*, which counts the claim to emptiness liberation (*suññatā vimokkha*), emptiness concentration (*suññatā samādhi*) or emptiness attainment (*suññatā samāpatti*) among those claims which, if spoken as a deliberate lie, merit expulsion from the monastic community (*Vin.* III, 95). This shows that for a monk or a nun to lay claim to such emptiness experience was equivalent to laying claim to high realisation.

Another implication of the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta* is that the proper approach to a realisation of emptiness, depicted step by step in this discourse and qualified as 'genuine, undistorted and pure' (*yathābhuccā avipallatthā parisuddhā*), is gradual. According to the finale of the discourse, all those who have gained the supreme and unsurpassable peak of emptiness, the destruction of the influxes, have in fact followed this gradual approach.

The final stages of this gradual approach described in the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta* lead from signless concentration of the mind to the destruction of the influxes. In order to navigate this important junction, the Buddha instructs to contemplate the conditioned and impermanent nature of one's meditative experience. He in this way indicated that, in order to attain the peak of emptiness, insight into conditionality and impermanence should be developed.

This highlights that contemplation of emptiness needs to be combined with the development of insight into the conditioned and impermanent nature of reality, an insight to be applied in particular to one's present meditative experience. Other discourses confirm this need. They indicate that even the deepest and most sublime states of concentration need to be

contemplated as 'impermanent' and 'unsatisfactory', in addition to being contemplated as 'empty'(*M.* I, 435).

The need to complement meditation on emptiness with insight into impermanence recurs again in the 'greater discourse on emptiness', the *Mahāsuññatā Sutta* (*M.* III, 109). The meditative instruction in relation to emptiness delivered by the Buddha in this discourse culminates in contemplation of the impermanent nature of the five aggregates as the means to go beyond the conceit 'I am'. It is remarkable that the *Cūḷasuññatā Sutta* and the *Mahāsuññatā Sutta*, whose titles indicate that their main topic is emptiness, both stress the importance of impermanence. The two *Suññatā Suttas* in this way draw attention to the danger of mistaking the relative stability of deep concentrative experience to be indicative of some type of permanency, a mistake that can occur even when the object of such deep concentrative experiences is of an 'empty' type.

The *Mahāsuññatā Sutta* moreover highlights the importance of overcoming the conceit 'I am'. The conceit 'I am' is but a manifestation of ignorance and at the same time the pivotal point for the genesis of craving. The 'I am' conceit thereby stands at the root of the *saṃsāric* predicament, and whatever unwholesome mental states and reactions arise, are but its multifarious outgrowths. The idea of selfhood underlying this conceit is the main target for emptiness meditation. In another discourse the Buddha explained that to qualify the world as 'empty' means that it is empty of a self and what belongs to a self (*S.* IV, 54).

The notion of a self cannot be changed by a mere change of grammar or language. The task is not to replace 'I' with another concept, even if this should be the concept of 'emptiness'. The task, rather, is to become aware of the sense of 'I' pervading experience, a sense of 'I' that turns the process of experiencing into 'I am' experiencing, and causes experience to be appropriated as 'my' experience.

Returning to the *Mahāsuññatā Sutta*, this discourse begins with the Buddha contrasting his dwelling in emptiness to Ānanda's somewhat undue tendency to socializing. Throwing this contrast into relief, the Buddha went so far as to state that if while abiding in emptiness meditation he was visited by monks, nuns, or laity, his mind inclined to seclusion to such an extent that he would talk to them in a way so as to dismiss them. A stark statement, which however highlights that to dwell in emptiness inevitably leads beyond the world and its concerns.

According to the *Mahāsuññatā Sutta*, contemplation of emptiness should be applied both 'internally', to oneself, as well as 'externally', to others. The same contemplation should moreover not be confined to formal meditation, but needs to be related to everyday activities. This discourse also indicates how this can be achieved: by staying aloof from desire and aversion while walking, standing, sitting and lying down. In relation to communication, one should avoid useless worldly topics and engage solely in speech related to the practice and the path. To develop insight into emptiness means moreover to leave the three unwholesome types of thought behind and to overcome the attractional pull of the five strands of sensual pleasure. These instructions clearly indicate that a genuine realization of emptiness is not compatible with engagement in sensuality.

The need to apply emptiness to everyday activities recurs in the *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi Sutta* (*M.* III, 294), a discourse also concerned with 'dwelling in emptiness' (*suññatāvihāra*). This discourse opens with the Buddha lauding Sāriputta, who had just emerged from emptiness meditation. Proclaiming such dwelling in emptiness to be an abiding of superior men, the Buddha drew attention to the need to combine such meditative depth with everyday activities. As a practical example, he recommended that a monk should stay aloof from desire and aversion in regard to whatever he experiences while begging alms.

The *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi Sutta* continues by praising aloofness from sensual pleasures. It describes how a monk who is aloof from sensual pleasures overcomes the five hindrances, gains insight into the five aggregates and develops different aspects of the early Buddhist path of meditation. Here again dwelling in emptiness is set within the framework of a comprehensive meditative development that includes both tranquillity (*samatha*) and insight (*vipassanā*).

Contemplation of emptiness as a form of *samādhi* leads to removing all lust, hate and delusion (*A.* I, 299) and thus constitutes the path to the unconditioned (*S.* IV, 360). Such empty concentration

(*suññatā samādhi*) often occurs in the discourses as part of a set of three concentrations, together with signless (*animitta*) and desireless (*appaṇihita*) concentration (*D.* III. 219). Emptiness occurs also together with signlessness and desirelessness as the three types of contact experienced when emerging from the cessation of perception and feeling (*S.* IV. 295). These presentations underline the point made already above, namely that *suññatā* as a representative of not-self stands in an inseparable relation to the other two characteristics of existence, impermanence and unsatisfactoriness.

Contemplation of emptiness apparently has some affinity with the third of the four immaterial attainments, the sphere of nothingness, since one of the different ways to reach this deep concentrative experience is through contemplating 'this is empty of a self and what belongs to a self' (*M.* II, 263). From a Buddhist perspective, however, the sphere of nothingness would count only as a by-product of such contemplation, since the real goal to be achieved by contemplating 'this is empty of a self and what belongs to a self' is liberation. As the Buddha told Mogharāja in the *Sutta Nipāta*, by rooting out the view of self and by looking on the entire world of experience as empty, one will be able to transcend even death (*Sn.* 1119).

The same theme, though without explicit use of the term 'empty', recurs in other verses of the *Sutta Nipāta*, according to which the entire world is without any essence (*Sn.* 937), as are all acquisitions and all forms of existence (*Sn.* 364 and *Sn.* 5). These statements find their complement in a passage from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which defines the 'essence' of phenomena to be liberation (*A.* IV, 339). With a subtle undertone of humour, this discourse introduces a shift or perspective by taking 'essence' to represent what is 'essential', which is - liberation.

The various passages examined so far indicate that to speak of emptiness in early Buddhism is to qualify phenomena as being empty of a self or an abiding essence in them. This standpoint is characteristic not only of the early discourses, but also of the canonical *Abhidhamma*. The *Dhammasaṅganī*, the first book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, concludes each of its examinations of the factors found in any given state of mind with a *suññatāvāra*, a chapter on emptiness. This chapter has the sole purpose of drawing attention to the empty nature of all factors and phenomena treated in its analysis, apparently intended as a countermeasure to the all too natural tendency of investing the final products of the analytical procedure with an 'essence', however subtle it may be.

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, a work of *abhidhammic* nature but included in the fifth *Nikāya* of the Pāli canon, goes so far as to expound twenty-five types of emptiness (*Ps.* II. 177-184). Conspicuous among these twenty-five types of emptiness is the *Paṭisambhidāmagga's* proclamation that each of the five aggregates is empty by way of *sabhāva*, 'own nature' (*Ps.* II. 178), a statement reminiscent of the beginning of the Heart *Sūtra*.

The *Visuddhimagga*, a commentarial work of central importance in the *Theravāda* tradition, similarly accords a prominent place to emptiness. It makes a special point of declaring that the four noble truths should be considered from the perspective of emptiness. To implement this emptiness perspective requires the understanding that in an ultimate sense there is no one who suffers, just as there is no one who walks the path and no one who reaches the extinction of suffering.[2] With this injunction, the *Visuddhimagga* applies a thorough going conception of emptiness to the heart of the teaching itself.

The *Visuddhimagga* not only treats emptiness from a philosophical perspective, but also emphasizes the importance of emptiness from the perspective of meditative development. In its detailed account of the progress of insight towards stream-entry and the higher levels of awakening, the knowledge gained through contemplating emptiness (*suññatānupassanāñāṇa*) constitutes the culmination point of the meditative progress. The position and detailed treatment accorded to contemplation of emptiness at this point reflects the important role emptiness has to play, once a meditator is on the brink of the decisive break-through to gaining any of the four levels of awakening.

At this point, according to the *Visuddhimagga's* instruction (*Vism.* 653), one should proceed by contemplating all conditioned phenomena as empty, followed by undertaking a two-fold emptiness contemplation, followed by a four-fold, a six-fold, an eight-fold, a ten-fold, a twelve-fold emptiness and finally a forty-two-fold emptiness contemplation. These various emptiness contemplations are intended

to make sure that one's understanding of emptiness covers notion of self-hood as well as of ownership, that emptiness is applied to oneself and others alike, that emptiness is related to central categories such as the six sense-spheres, the five aggregates and the twelve links of dependent arising, and that emptiness is combined with insight into the impermanent and unsatisfactory nature of reality. This broad set of contemplation modes proposed in the *Visuddhimagga* reinforces insight into emptiness from different perspectives, ensuring that the Buddha's penetrative teaching on emptiness will be thorough and comprehensive, and thereby capable of leading to the liberating insight for which it is designed.

The Buddha's penetrative teaching on emptiness has not only been of central importance in the Pāli discourses, the *Abhidhamma* and the commentaries, but has also found eloquent expression in early canonical poetry. An example for such poetry, inspired by the profound implications of emptiness, occurs in a verse in the *Dhammapada* (*Dhp.* 93). This verse takes those who have reached the acme of emptiness by destroying the influxes as its theme. Such accomplished ones, the verse indicates, have emptiness as their resort or pasture. The implications of having such an 'empty' type of pasture, the verse draws out in the following manner:

> Those whose pasture is liberation,
> empty and free from any mark,
> their path is hard to track,
> like that of birds in the sky.[3]

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See also ANATTĀ, EMPTINESS, SAKKĀYADIṬṬHI.

Anālayo

References

1 The Chinese version is *Madhyama Āgama* discourse no 190, found in vol. 1 p 736 of the Taishō edition. The Tibetan version has been edited by P. Skilling: *Mahāsūtras*, *PTS* 1997.

2 *Vism.* 513: *Dukkham eva hi, na koci dukkhito ... atthi nibbuti, na nibbuto pumā, maggam atthi gamako na vijjati*; cf. also *Vism.* 602, which makes a similar point in regard to karma and its fruit.

3 *Dhp* 93: *suññato animitto ca, vimokho yassa gocaro, ākāse va sakuntānaṃ, padaṃ tassa durannayaṃ.*

ŚŪNYATĀ (2). *Śūnyatā* "Emptiness"[1] or "voidness", as some prefer to translate the term, has many meanings depending on the context in which it occurs (for instance *śūnyatā* in a mathematical sense). Here only the philosophically and soteriologically relevant meanings pertaining to Mahāyāna Buddhism will be considered.

It can be maintained that already in early Buddhism in the Pāli texts "emptiness" occupies a key position even though it is not found in the canonical texts as frequently as in the Mahāyāna discourses and treatises. Here a case in point is *Sn.* 1119. and in *Nd.* II. commenting on this passage, it says that the five aggregates should be contemplated as being 'empty', non-self, as being without essence *(asāraka)*... and conditioned *(saṅkhata)* and likewise, the text continues, ...existence *(bhava)* should be contemplated and the round of rebirths *(saṃsāravaṭṭa)* as a term for *paṭiccasamuppāda)*. Furthermore, at *Ps* II p. 67 for example, "emptiness" is shown to be one of the soteriologically most important terms designating "insight knowledge through emptiness-contemplation *(suññatānupassanāñāṇa)* inducing and actually being tantamount to one kind of liberation *(vimokkha)* realized by means of supramundane insight.

The origins of Mahāyāna are generally associated with the creation of the earliest texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature (ca. 1st cent. B.C.). According to this tradition an adept, aspiring after the perfection of wisdom *(prajñā)*, should realize not just the emptiness of a self or an individual *(pudgalanairātmya)* but of all phenomena, facts or factors of existence

 ŚŪNYATĀ(2)

(dharmanairātmya)[2]. It has been suggested that - as continually met with in the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts — the consistent reduction of each and every point of doctrine of both Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism to emptiness and thus to apparent non-validity was a reaction of the early Mahāyāna authors particularly to the Sarvāstivādins' reification of all phenomena as the very name of their school, viz. Sarvāstivāda, suggests: lit. "thesis that everything [really] exists". The doctrinal reductionism of the *Prajñāpāramitā* works has never been immune from serious misunderstanding by mistaking the reductionism for nihilism.

It is Nāgārjuna, the first systematizer of the Perfection of Wisdom literature, and other luminaries of the Madhyamaka or Śūnya[tā]vāda School who have made it clear that the central teaching of emptiness amounts to a 'therapeutic' philosophy cum soteriology.[3] This 'soteriological therapy' comprises a most original, systematic and methodologically rigorous philosophy of the Middle Way *(madhyamā pratipad)* set forth in order to avoid all facets of the two extreme views of eternalism *(satkāyadṛṣṭi)* and annihilationism *(ucchedadṛṣṭi)* as well as all conceptual dichotomies inherent in one's positing facts *(dharmas)* or entities *(bhāva)*.[4] The Middle Way philosophy, the Mādhyamaka, of Nāgārjuna and his successors, the Mādhyamikas also came to be known as Śūnyatāvāda or Niḥsvabhāvavāda for in their dialectical reductionism its exponents make extensive use of the tetralemma *(catuṣkoṭi)* inherited from the historical Buddha and also of logical constructions as salvatory means *(upāya)*[5] in order to demonstrate that all phenomena or facts and all entities are empty of an own-being or self-nature *(svabhāva)*, viz. non-substantial *(niḥsvabhava)*.

The Mādhyamika's reductionism, his dialectically reducing all dichotomizing, all dogmatic standpoints to *śūnyatva* as the 'characteristic' of all *dharmas* can be exemplified, for instance, by Nāgārjuna's analytical deconstruction of self-nature' in the 15th chapter of his *magnum opus*.[6]By definition own-being or self-nature should be something uncaused, unconditioned and thus unmade and independent of anything else *(akrtrima, nirapekṣa)*. Moreover, *svabhāva* thus defined would necessarily entail something static, viz. permanence of self-nature,[7] and this permanence would again entail a host of consequential absurdities. An unmade, unconditioned and permanent self-nature would, for example, amount to a total lack of dynamic, so to speak, not allowing of any evolution, advancement etc. or of a possibility to overcome the fact of ignorance by gaining insight into the Four Noble Truths. Contrary to suchlike embarrassing conclusions, Nāgārjuna states: *yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaḥ śūnyatāṃ tāṃ pracakṣmahe/ sā prajñaptir upādāya pratipat saiva madhyamā.//*[8] In this verse the soteriological dimension of emptiness is highlighted, although as the Middle Way it is considered a metaphorical designation (*prajñaptir upādāya*) in the same context, all the same, emptiness is equated with dependent origination, and as such *śūnyatā* consisting of the Middle Way, does in fact enable those in quest of a Bodhisattva's career[9] and Supreme Enlightenment to realize their goal, which possibility the defender of *svabhāva* categorically has to exclude. For an adequate, albeit 'discursive' understanding of the equation of, *śūnyatā* with *pratītyasamutpāda* a few words should be said about the fundamental teaching of two levels of truth *(satyadvaya)*.

The above famous and oft-quoted *kārikā* is preceded by four verses to facilitate its comprehensibility.[10] Nāgārjuna states that the Buddhas set forth the Dharma on the basis of two truths, viz. of conventional truth belonging to the surface level of *saṃvṛti*, and of absolute truth pertaining to the level of ultimate reality *(paramārtha)*. Those who are not thoroughly conversant with these two different levels of *satya* have no access to the profundity of the Buddha's teachings. Without reliance on conventional truth *(vyvahāram anāśritya) paramārtha* is not pointed out, and without realizing absolute truth Nirvāna is not attained, and finally Nāgārjuna expressly warns against mistaking emptiness for any aspect of annihilationism on the part of those with low intelligence whose speculative views on *śūnyatā (śūnyatādṛṣṭi)* are compared to a wrongly grasped poisonous snake. Here there is left no doubt about it that the basic principles of Buddhism are not at all refuted or rejected by Madhyamaka reductionism; they are, on the contrary, shown to be absolutely prerequisite to a communication of absolute truth. In this connection the Buddha's similes of the snake and raft in the *Alagaddūpamasutta (M.* No. 22) may be recalled just for the sake of comparison. *Vyavahāra* would correspond to the raft indispensable for crossing over,

but to be left behind at the level of *paramārtha*. Now the above *kārikā* equating *śūnyatā* with *pratītyasamutpāda* conclusively refutes the alleged Madhyamaka nihilism. Emptiness, considered as *vyavahāra*, is the Middle Way by which annihilationism is avoided in that dependent origination is not denied and, on the other hand, eternalism is not resorted to because designations (including emptiness itself) and dependently originated concepts are not hypostasized as real but are seen as being empty of self-nature.

By eschewing the two extremes, as mentioned, the Madhyamaka philosophy takes account of the multiplicity of phenomena at the level of conventional truth, whilst at the *paramārtha* level, so it is revealed, one's postulating *dharmas* as dichotomized entities has come to an end. Steering clear of either positing a pluralism of entities or a single entity of monistic oneness, emptiness as *prajñapti*, at the *saṃvṛti* level designating *śūnyatā* as characteristic of all phenomena, is the salvatory means to realize *śūnyatā* as the truth of the emptiness of all *dharmas* and as non-dual gnosis *(advayajñāna)*. Emptiness as *paramārtha* (cf. the above reference to *Ps*., p. 67) is emphasized by Nāgārjuna thus: *karmakleśakṣayān mokṣah karmakleśā vikalpataḥ /te prapañcāt prapañcas tu śūnyatāyāṃ nirudhyate//*.[11] Liberation is won through the cessation of karma and the mental defilements which are due to dichotomizing ideation *(vikalpa)* and originate from diversification *(prapañca)*. It is in emptiness as *paramārtha* that diversification comes to an end. Nāgārjuna's scriptural authority for emptiness *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* in which *śūnyatā* is also equated with the *Tathāgata*. (See TATHĀGATA 2), symbolizing non-dual gnosis.

In some of the later *Prajñāpāramitā* texts twenty modes of *śūnyatā* are dealt with and in a commentary treating its topics from a Yogācāra standpoint, sixteen modes of emptiness are discussed.[12] Since these modes are just elaborations, in spite of their scholastic intricacies substantially adding nothing new to Nāgārjunian thought, they are not treated here. The Yogācārins/Vijñānavādins also consider *śūnyatā* a very important term but, unlike the Mādhyamikas, they subscribe to the reality of *vijñāna* as 'substratum', and only the form of its appearance, i.e. the dualism of a consciousness and its perceived object they take to be unreal.[13] For further details see TATHĀGATA-GARBHA, YOGĀCĀRA. As for the Mādhyamikas extending Nāgārjuna's philosophy concerning emptiness, see BHĀVAVIVEKA, CANDRAKĪRTI.

In Tantric Buddhism emptiness is the diamond-like nature of reality being one with the clear light of blissful non- dual gnosis. The philosophical foundation of Buddhist Tantra is the Śūnyavāda and Yogācāra philosophy. The Tantric schools hold that the following gradation of emptiness obtains: 1) emptiness relativity *(paratantra)*, 2) super-emptiness *(ati-śūnya)*, illusory appearance (parikalpita). 3) great emptiness *mahāśūnya-pariniṣpanna)*, condition and support of the preceding two, 4) absolute emptiness *(sarvaśūnya)* the Vajradhara as universally luminous consciousness.[14] 'For further details, see VAJRAYĀNA.

In conclusion it may he said that the above references to places in the Pāli canon have been made with a view to cautioning against the speculative query as to how "Buddhism, just at the time when Christianity itself arose, underwent a radical reform of its basic tenets which made it much more similar to Christianity than it had been before?..."[15] In this context see also D. Seyfort Ruegg's article "The Kalawān Copper-Plate Inscription: Early Evidence for Mahāyāna -Type Thinking?" in which he writes that often "there is no neat, clean and abrupt break between (proto-) Mahāyāna and preceded it: often we have to do continuing development rather than total discontinuity."[16]

Bhikkhu Pasādika

References

[1] The Sanskrit term *śūnyatā* is derived from √śū,'swell', and' hollowness' is implicit in something swollen.

[2] See *AsP*., p. 313: *sarvadharmāḥ śūnyaḥ*

[3] This expression can be justified on the grounds of *A*. III, p. 22 f. and *D*. III, p. 242, where among the 'five approaches to deliverance',

(*vimuttāyatana*) the fourth consists in pondering (*anuvitakka*), scrutiny (*anuvicāra*), and careful consideration (*anupekkhaṇatā*). For a discussion of these five vis-à-vis their Sanskrit equivalents see Bh. Pāsādika, "Zu den Zitaten in Yasomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhya* in Y.Karunadasa (ed.), *Ānanda. Papesrs on Buddhism and Indology*, Ananda W.P. Guruge Felicitation Vol., Colombo, 1990, pp. 26 f., 30.

[4] See the apt remark by David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India* (Wiesbaden, 1981), p. 7, n. 16: "The Madhyamikas do not themselves claim that the *dharmanairātmya* was their own discovery and that it was unknown to the Śrāvakas… For the canonical formula *Sabbe dhammā anattā* See *Saṃyutta Nikāya* III, p. 132-4, and IV, p. 401…"

[5] See Richard H. Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika in India and China*, Delhi, 1976,p. 50 ff.

[6] See *Mdhvr.*, p. 259ff. For a reśume of the *Mūla-Madhyamakakārikās* see Seyfort Ruegg 1981, pp. 9-18.

[7] *Mdhvr.*, p. 508 XXIV, 26): *svabhāvahsamavasthitaḥ, i.e. svabhāvahsa-mavasthitaḥ, svabhāvasyānthāvtaṃ nāsti*, as commented upon by Candrakirti (*ibid.*, p. 509).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 503 (xxiv, 18)

[9] As for the statement in Buddhological literature that the author of *Madhvr.* was no Mahayanist, see ibid., p. 511, (XXIV, 32), not to mention other works with good reason attributed to Nāgārjuna

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 492-5 (XXIV, 8-11).

[11] *Ibid.* p. 349 f. (XVIII, 5). See E.R. Saratchandra, *Buddhist Psychology of Perception*, Colombo 1958, p. 9f., Referring to *Thag.*,vv. 989, 990, attributed to Sāriputta, where " Nibbāna is spoken of as being the antithesis of *papañca* ". Incidentally, *Thag.*, v. 1014 (also attributed to Sāriputta), is perhaps the earliest evidence for the term 'perfection of wisdom' (*paññāpāramita*) in Buddhist literature.

[12] See T.R.V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, London, 1955, p. 351 ff.

[13] *Ibid.* p. 8.

[14] See Giuseppe Tucci , *Th'eorie et pratique du Mandala*, Paris 1974, p. 119 (original title : *Teoria E pratica del Mandala*, Rome, 1969).

[15] See Edward Conze , *Thirty years of Buddhist Studies*, Oxford, 1967, p. 49.

[16] *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2005), p. 9.

SŪTRASAMUCCAYA. Chiefly is an anthology of *sūtra* quotations which, according to Candrakirti, Śāntideva, Kamalaśīla, Atiśa and well-known representatives of Tibetan Buddhism, notably Tsoṅ kha pa, was compiled and structured by Nāgārjuna, the author of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*. Thus it says in Śantideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (V, 105-6):

Śikṣāsamuccayo 'vaśyaṃ draṣṭavyaś ca punah punah
vistareṇa sadācāro yasmāt tatra pradarśitaḥ
saṅkṣepeṇāthavā tāvat paśyet Sūtra- samuccayam
āryaNāgārjunābaddhaṃ dvitīyaṃ ca prayatnataḥ

"One should certainly consult the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* again and again because in this (work) at length the conduct of the true (friends of sentient beings) is set forth; or one may, indeed, diligently also look at a second (work of the same genre, treating the topics) concisely, (viz.) the *Sutrasamuccaya* brought out by the Noble Nāgārjuna."

Since Nāgārjuna is best known for his dialectical treatises (*yukti*) whilst other texts dealing with the given themes *āgamataḥ* and traditionally also ascribed to him were far less known to modem scholars, the above verses referring to two compendia belonging to the second type of non-*yukti* works, occasioned a scholarly debate on the interpretation of the above verses in particular and on the authorship of the *Sūtrasamuccaya* in general. This debate lasted for decades, and even nowadays absolute certainty in this regard does not exist. Nevertheless, it seems justified

to speak of Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya* so long as the traditional attribution of this compendium to him has not been completely and convincingly disproved.

In his third *Bhāvanākrama*, of which the Sanskrit original has been preserved, Kamalaśīla quotes a sentence from the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, being the compiler's own words (Namdol 1985, p. 241):

na copāyakauśalarahitena bodhisattvena gambhīradharmatāyām abhiyoktavyam

Apart from this passage, a number of quotations in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* can be traced in other texts extant in Sanskrit, mainly being sources on which also Śāntideva has drawn in his compendia. The *Sūtrasamuccaya* as a whole, however, has not come down to us in its original. It is preserved in a Tibetan translation in the *Tanjur* (see D.T. Suzuki, *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, Peking Edition, Tokyo/Kyoto 1958, Vol. 102, No.5330, pp. 81-113). The translators, according to the colophon found in all Tanjur recensions of the text, were Jinamitra, Śīendrabodhi and Ye śes sde. According to D. Seyfort Ruegg, Ye śes sde's *floruit*- and that of his Indian colleagues-was ca. 800 A.C. (Seyfort Ruegg 1981, p. 85, n. 278). The Chinese translation of the *Sūtrasamuccaya* is found in the *Taishō* edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, Vol. 32, No.1635, done by Fa-hu (Dharmapāla) *et al.* during the Northern Song dynasty. This translation must have been made ca. 1000 A.C. That considerable importance was attached to the *Sūtrasamuccaya* as a Nagarjunian work by the Tibetans can be deduced from the fact that a Dunhuang fragment of this text written in archaic Tibetan characters (kept in the India Office Library in London) was found, being the oldest of all *Sūtrasamuccaya* materials available to us. Tibetan texts must have been written in Dunhuang during the Tibetan occupation from ca. 785-848 A.C.

The *Sūtrasamuccaya* consists of 146 quotations from 71 Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna scriptures so that this work can be called an anthology or collection of source materials. Nāgārjuna has, moreover, structured his *samuccaya* by way of (gradual instruction', surely inspired by a Sanskrit equivalent to the Buddha's *ānupubbikathā* in the Pāli canon (*D* I, 110; *M.* I, 379, etc.). The *sutra* passages of the anthology are organized into a system which later on came to be known and was further developed as the *mārgakrama*, *lam -rim* in Tibetan, genre of Buddhist literature. Nāgārjuna has grouped his quotations according to themes and sub-themes, each of which are succinctly introduced by him in his own words. The themes of the *Sūtrasamuccaya* are as follows:

1. The Utmost Rarity of a Buddha's Appearance
2. The Utmost Rarity of Being Born a Human Being
3. The Rarity of Obtaining an Auspicious Rebirth
4. The Rarity of Having Confidence
5. The Rarity of Aspiring after Buddha- hood
6. The Rarity of Great Compassion
7. The Rarity of Giving up Obstructive Conditions
8. The Rarity of Really Serious Dharma- practice on the Part of Householders
   - (a) The Dharma-practice of House- holder-bodhisattvas
   - (b) Wrong Practice, the Evil of Taking Life, etc.
   - (c) Further Wrong Practice on the Part of Lay Persons -Attachment to Life, Riches, etc.
   - (d) Spiritual Friends (*kalyāṇamitra*) Prerequisite to Really Serious Dharma-practice
9. The Utmost Rarity of Beings who are Truly and Resolutely Intent on the Tathāgata's Complete Nirvāna
10. The Utmost Rarity of Beings who are Resolutely Intent on Ekayāna
11. The Utmost Rarity of Beings who Progress Towards a Buddha's and Bodhisattva's Sublime and Exalted Position

The key feature in the above list of themes is the term 'rarity' (*durlabha(tva)*) which also plays a considerable role in the Pāli canon. Thus the first theme is strongly reminiscent of *tathāgatassa... pātubhāvo dullabho lokasmiṃ* (*A* I, 266, etc.), the second of *kiccho manussapaṭilābho* (*Dhp.* 182, etc.). The first and second theme, furthermore, are illustrated with the help of the well-known parable of the blind turtle which Nāgārjuna quotes from the *Saṃyuktāgama* (cf. *S* V, 455ff.; *M* III, 169), and the third by means of a long quotation from the *Ekottarikāgama* tallying with the *Akkhaṇasutta* (*A* IV, 225ff.). By citing from suchlike

basic texts before drawing on typical Mahāyāna discourses extolling the bodhisattva ideal of the Great Vehicle, Nāgārjuna wished to bring home that also followers of the Bodhisattvayāna should have a firm grounding in the roots of Buddhism. This fact seems corroborated by his highlighting Ekayāna (tenth theme), the 'unique vehicle', whose adepts are expected wholeheartedly to promote universal harmony and the welfare of all sentient beings: "The three vehicles (*śrāvaka-,pratyekabuddha-, bodhisattvayāna*) (should in reality be) seen as one vehicle. By realizing (the ultimate peace of) Ekayāna one realizes the highest, complete and full enlightenment" (Pāsādika 1989, p. 131). Nāgārjuna's preferring Ekayāna as 'no *yāna*' (cf. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* II, v. 204) to any of the traditional schools could perhaps be related to his statement (*yuktitaḥ*) at *Vigrahavyāvartanī* 29: *nāsti ca mama pratijñāasmān naivāsti me doṣaḥ.* "I have no thesis; therefore (in my dialectical probings) I am flawless."

For particularly two reasons the *Sūtrasamuccaya* is an important text in Buddhist Studies: a) Provided the Nagarjunian authorship of the *samuccaya* can be accepted, this anthology is an indispensable document in that it furnishes us with the *terminus ad quem* (Nāgārjuna ca. 200 A.C.; cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1981, p. 4ff., n. 11) for at least the textual nuclei of a large number of Mahāyāna discourses such as the *Ajātaśatruparivarta, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, Laṅkāvatārasūtra* or *Mahāsaṃnipāta-parivarta;* b) it gives us rare glimpses of Nāgārjuna's personality, preventing us from considering the foremost systematizer of Mahāyāna exclusively as a dialectitian or even dialectical destructionist; he was, first of all, a progressive traditionalist whose heart's concern was to concentrate, in every respect, on the core of Buddhism, viz. on *madhyamā pratipad*, on acting *kāyavāṅmanasena karmaṇā* in accordance with the Buddha's Middle Way.

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Bikkhu Pasādika

SUTTANIPĀTA, is the fifth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (the collection of short Anthologies), the fifth collection of the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Theravāda School of Buddhism. It is in metrical form with sporadic short prose lines, giving the context related to the preaching of the particular Discourse. Though incorporated in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* along with the books of the later stratum of the Pāli canon, some of the *Suttas* in the *Suttanipāta* undisputedly belong to the earliest stratum, in the context of Buddhist thought contained, as well as the language. Hence the *Suttanipāta* is a unique compilation with assorted *Suttas*, representing more than one stratum of the Pali canonical literature.

The name *Suttanipāta* itself has stimulated an interesting discussion among the scholars. Jayawickrama[1] has pointed out that the term "*Nipāta*" is seldom or never used in Pali to mean a collection. The *Nipāta* usually signifies a part of a bigger work; e.g. the *Nipātas* in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the *Jātaka*, *Thera* and *Therī Gāthās* etc. The above usage is freely found in the Pali commentaries, chronicles of Sri Lankan origin. Jayawickrama opines that *Nipāta* meaning a section of a work, is a word belonging to a period simultaneous with arrangement and classification of the Pali canon and probably acquired this meaning only after the classification of *suttas* took place. The complete absence of this word in this

meaning in proper canonical Pali shows that the term belongs to a later stratum of the language. It is significant to note in the present context that the oldest reference to the collection named *"Suttanipāta"* is found in the *Milindapañha.*

In the meantime Oliver Abenayaka[2] questions why a separate book named *Suttanipāta* was necessary when *Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas* represent the *sutta* proper. He opines that "it came to existence as an example for *"Suttaṅga* due to the effort made to collect certain *suttas* scattered over the early Nikyas and distinct sections such as *"Aṭṭhaka"* and *Pāryanas* which were not incorporated in the older texts". He further points out that a number of discourses in the *Suttanipāta* is specially mentioned in the commentaries as examples of the *Suttaṅga.* It is also shown that the discourses of the first four *Nikāyas* are not exemplified in the commentaries, when *Suttaṅga* is explained. The *Sumaṅgalavilāsini DA.* I. 23) explaining the *Suttaṅga* in the *Navaṅgasatthusāsana* (Nine fold Division of the teachings of the Buddha) says:

"Tattha ubhato Vibhaṅga-Niddesa-Khandhaka-parivāra Sutta Nipāte Maṅgala Sutta Ratana Sutta Nālaka Sutta Tuvaṭaka Sutta aññampi. Suttanāmakam Tathāgata vacanaṃ Suttanti Veditabbaṃ."

"There both *Vibhaṅgas, Niddesa, Khandhaka, Parivāra, Maṅgala, Ratana Nālaka, Tuvaṭaka Suttas* in the *Suttanipāta* and the other Buddha's teachings named *suttas* should be understood as *suttas."*

Thus it should be clear that according to the argument of Oliver Abenayaka, *Suttanipāta* corresponds to the first "Limb" *Suttaṅga.* According to Jayawickrama at least some of the *Suttas* if not the majority of them, in the *Suttanipāta* can be said to belong to the *Suttaṅga* of the *Navaṅga Satthusāsana* (University of Ceylon Review, April 1948, page 80).

Independent existence of *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas* before the compilation of the *Suttanipāta*: It is of vital importance that *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas* have had Independent Existence prior to their incorporation in the *Suttanipāta* as found today. The *Aṭṭhakavagga* and the *Pārāyanavaggas* are referred elsewhere in the canon without referring to the *Suttanipāta.* According to the *Udāna (Ud.* p. 59) once Ven. Sona came from Avanti to Sāvatthi in order to see the Buddha. At the request of the Buddha Ven. Ananda arranged lodgings for Venerable Sona in the same dwelling place with the Buddha. In the night the Buddha said thus to Venerable Sona: Be so good monk as to recite the *Dhamma.* 'Very well sir" said Ven. Sona in obedience to the Buddha and recited from memory the sixteen sections of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* in full. When Ven. Sona had finished his recital, the Buddha praised him. This shows that the *(Udāna* is anterior to the *Suttanipāta* and when the *Udāna* was compiled the *Aṭṭhakavagga,* the fourth *Vagga* of present *Suttanipāta* existed as one independent poem and the *Sutanipāta* with *Aṭṭhakavagga* was probably not in existence. The *Vinaya Mahāvagga (Vin.* I, 196) recounts the same incident without referring to the *Suttanipāta.* Similarly the *Samyutta Nikāya* refers to *Māgandiya pañha (Māgandiya Sutta)* without referring to the *Suttanipāta.*

Had the *Suttanipāta* was in existence containing the *Aṭṭhakavagga,* it would have been referred to as *"Suttanipāte Aṭṭhakavagge māgandhiya pañhe".* Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the *Aṭṭhakavagga* was existing independent of the *Suttanipāta,* when the *Samyutta Nikāya* was compiled.

Further it is seen that the *Pārāyanavagga,* too, has been in existence independently before it was incorporated into the *Suttanipāta.* The *Samyutta Nikāya* refers to *Ajithapañha (Ajitha sutta)* of the *Pārāyanavagga (Pārāyane ajitha pañhe S.* II p 49) with no mention of the *Suttanipāta.* Moreover, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (A. II, p.49) speak of *Puṇṇaka pañha(Puṇṇaka sutta)* of the *Pārāyana* not of the *Suttanipāta.* The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* refers to *Metteyyapañha* (A. III, p. 399) independent of the *Suttanipāta. Aṅguttara Nikāya (A.* IV, p. 63) describes how Velukanṭaki Nandamāt ārecited whole of the *Pārāyana* in a sweet voice having got up early in the morning. Altogether it is six times quoted or referred to by name as a separate poem in the *Nikāya.* Thus there is sufficient evidence in the canon itself to show the independent existence of the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana vaggas* prior to their incorporation in the *Suttanipāta.*

Contents of the *Suttanipāta* (other than the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana Vaggas*) seen in other parts of the Canon: It is significant that, in addition to the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana Vaggas* more contents

of the *Suttanipāta* are found elsewhere in the canon. Out of the thirty eight *suttas* contained in the first three *Vaggas Uraga, Culla* and *Mahā* twelve suttas are found in other parts of the canon. *Maṅgala, Ratana* and *Metta suttas* are found in the *Khuddaka pāṭha*. However the *Khuddaka pāṭha* is posterior to the *Suttanipāta*. It is possible that those *suttas* have been taken from *Suttanipāta* to the *Khuddaka pāṭha*. *Khaggavisāna Sutta* is found in the *Pacceka-Buddhāpadāna* of the *Apadāna*. *Kasibhāradvaja, Alawaka, Suciloma* and *Subhāsita Suttas* are included in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. *Kokālika sutta* with its first four *Gāthās* are also found in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. The *Sela* and the *Vāseṭṭha* Suttas are seen in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The *Hiri Sutta* is found in the *Jātaka* text. Some *Gāthās* of the *Padhāna Sutta* are found in the *Kathāvatthu*, an *Abhidhidhamma* treatise. In addition we also find numerous isolated verses in the thirty eight *Suttas* in very ancient documents. The most probable explanation is that these were current as proverbs or as favourite sayings (either in the community or perhaps among the people at large), before they were independently incorporated in the different poems in which they are now found. Therefore it could be assumed that single verses, single poems and single cantos *(vaggas)* had all been in existence before the *Suttanipāta* assumed the present form. The *Khaggavisāna Sutta* could be cited as an example of a single *sutta* that existed independently before its inclusion in the *Suttanipāta*.

***Suttanipāta* and the *Niddesa*:** The *Suttanipāta* has another peculiarity namely the last two *vaggas* of it, *Aṭṭhaka Vagga, Pārāyana vagga* and the *Khagga visāna sutta*, the third *sutta* of the *Uraga vagga* have an ancient commentary called the *Niddesa* included in the canon, a feature none of the other canonical texts has. The *Niddesa* is included in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* as its eleventh book. Here is yet another proof that the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, the *Pārāyana vagga* and the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* had their independent existence before they were accommodated in the *Suttanipāta*. An Examination of the *Culla Niddesa*, where the *Pārāyana vagga* is commented shows that the *Vatthu Gāthās* of the *Pārāyana Vagga* have not been commented. It shows that the *Pārāyana Vagga* did not have the *Vatthu Gāthās*, when the *Niddesa* was composed. If the *Vatthu Gāthās* were there, there appears no valid reason which prevented commenting upon them. The scholars are of the opinion that the *Vatthu Gāthās* were added to the *Pārāyana vagga*, when it was incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*.

Buddhist Sanskrit literature: It is significant that some of the Pali *Suttas* found in the *Suttanipāta* can be found in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts such as the *Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara* etc.

Pabbajjā, Padhāna, Nālaka and *Sabhiya Suttas* of the *Suttanipāta* can be found in the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*[3]. The *Nālaka Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* has twenty *Vatthu Gāthās*. But in the *Mahāvastu* those *Vatthu Gāthās* are absent.[4] The *Aṭṭhakavagga* is referred to in the *Divyāvadāna, Sarvstivdavinaya, Mahisāsakavinaya, Dharmaguptavinaya* and *Mahā Sāṅghikavinaya*[5]. Jayawickrama points out that the *Aṭṭhaka vagga* is referred to in the *Abhidharmakoṣa and Bodhisatva Bhūmi*.[6] Further he is of the opinion that the *'Arthavargiyāni Sūtrāni* referred to in various Buddhist Sanskrit works refer to the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*.[7]

Sarvastivādivinaya refers to the *Pārāyana Vagga* too.[8] One passage of *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* speaks of both *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vaggas*. *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāsā* and *Vinayamātṛkā* also refer to same.[9] The *Mahāvastu (Makavastu I. 35f)* refers to *Khaggavisāna Sutta* as *Khaggavisāna Gāthās*. But it has only twelve *Gāthās*, but the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* has forty *Gāthās*. *Lamotte* has pointed out that more than half of the discourses found in the *Suttanipāta* are mentioned in the Indian works such as *Samyuktāgama, Divyāvadāna, Mahāvastu, Vibhāsā Abhidharmakoṣa, Prajñāpāramitopadesa* and *Bodhisatvabhumi*.[10] However it is significant that no complete *Suttanipāta* has been found among the Buddhist Sanskrit works. Nor do the name *Suttanipāta* has been found anywhere. It shows that the *Suttanipāta* has been compiled as a separate work subsequent to the birth of the dissident Buddhist sects.

Chinese *Tripiṭaka*: The *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta* exists in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, in full, bearing the title "I tsu-Ching" or *Arthapada Sūtra* and is a collection of sixteen *Sūtras* which correspond to the Pali *Aṭṭhakavagga*. It is said that the Chinese translation has been made from an Indian text written in one of the Indian Prakrits.[11]" According to Anesaki the Chinese translation belong to the third century A. C.[12] A comparison of the Pāli *Aṭṭhakavagga* with the Chinese *Arthapada Sūtra* shows that the order of the

sutta/ *sūtra* has not been changed up to the first nine. But the order differs after the ninth. It is also noted that the Chinese version was preceded by a prose introduction which is not found in the Pāli *Aṭṭhakavagga*. Bapath further points out that the subject matter of both versions is similar. But the Chinese version describes the 'Muni' ideal in the last stanza of almost every *Sūtra* which is not found in the Pali version.[13] It is important that no complete *Suttanipāta* is found in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the Chinese translation of the *Aṭṭakavagga* has been made before the *Aṭṭhakavagga* was incorporated into the *Suttanipāta*.

Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts discovered from Central Asia: The Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts discovered from Central Asia have reference to some of the *Suttas* now found in the *Suttanipāta*. Among the fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit texts discovered at East Turkestan were those of the *Arthavargiya sūtra*, the Buddhist Sanskrit version of *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*. An examination of the fragments have proved the existence of fragments of *Tissametteyya, Pasura* and *Māgandiya Suttas* among the fragments. The prose introduction of the *Purābheda Sutta* too, was found; but the Pali *Purābheda Sutta* does not have a prose introduction, as it exists today.[14] These fragmental Manuscripts show the antiquity of the content of the *Suttanipāta*. But no further information could be gathered as the manuscripts were in fragments.

Asoka's Moral code: It is well known that the great Maurya Emperor Asoka has recommended seven texts to be studied by monks in his Bhabru / Bairat Rock inscription in the third century B.C. A comparison of the inscription and the *Suttanipāta* shows that three out of the seven texts *(Dhamma Paliyāyas)* are among the contents of the *Suttanipāta*. **i. e.** *Munigāthā, Moneyyasutta* and the *Upatisapasine* of the Beirut inscription, which are identified with *Munisutta, Nālakasutta* and *Sāriputtasutta* of the *Suttanipāta*.[15] But Jayawickrama is of the opinion that at least four out of the seven *Dhammapaliyāyas* of Asoka are in the *Suttanipāta*.[16] However it is seen that Asoka's moral code has great deal in common with *suttas* such as *Parābhava, Vasala* and *Maṅgala suttas* of the *Suttanipāta*. Therefore it is clear that Asoka has based his Moral code on the above *suttas* or a similar literature. Thus it could be reasonably presumed that Asoka knew the above *suttas*, but not as the content of the Anthology called the *Suttanipāta*. If so he would have named the Anthology from which he took the material. Possibly the suttas were existing independent of any collection at the time.

Contents: The *Suttanipāta* contains one thousand one hundred fifty four *gāthās* divided into five *Vaggas*, *Uraga Vagga, Culla Vagga, Mahā Vagga, Aṭṭhaka Vagga* and the *Pārāyana Vagga*. The first *Uraga Vagga* consists of twelve *suttas; Uraga, Dhaniya, Khaggavisāṇa, Kasibhāradvāja, Cunda, Parābhava, Vasala, Metta, Hemavata, Āḷavaka, Vijaya*, and *Muni*. The second *CullaVagga* has fourteen *suttas* named *Ratana, Āmagandha, Hiri, Maṅgala, Suciloma, Dhammacariya, Brahmana Dhamma (Navā), Kimsila, Uṭṭhāna, Rāhula, Nigrodhakappa (vaṅgisa), Samāparibbajaniya* and *Dhammika*.

Mahāvagga, the third, has twelve *suttas* named *Pabbajjā, Padhāna, Subhāsita, Sundarikabhāradvaja Māgha, Sabhiya, Sela, Salla, Vāseṭṭha, Kokālika, Nālaka* and *Dvayatānupassanā*.

Aṭṭhakavagga, the fourth named after the *suttas* having eight *gāthās*, consists of sixteen *suttas* designated *Kāma, Guhaṭṭhaka Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka Suddhaṭṭhaka, Paramaṭṭhaka, Jarā Tissametteyya, Pasūra, Māgandhiya, Purābheda, Kalahavivāda, Cūlaviyūha, Mahāviyūha, Tuvaṭaka Attadanda* and *Sāriputta*. The last, *Pārāyana vagga* contains sixteen short *suttas*, (preceded by fifty six *Vatthugāthās* or introductory *Gāthās*) such as *Ajitamānava Pucchā Tissametteyyamānava Pucchā, Puṇṇakamānava Puccha, Mettagumānava Pucchā, Dhotakamānava Pucchā, UpasivamānavaPucchā, Nandamānava Pucchā, Hemakamānava Puccha, Todeyyamānava Pucchā, Kappamānava Pucchā, JatukaṇṇamānavaPucchā, Bhadraudhamānava Pucchā, Udayamānava Pucchā and Pindiyamānava Pucchā*, the total of which comes to sixteen.

According to the commentary, *Suttanipāta* consist of eight "Bhānavāras". Each Bhānavāra has two hundred and fifty *gāthās* with eight syllable *Pādas*. Thus it has sixty four thousand syllables. *Suttanipāta* is a metrical composition. But there are some *suttas* with short prose introductions. The scholars point out that the prose passages are younger than the verses and were composed when the *Suttanipta* was arranged

as a separate unit. It is significant that the *Paramatthajotikā, the Suttanipāta* commentary, says that the *Suttanipāta* has hundred *Gāthās* mix prose and verse expositions (*Gāthā Sata Samkinno Veyyākaranañkito- SnA. Introduction*). The contents of the *Suttanipāta* is highly heterogeneous; the contents ranges from simple *suttas* of popular Buddhism, such as the *Ratana sutta* etc. to highly philosophical *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhakavagga*. The *suttas* contained are of different types. There are *suttas* of popular character like *Ratana, Parābhava, Vasala* and *Metta* etc. Yakkha Ballads like *Ālavaka, Suciloma* and *Hemavata*, the Pastoral Ballads like *Dhaniya* and *Kasibhāradvaja*, *suttas* such as *Pabbajjā Padhāna* which deal with the early phase of the Buddha's life, *suttas* that highlight the Muni ideal such as *Muni Sutta, Moneyya Sutta*, those that praise solitude like *Khaggavisāna, Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vaggas* representing the pinnacle of the Buddha's teachings. Further young and old material exist side by side. The arrangement of the *suttas* appear haphazard.

A couple of *suttas* representing each type are examined in the following lines in order to illustrate the nature of the contents of the anthology. The examination of the contents of the *suttas* such as *Parābhava, Vasala*, and the *Metta* in the *Uraga Vagga* and *Maṅgala* and the *Ratana* shows that they belong to the realm of popular Buddhism. They do not deal with termination of suffering and the realization of *Nibbāna*, the 'Summum Bonum" of the religious life taught by the Master. The *suttas* are meant for the ordinary laymen and provide secular advice for their well being. *Parābhava sutta* presented as a dialogue between the Buddha and a deity enumerates the causes for the down fall of a person in the secular life. However it is noted that the vices and evils shown as the causes of downfall of a person in the *Parābhava sutta* are not denounced only by the Buddha. Those are the evils and vices generally denounced by the contemporary Indian society as well. The *Vasala sutta* explains the causes that makes a person an out caste according to Buddhism. Both the *suttas* agree with each other in the subject matter, style and language, metre etc. But the significance of the *Vasala sutta* is that it bravely declares that it is by one's own action that a person becomes an out caste (*vasala*) or a Brahamin (high cast), a unique Buddhist contribution to Indian ethics.

Maṅgala (Mahā Maṅgala) Sutta is complimentary to the *Parābhava Sutta*. The two *suttas* categorically state factors that lead to downfall and misery and those considered blessings which ultimately makes a person happy and content. The perfection of mind under all conflicting circumstances (*Phuṭṭhassa loka dhammehi cittam yassa na kampoti*) taught in the *Mahāmaṅgala sutta* is characteristically a Buddhist concept. *Ratana Suttia's* popular character is seen in the very first stanza which invokes the good will of the spirits for the protection of human beings. But the main theme of the *sutta* is the exaltation of the "Triple gem" (*Ratanattaya*) Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. One may see in this *sutta* a synthesis of popular cults and Buddhism. Yet the synthesis is very remote from being complete. There is no real adaptation of Buddhism to popular cults and ritual, but on the contrary popular Buddhism has taken for granted a prevalent cult. The *Metta Sutta* is another popular *sutta* in the *Suttanipāta*, used as "Paritta" in popular Buddhism. According to the commentary *Paramattajotikā*, it was preached by the Buddha as a topic for meditation to the monks and to serve the purpose of a "Paritta" to ward off dangers arising from evil spirits. The inclusion of the *sutta* along with its companion *Suttas* such as *Maṅgala* and *Ratana* in the *Khuddakapāṭha*, a hand book of popular Buddhism, indicate their popularity from comparatively early times.

The *Hemavata* and *Ālawaka Suttas* of the *Uragavagga* and the *Suciloma sutta* of the *Cūḷavagga* where Yakkhas are invoked could be classified as "Yakka Ballads". All the three *Suttas* are dialogue-Ballads. In the *Hemavata Sutta*, the first dialogue is between the two Yakkhas Hemavata and Sātāgira represented as friendly beings, on the virtues of the Buddha and the next is between the Buddha and Hemawaka. In the *Ālawaka* the dialogue is between *Ālawaka* and the Buddha. Similarly *Suciloma Sutta* describes a dialogue between the Buddha and *Suciloma*. In all the *Suttas* what is described mainly is the virtues of the Buddha.

The *Dhaniya Sutta* which gives the dialogue the Buddha had with a rich herdsman Dhaniya and the *Kasibhāradvaja Sutta* which gives the Buddha's encounter with the Brahamin farmer Kasibhāradvaja could be called "'Pastoral Ballads". The dramatic element is predominant in both *suttas*. In the case of *Dhaniya Sutta*, Dhaniya is rejoicing in his worldly

wealth while the Buddha is rejoicing in his spiritual achievements. The *Kasibhāradvaja Sutta* itself is a modified parable in which the Buddha explains the *Dhamma* to the farmer by employing the terminology used by him. Here the Buddha identifies himself as a farmer and explains each of the farmer's various acts such as ploughing, sowing etc. in the terms of religious terminology.

The *Pabbajjā, Padhāna Suttas* and the *Vatthu Gāthās* of the *Nālaka Sutta* of the *Mahāvagga* are examples of the narrative Ballads of the *Suttanipāta*. The *Vatthu Gāthās* of the *Pārāyana vagga* and its epilogue, too, fall into the same category. *Pabbajjā Sutta* deals with the Buddha's first meeting with King Bimbisāra of the Magadha Kingdom. This *sutta* could also be called a Dialogue Ballad due to the dialogue contained. The *Padhāna Sutta* describes how Māra the evil one got defeated at the hands of the Bodhisatta. Both *Pabbajjā* and *Padhāna Suttas* are very useful for the study of the early part of the Buddha's life. According to the *Vatthu Gāthās* of the *Pārāvana Vagga*, pupils of Bāvari went northwards in search of the Buddha.

The *Muni Sutta* of the *Uraga Vagga* describes the "Muni" ideal of early Buddhism. The *Uraga* and the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* of the same *Vagga* and the *Nālaka Sutta* (excluding *Vatthu Gāthās*) of the *Mahvagga* more or less agree with the *Muni Sutta* in respect of the theme. Therefore they could be named "Muni Ballads". The *Khaggavisāna Sutta* deals particularly with the solitude sought by the Muni, the sage and important tenets of early Buddhism.

The *Aṭṭhakavagga* consisting of sixteen short suttas are reckoned as the most important part of the *Sutta Nipāta*, unanimously by all scholars. The most subtle teachings of the Buddha are contained in these short *suttas*. The language of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (also that of the *Pārāyana vagga*) is very archaic, highly philosophical, remote from that of the other discourses of the canon, became unintelligible to the disciples, in the course of time. It was the very reason that the *Niddesa* was written for it, at a very early date and subsequently included in the canon.

The last *vagga*, the *Pārāyana Vagga*, too, is of high philosophical value, presented as the Buddha's answers to the questions raised by sixteen Brahmin youths, the pupils of Brahmin Bāvari. As recorded in the *Vatthu Gāthās*, Bāvari who was residing in a hermitage by the river Godhāvari heard of the Buddha. Bāvari was of advanced age and was unable to go to Sāvatthi to meet the Buddha. He sent his sixteen pupils, Brahmin youths to meet the Buddha to ascertain whether he was a Buddha and to learn his doctrine. Each had a question for the Buddha. The questions they put to the Buddha show that they had a good background of the metaphysical controversies of the day. Ajita wanted to know what the world is shrouded with. The Buddha's answer was that the world is shrouded with ignorance. Mettagu questioned the Buddha as regards the extinction of suffering in the world and the method by which the wise cross the stream of birth and decay. Dhotaka invites the Buddha to preach to him to enable him to train himself for his release and remove all his doubts. Nanda asked whether it was knowledge or the mode of living that characterizes a 'Muni": He also wished to find out whether those who profess metaphysical theories have overcome birth and decay. The answers given by the Buddha to the youths cover the major tenets of early Buddhism.

The above discussion roughly represents a cross section of the constituent *suttas* of the *Suttanipāta*. At the same time it demonstrates the heterogeneous nature of its contents.

Evidence of the later era of Buddhism in the *Suttanipāta*. It is noteworthy that some evidence chronologically of a later era of Buddhism are found in the *Suttanipāta*. Most of the *Suttas* refer to the three main *Vedas Rig, Sāma* and *Yajus*, but not to the last *Veda*, the *Atharva Veda*. But the *Tuvaṭaka Sutta* of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* refer to *Athabbana Veda*, the *Atharva Veda*, the youngest of the *Vedas*. The Buddha's career was confined to Madhya Desa of India. The original *Suttas* do not speak of rivers etc. in the South, other than those in the north. But the *Vatthugāthās* of the *Pārāyana Vagga* refer to river Godhāvari in the south, where Buddhism reached later. The *Suttanipāta* contains some concepts belonging to the later era. The *Sela Sutta* of the *Mahāvagga* refers to Ven. Sāriputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha as "Dhamma senāpati", the General of *Dhamma*, 'Dharmabhaṇḍāgārika", the Treasurer of *Dhamma*, who will turn the wheel of

Dhamma after the Buddha. Ven Sāriputta is not thus referred to in the original texts. The epithets such as Dhamma senāpati Dhammabhāṇḍāgārika belong to the commentarial period.

Paramatthajotikā the Sutta Nipāta commentary: *Paramatthajotikā* the *Suttanipāta* commentary provides some valuable information regarding the text. Accordingly some *suttas* of the *Suttanipāta* have more than one title. There are mine such *suttas* altogether. But these alternative titles are not mentioned in the *Uddānagāthās* of the text, except in one case. In five instances the commentator prefers the titles suggested by him rather than the titles given in the text. The fourth *sutta* of the *Mahāvagga* is named *Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta*, but the *Uddānagāthā* of the *Vagga* calls it *Sundari*, apparently the shortened form. It appears that this title was not known to the commentator. He calls it *Pūrasāla Sutta* and he is not aware of any alternative title. *Aggikabhāradvāja Sutta* is also called *Vasala Sutta*. The *Hemavata Sutta* is also called *Sātāgira Sutta*. The commentator prefers the title *Hemawata sutta*. The *Uddānagāthā* calls it *Sātagirasutta*. The *Vijaya Sutta* is called *Kāyavicchandanika Sutta*. The *Dhammacariya Sutta* is also referred to as *Kapila Sutta*. *Dhammasutta* is also named *Nāvā Sutta*. The *Nigrodhakappa Sutta* is called *Vangisa Sutta*. *Sammāparibbājaniya Sutta* is called *Mahsamaya Sutta*. The *Sāriputta Sutta* is called *Therapañha Sutta*.

The *Pārāyana Vagga*, too, has a Similar phenomena. As already cited, the canonical texts, when referring to the discourses of the *Pārāyana Vagga* call them *Pañhā*(i.e. *Pārāyane Ajitapañhe* S. II 49, *Pārāyane Metteyya pañhe* A. III, p. 399). But the text call them *"Pucchās"* (i.e. *Ajitamānava Pucchā Puṇṇakamānava Pucchā*) etc'.[17] The commentary call them *suttas*. Therefore it could be concluded that the poems now found in the *Pārāyana Vagga* of the *Suttanipāta* were called 'Pañha" at the age of the first four *Nikāyas*. They were called *"Pucchās"* when *Suttanipāta* was compiled. When the commentary *Paramatthajotikā* was written they were designated suttas. The commentary ascribes the following stanzas to the "Saṅgitikārakas": The thirteenth stanza of the *Dhaniya Sutta*, the last two lines of the *Āmagandha Sutta*, the last two lines of the twenty sixth *Gāthā* of the *Dhammika Sutta*, the two lines of the fifth *Gāthā* of the *Padhāna Sutta*, introductory *Gāthās* of the *Nālaka Sutta*, *Vatthu Gāthās* of the *Pārāyana Vagga* and also the concluding prose passage and the stanzas of the *Pārāyana Vagga*.

It is apparent that the prose passages of the *Sabhiya*, *Sundarika*, *Māgha*, *Sela* and the *Dvayathānupasanā Suttas* have been added by the Saṅgitikārakas. It is explicitly stated that the introductory prose passage of the *Subhāsita Sutta* was added by the Saṅgitikārakas. In the case of the last two stanzas of the *Padhāna Sutta*, the commentator says that some teachers held the view that it was added by the Saṅgitikārakas. But the commentator does not agree with them.

It is quite interesting that the author of the commentary states that *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā* which contained the expositions of the entire *Tipiṭaka*, did not contain the expositions of the last two verses of the *Kokālika Sutta*. Therefore he thinks that the original *sutta* did not have those two verses. But he is very careful and does not say that they have been added by the Saṅgitikārakas. In this context Adikāram observes: "The fact recorded here is significant because it points with more or less certainty to a specific instance of an addition, however small, made to the Pali canon, a considerable time after it was brought to Ceylon, probably after it was committed to writing at the Mātula Janapada (E.W. Adikaram *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* p.11-12).

Language, Style, metre etc. Except for a couple of *suttas* with short prose introductions almost all the *suttas* of the *Suttanipāta* are in the *Gāthā* form. The scholars have shown that the prose components are younger than the verses but resemble standard canonical Pali. It is also thought that the prose lines were added when the *Suttanipāta* was arranged as a separate anthology.

As a whole, the language of the *Suttanipāta* represent an early stratum of the Pali language. It is seen that the language preserves many dialectical and historical forms, irregular constructions, which are considered as signs of the early stratum of Pali. The language of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*, *Pārāyana Vagga* (excluding the *Vatthu Gthās*) belong to the earliest stratum, linguistically called "Gāthā Pali". At the same time, it is observed that in the popular *suttas* like *Maṅgala*, *Vasala*, *Parābhava* etc. there are no specific linguistic forms that may be classed as very ancient.

nor are there signs of lateness in the language. It is the normal *Gāthā Pali idiom* with usual poetic diction.

As the *Suttanipāta* is not a homogeneous work, its style varies in its different sections. It's poems range from simple popular ballads like *Dhaniya* and *Kasibhāradvāja Suttas* to scholastic compositions like *Dvayatānupassanā Sutta*. Among the simple compositions are popular narrative Ballads like *Pabbajjā Padhāna* and the *Vatthu Gāthās* of the *Nālaka Sutta* and the *Pārāyana Vagga*. A simple and easy style unhampered by poetic embellishments, excessive Rhythm and metrical perfection suggest an early composition rather than a late one. The use of excessive alliteration assonance and Śleṣa (word play) and all such accompaniments of a 'heavy style' is generally a sign of lateness. Such poetical features are greatly limited in the sections of the *Suttanipāta* which are classed as very early.

An examination of the metres employed in the *Suttanipāta* shows that the most popular metres are the "*Anuṣṭubh*" and the "*Triṣṭubh*" which can be traced back to the Vedic period. The other metres used are *Ārya, Vaitālīyā, Aupacchandasika, Vegavati* and mixed *Vaitālīyā* arranged chronologically. But it is not reasonable to assume that all the stanzas written in historically earlier metres like *Triṣṭubh* and *Anuṣṭubh* are anterior to the stanzas written in the rest of the metres which are considered comparatively younger. Therefore the metre alone is no sound criterion to fix a date of a stanza.

Doctrine: Examination of the contents of the *suttas* of the *Suttanipāta* shows its heterogeneity. The contents ranges from highly philosophic sphere to popular Buddhism. The tenets of Early Buddhism such as the "Muni ideal", solitude etc. are often found upheld. The fundamental doctrines of early Buddhism are found in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* in their non-scholastic unsystematised form. The *Aṭṭhakavagga* explores the origin of various philosophical controversies and gives the Buddha's attitude towards them, emphasizing the futility of indulgence in highly controversial speculations for the spiritual edification. The other phenomenon observed is, some fundamental concepts already found in the earlier *suttas* and other early literature are seen undergoing a gradual crystalization. New ideas are also seen finding their way. In the present context, Jayawickrama comments:

"Closely connected is the "growth of ideas". In as much as the doctrinal emphasis lays on the earliest tenets of Buddhism, which Mrs. Rhys Davids prefers to call "Sakya" in the majority of these Ballads could be noticed the gradual formation of definite ideas and concepts which in the course of time came to play an important role in later Buddhism. Along with this appear standard technical expressions which too in course of time became fixed. Some terms are seen in the transitional stage of being crystallized. The later Ballads mark the gradual drift from primitive "Sakya" to Monastic Buddhism which replaced it (University of Ceylon review, 1948. January, p.46-Article by Prof N.A Jayawickrama.)

Conclusion: As already seen the *Suttanipāta* is not a homogeneous collection of *suttas*. It contains both old and young material side by side and contains suttas put together at various dates. Hence there exist no uniformity. The majority of the *suttas* could be assigned to a period 400-300 B.C. But there appears no impossibility that some of the *suttas* being anterior. The *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pāryana Vaggas* and the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* appear to have been the foundation on which this collection of *suttas* was built. In doing so compilers have drawn freely from a floating tradition.

Jayawickrama assigns the contents of the *Suttanipāta* into following phases. To the oldest phase, he assigned the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pāryana Vaggas*, *Khaggavisāna sutta*, and the *Muni* Suttas found chiefly in the *Uraga Vagga* that uphold the Muni ideal. The general didactic poems found scattered in the first three *Vaggas*, two opening *suttas* of the *Mahāvagga* dealing with the Buddha's early career, the dialogue Ballads of the *Uraga Vagga* and the Yakkha Ballads are assigned to the next phase. Four of the five *suttas* of popular character (excluding *Ratana Sutta*) are "little younger, but definitely pre Asokan", he thinks. The *Ratana, Vijaya* and the *Dvayatānupassanā Suttas* are the youngest as per his chronological assessment. He further thinks that the *Vatthu Gāthās* (excepting those of the *Rāhula Sutta*) represent the latest compositions of the *Suttanipāta*.

Scholars hold the view that the *Suttanipāta* reached the present state through a gradual formation incorporating the *Suttas* of divers Stratas. Jayawickrama points out the three stages of its growth: (A) An early nucleus of more or less floating materials (B) Several intermediate reductions (C) Final reduction.

Though the *Suttanipāta* contains archaic material, it has reached the present state in a later period. It is posterior to the *Udāna*, for the *Udāna* refers to the *Pārāyana* and not to the *Suttanipāta*. It is also posterior to the *Niddesa*, because when the *Niddesa* was written the *Suttanipāta* was not in existence. Thus chronologically it belongs to the later stratum of the *Khuddhaka Nikāya*, compiled comparatively later. Nevertheless its lateness has no bearing whatsoever on the date of the *Suttas* contained in it.

The *Suttanipāta* has been edited by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith and published by the *PTS*. in 1913. The *Suttanipāta* has been published under, Harvard oriental series Vol. xxxvii, edited and translated to verse by Lord Chalmers. In addition to Lord Chalmer's English metrical version above referred to, there exist several English translations of the *Suttanipāta*, which shows the interest the Scholars have taken in the text: i.e. *Suttanipāta* or Dialogues and discourses of Gotama Buddha. Tr. by Sir Muttu Coomaraswamy, London 1874; Woven Cadences of Early Buddhism Tr. E.W. Hare, London 1945; *Suttanipāta* translation, Text and the Glossary by V. Fausboll. *SBE.* Vol. X; translation, Oxford 1881, Text *PTS.* London 1884, Glossary *PTS.* 1893 *Suttanipāta* Tr. Ven. Dr. H. Saddātissa, London *1985; Suttanipāta* text and translation by Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama, where the traditional explanations given in the commentary *Paramatthajotikā* and the *Niddesa* are incorporated, published by the Post graduate institute of Pāli and Buddhist studies, Sri Lanka 2001. Further there exist three Known German translations by H. Oldenburg, K.E. Neumann and by Ven. Dr. Nyānaponika

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5 Journal Asiatique (1915) pp. 403-411)
6 Jayawickrama *A Critical analysis of Pali Suttanipāta*
7 Ibid. 39-43
8 Journal Asiatique (1915 p. 407)
9 Ibid. p. 422 f
10 Lamotte Histore du Buddhisme Indien p. 173. In the meantime Ven. Dr. Polwatte Buddhadatta forwards a revolutionary Thesis. He has observed a startling similarity between the Pali *Padhānasutta,* which deals with the Buddha's defeating evil Māra, and the corresponding section of *Lalitavistara* , a life story of the Buddha in Buddhist Sanskrit. He compares seven *Gathās* of the *Padhāna Sutta* and the seven relevant Sanskrit stanzas of *Lalitavistara* and shows the striking similarity. He proposes *Suttanipata*'s *Padhāna Sutta* is the Pāli version of Relevant section of *Lalitavistara.* Polwatte Buddhadatta. *Pali Literature* (in Sri Lanka) Colombo 1966 p. 100 f).
11 Bapath P.V. *Arthapada Sūtra* pp. 13, 19
12 *JPTS* (1906-07) p. 50
13 Bapath . loc.cit
14 *JPTS.* (1916) p. 709 ff, p. 134

15 Winternitz A History of Indian Literature II, p. 93

16 Jayawickrama, *Critical Study of the Pāli Suttanipāta*

17 It is seen that in the *Suttanipāta* text published under the Buddha Jayanthi Tipitaka Series in Sinhala characters in Sri Lanka call them *suttas*.

SUTTAPIṬAKA. *Sutta Piṭaka* (Basket or Collection of discourses) is the second of the three major divisions of the Theravāda canonical literature (*Tipiṭaka*), the first division being the *Vinaya Piṭaka* or the division of texts dealing with disciplinary rules and regulations for the guidance of the Buddhist Order of monks (*bhikkhus*) and nuns (*bhikkhuṇis*), and the third division being the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* or the division of texts dealing with "Special Dhamma", i.e. "theory of the doctrine, the doctrine classified, the doctrine pure and simple" *PED*).

The *Sutta Piṭṭaka* comprises of five sections designated as *nikāyas*. They are: (1). the *Dīgha Nikāya*, (2). the *Majjhima Nikāya*, (3). the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, (4). the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and (5). the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.

The *Dīgha Nikāya* (q.v.) consists of thirty four (34) long discourses of the Buddha; the *Majjhima Nikāya* (q.v.) consists of one hundred and fifty two (152) middle length discourses of the Buddha; the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (q.v.) consists of shorter discourses of the Buddha grouped under fifty six (56) diverse topics; the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (q.v.) consists of short discourses of the Buddha arranged according to the ascending numerical order (*aṅguttara*) beginning from discourses dealing with single items (*ekanipāta*) to discourses dealing with eleven items (*ekādasa nipāta*); the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (q.v.) consists of fifteen anthologies or independent texts dealing with important aspects of Buddhist teachings and culture. See also PĀLI

W.G. Weeraratane.

SUVARNAPRABHĀSA-SŪTRA: This *sūtra* also called *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama sūtra* is one of the nine *Dharmas* or *Vaipulya-sūtras* (sūtras of great extension in content as well as in form) of the Mahayana School, which are held in deep veneration by the Buddhists of Nepal, and for that matter, by the Mahayanists all over the world. The reason for their being held in great esteem and adored in Nepal in particular is the unimaginable merits they promise for those who study and follow them with great devotion.

This *sūtra* does not dwell on high philosophical discourses and emphasizes instead on the devotional aspects of Mahayana Buddhism. It stresses the efficacy of reciting hymns in praise of the Buddha and the adoration of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the past. Another interesting feature of this *sūtra* is its concern about the prosperity and welfare of the people and the duty of the rulers to promote the well being of their subjects by good governance. This explains why it was held in veneration by the emperors of China and Japan, who evinced keen interest in having it translated into Chinese and Japanese respectively. As a result of the royal patronage it enjoyed, five Chinese renderings of the *Sūtra* appeared between the 5th and 8th centuries A. C. They are as follows:

1. Dharmaraksa's translation made in 412- 426 A.C.
2. Paramartha's translation made in 548 A.C.
3. Yasogupta's translation done in 561-577 A.C.
4. Pao Kuei's rendering done in 597 A. C.
5. Chinese traveler – pilgrim I- tsing's translation made in 703 A.C.

Similarly three or four Japanese translations by Jinamitra, Silendrabodhi and others have survived. There must have been many more Chinese and Japanese and also Tibetan translations of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, but unfortunately they have not withstood the ravages of time. And the Ulgarian and Khotanese translations based on I-tsing's version bear testimony to the wide popularity the work has enjoyed among the Buddhists of the Far-east region.

It appears that over the centuries new material has been added to the original *sūtra*, and as a result, it has increased in bulk to reach its present size.

The Sanskrit text of the *Suvarṇaprabhasa- sutra* as available at present contains twenty-one chapters. But they do not represent a well-organized subject matter which includes philosophy, ethics, *tantras* and legends all interwoven together. The initial chapter serves as an introduction to the *Sūtra*, its main subject being the glorification of the *Sūtra*. It extols the benefits of listening to the *Sūtra* and its efficacy to lead one to the attainment of desired objects and to the realization of ultimate aims of human life. It also protects the true believer from the baneful influences of evil spirits, unfavourable planets, celestial beings and so forth.

It seems that only the first six chapters formed the nucleus of the *Sūtra*, and the remaining chapters are to be treated as interpolations. For the cardinal doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism are dealt with in chapters 2-6 in an orderly manner. And the contents of the remaining chapters do not evince any close connection with those of the preceding chapters.

The second chapter consists of a discussion concerning the life-span of Sākyamuni, in which the Bodhisattva Ruciraketu, the four Buddhas Aksobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus and Dundubhisvara, the Brahmin Kaundinya and the Litsavi (Licchavi) prince named Sarvasattva-priyadarsana are the chief interlocutors. A doubt arose in the mind of Ruciraketu about the comparatively short life-span of Sakyamuni despite the fact that the latter had very diligently adhered to the two conditions for prolonging human life, viz., abstinence from killing and offering of food to others. Then the four Buddhas accompanied by hosts of celestial beings appear before Ruciraketu and declare that the life-span of Sakyamuni is limitless.

About the same time a Brahmin named Kaundinya (Pali. *Kondañña*) asks the Buddha for a relic measuring only a mustard seed. The Litsavi prince Sarvasattva priyadarsana who had become inspired by the supernatural influence of the Lord, says that Kaundinya's wish cannot be granted because of the mere fact that the Buddha does not possess a corporeal body. He possesses only a spiritual body. This is an allusion to the *Dharmakāya* of the Buddha who from time to time takes the temporary form of *Nirmāṇakāya* to descend to the human world in order to preach the doctrine to the mortals in the language they can understand. It is also disclosed that *Tathāgata* does not enter into absolute or complete *nirvāna* until all beings are liberated.

Chapter three has no special significance except that it extols the power of the doctrine. Here the Bodhisattva Ruciraketu visualizes in a dream a golden drum and the innumerable Buddhas sitting on a throne made of cat's eye gems. The drum being beaten by a Brahmin emits forth *gāthās* relating to instruction on the Doctrine. When he is awakened he calls back to memory the whole incident and recounts it to the Blessed One.

Chapter four provides an account of the recitation of the *gāthā* heard by the Bodhisattva Ruciraketu in his dream. They furnish an exposition of the fundamental tenets of Mahayana Buddhism.

In the fifth chapter a king named *Suvarṇabhujendra* extols the spiritual majesty of all the Buddhas by reciting hymns in praise of them. In the next chapter, topics such as emptiness of all things (*sūnyāta*), the six sense organs compared to a burglar of a village, the unsteadiness of mind (*citta*), the four physical elements (*dhātu*) identified with a serpent and the process of Dependent Origination (*pratitya- samutpāda*) are discussed. The nature of the wheel of rebirths or transmigrations has been clearly exposed. It exhorts the laity to renounce all temporal concerns of life in order to attain perfect enlightenment.

The seventh chapter is chiefly devoted to a glorification of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*. Herein the four kings Vaisravana, Dhrtarāstra, Virudhaka and Virupākṣa extend their royal patronage of the Doctrine and protection for those who expound it. They also promise to defend its sanctity against any possible sacrilege by rival kings belonging to other faiths.

Chapter eight contains an account of the measures promised by Goddess Sarasvati to protect the purity of the *Sūtra* and to present a *dhārani* to the Buddha as a safeguard against his possible loss of memory. She also prescribes the ritual of holy bath which would act as a safeguard against adverse effects of plague, evil spirits and unfavourable planets.

A Chapter Nine has been devoted to a glorification of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*, Goddess SriMahādevi, and the Tathāgata named Ratnakusumagunasāgaravai duryakanakagirisuvarnakancanaprabhasasri. Herein Sri Mahadevi pledges to provide both material and spiritual welfare of the preacher of the Doctrine. She

enumerates the benefits that accrue to a devotee through the grace of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* culminating in the attainment of supreme enlightenment. The chapter also urges the devotee to worship the celebrated Tathāgata by the name Ratnakusuma mentioned above.

The tenth chapter enumerates the holy names of the Tathāgatas and Bodhisattvas and advises the devotee to recite them. This religious practice is said to give the devotee the power of recollection of the previous births.

In Chapter XI another divinity, the Earth Goddess Dṛḍha, makes her appearance and pledges to bestow all her produce for the sustenance of all creatures. She also expresses her desire to be initiated into the sublime Doctrine. The Buddha himself extols the benefits of listening to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa- sūtra* and promises its listeners the ultimate birth in the heaven Trayastriṃśat.

In Chapter XII the military commander- in chief of the Yakṣas, Saṃjneya by name, with his twenty-eight commanders, arrives where the Lord is and declares his intention to extend their co- operation in the matter of promulgation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. He pledges to protect the promulgater and listeners of the Doctrine from persecution. They will deliver them from all trouble and turmoils.

In the next chapter, King Baladaketu expounds the science of government and political science to his newly crowned son Ruciraketu. Chapter XIV narrates the story of King Susambhava who in a dream heard the *gathās* of the Buddha and saw the Dharmabhānaka Bhikṣu Ratnoccaya engrossed in expounding all *sūtras*. He woke from his dream and found Ratnoccaya in a cave. At his request the latter preached the great *Sūtra Suvarṇaprabhāsa* to him. As per the king's wish, the gem called Cintāmanirāja showered wealth upon whole Jambudvipa. In the end he identifies himself with Sakyamuni and Ratnoccaya with Tathāgata Aksobhya.

Chapter XV titled Ārakṣa (protection) deals with the protection that the Mahayanist demons and deities will provide to those who, by dint of their devotion, visualize Sakyamuni as staying in the inrerior of a *dharma- stūpa*, and listen to the *Sūtra* being preached by the Tathāgata. Even the Hindu goddesses Sarasvati, Sri, Goddess of Earth and River Goddess pledge their protection to whom the *Sūtra* is dear.

Chapter XVI concerns a prediction by the Buddha that ten thousand gods headed by *Jvalanantaratejogata* will attain perfect enlightenment. In reply to a query by the goddess Bodhisattvasamuccayā, the Blessed One explains how the ten thousand gods are destined to become Buddhas in the future despite the fact that they have not tread the path of a Bodhisattva, attained the six *pāramitas* or renounced wealth and other worldly comforts. It is because they have paid reverence to the best of *sūtras*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. Besides they have heard the prediction that three noble men, Ruciraketu, his son and his grandson will attain perfect enlightenment one after the other and be born in Buddha Lands, the first in the *lokadhātu* called Suvarṇaprabhāsita and the last two in the *lokadhātu* called Virajadhvaja.

The next chapter concerns the healing power of the *Āyurveda*. It narrates the account of the merchant named Jatiṁdhara who lived in the kingdom of King Suresvaraprabha and was proficient in the eight branches of the *Āyurveda*, which knowledge he imparted to his son Jalavāhana in order that the latter, out of compassion, might render free from all diseases the subjects of Suresvaraprabha's kingdom, who had fallen victim to all sorts of pestilence.

Further meritorious acts done by Jalavāhana form the contents of Chapter XVIII. The story is given as narrated by the Blessed One who starts the story by referring to Jalavāhana's feat of curing the inhabitants of Suresvaraprabha's kingdom of all sorts of diseases by means of medical treatment. Now he narrates the story of how Jalavāhana rescued ten thousand fishes that lived in the pond named Aṭavisambhava. The pond was drying up and the fishes were running short of food. Following the advice of the female deity Ardhakāya, Jalavāhana discovered that an evil-minded person had diverted the stream that fed the pond to a water-fall with the intention of catching the fishes. When he approached king Suresvaraprabha for help, the latter gave him twenty elephants and hundreds of leather bags to fetch water to fill the pond. His son was dispatched to bring food for the hungry fishes. The fishes were now out of danger and satiated to the full. In the end he made the fishes listen to the holy name of the perfectly enlightened Tathāgata

Ratnasikhin and preached to them the cycle of Dependent Origination and the way of removing misery for the spiritual welfare of those creatures of lower order.

On another day Jalavāhana had fallen into a deep slumber after meals. That night the ten thousand fishes died and were born in heaven as gods. When the ten thousand gods began to speculate as to how they were born in heaven, their past life was revealed to them. Then they showed their gratitude to Jalavāhana by placing around him forty thousand garlands of pearls and showering *mandāra* flowers over him. Those *devaputras* also showered *mandāra* flowers over the kingdom of Suresvaraprabha and awoke the inhabitants of Jambudvipa by beating celestial drums.

King Suresvaraprabha then asked his soothsayers to explain the significance of these forebodings. They informed the king about the pearl garlands and *mandāra* flowers that had been showered upon Jalavāhana. The king then summoned Jalavāhana and asked him to explain the forebodings, whereupon Jalavāhana narrated the story of the ten thousand fishes and explained that the good omens were due to the influence of the *devaputras*. These tidings made the king extremely happy.

Then the Blessed One explained the significance of the whole narrative to the deity Bodhisattvasamuccaya, linking the present facts with the past story. The Blessed One disclosed that Sākyamuni was King Suvarṇaprabha, King Suddhodana was Sresthin Jatimdhara, the Blessed One himself was Jalavāhana, Gopā Jalavāhana's wife, Rahulabhadra and Ananda the two sons of Jalavāhana,Jalambara and Jalagarbha respectively. He then predicted that all of them would attain perfect enlightenment and Buddhahood at a future date.

Chapter XIX reminds one of the *Vyāghri Jātaka* occurring in the *Jātakamālā*. It recounts how the Blessed One in a previous birth sacrificed himself as a prey for a hunger- stricken tigress who had given birth to five whelps. In the first part of the chapter the Buddha is shown as setting the stage for the narration of the story. This is actually a re- narration of the *Vyāghri Jātaka* (This of course differs much in details from the *Vyāghri Jātaka* found in the *Jātakamālā*) to a *kuladevatā* which he has already narrated once to his disciples headed by Ananda, when the Blessed One was traveling with them over the Pañcāla country.

The story goes as follows. When the Buddha and his large following of monks had reached a beautiful forest glade, he wished to rest a while there. He seated himself on a seat prepared by Ananda and exhorted the monks to prepare themselves to have a *darsan* (vision) of a Bodhisattva who had accomplished tasks difficult to perform. As the monks evinced their interest in the matter, the Blessed One struck the earth with his palm whereupon there appeared a *stūpa* from the womb of the earth. As per the Buddha's instructions, Ananda rent the *stūpa* open and found a golden casket inside it. It had seven coverings which were removed by Ananda one by one, and a few pieces of bone were found deposited in the innermost casket. Then the Blessed One asked the monks to pay homage to the bones. After the monks paid their reverence to the relics, Ananda inquired of the Buddha about the reason for holding those bones in high esteem. The Lord then recounted the story of a king named Mahartha and his three sons, Mahāpranāda, Mahādeva and Mahāsattva.

One day the three princes in the course of their wanderings entered a dense forest where they suddenly came upon a tigress who had given birth to her whelps the week before. She was afflicted with hunger and thirst. Mahāsattva was deeply touched by the plight of the animal. At this moment the idea of the transitoriness of the corporeal body and the immutability of the spiritual body dawned on Mahāsattva. Having set his heart on the supreme sacrifice, he prevailed upon his brothers to leave the place. When they had gone away, Mahāsattva offered himself as her prey. The hungry animal pounced upon him with great eagerness, and in a moment his body was reduced to a few pieces of bone.

When the two brothers returned to the place, they were struck with deep sorrow over the death of their brother and set upon their homeward journey. Meanwhile the Mother Queen is informed in a dream of an impending bereavement in the family. News that all the three princes have met with disaster reaches

the palace. The two sons now arrive at the palace and describe what has actually happened. The king and the queen rush to the scene of the incident followed by a large concourse of people. They lament the death of their dear son, and erect a monument on the site in his honour incorporating his mortal remains.

After narrating this story, the Buddha brings the discourse to a close by revealing the identity of Sakyamuni and others with the characters of the past story. Here Sākyamuni identifies himself with Mahāsattva, King Suddhodana with King Mahāratha, Māyādevi with the queen of Mahāratha, the Bodhisattavas Maitreya and Manjusri with Mahapranāda and Mahādeva respectively, and Mahāprajāpati with the tigress. The story comes to a close with the disappearance of the *stūpa* due to the supernatural power of the Buddha.

Chapter twenty contains two groups of hymns, one that was recited by the hundreds of thousands of Bodhisattvas extolling the spiritual glory of the Tathāgata named *Suvarṇaratnākaracchatrakuṭa*, and the other recited by Bodhisattva *Ruciraketu* glorifying the spiritual splendour of the Blessed One.

The concluding chapter (chapter XXI) contains *gāthas* chanted by the *kuladevatā* named Bodhisattvasamuccaya in praise of the Lord with a special emphasis on *sūnyatā* (emptiness). The Lord himself highly commends her brilliant performance.

As will be seen this work does not deal with recondite philosophical matters, but stresses the devotional aspects of Mahayana Buddhism, particularly the benefits that a devotee will derive by the adoration of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Another interesting aspect highlighted in the *sūtra* is the interest in the welfare of the family, the society and the State at large, evinced by the Buddhist monks. This serves to bridge the gap between the spiritual advancement and the material well-being and development of the society. This speaks for the immense popularity it has enjoyed among the Buddhists of the Far-East, particularly among the past rulers of China and Japan.

E.W.Marasinghe.

SUZUKI, DAISETSU TEITARO (1871-1966), an eminent Japanese philosopher and exponent of Zen Buddhism, who played a significant role in introducing Japanese Buddhism to the West.

Born in Kanazawa, Ishikawa Prefecture, he entered the Tōkyō University and simultaneously underwent Zen training at the Enkakuji temple in Kamakura under its abbot, Shaku Sōen. In 1927 he migrated to U.S.A. to assist Paul Carus in his Open Court Publishing Company in La Salle, Illinois. There he was engaged in translating Buddhist philosophical and religious works into English. He also edited the two periodicals the "Open Court" and the "Monist", which were devoted to articles on different aspects of Buddhism. Among his publications during his eleven-year stay in the U.S.A. are *Daijo Kishin ron* and translation of a Chinese Buddhist text under the title '*Aśvaghosa's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (1900). His treatise, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (1907) is regarded as a pioneering work published in English on Mahāyāna concepts.

On his return to Japan in 1909, Suzuki secured the post of lecturer and subsequently the Professorship of English at the Peers School (present Gokushūin University). In 1921, he was appointed to the Chair of Buddhist Philosophy at Ōtani University, Kyōto. There he founded the periodical, *Eastern Buddhism* and the articles he contributed to it, became the base of his masterly thesis, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, which came out in three volumes in 1927, 1933 and 1934 respectively. This monumental work, which is regarded as the first exposition of Zen in a western language, has been instrumental in kindling an enthusiasm in Zen Buddhism in the west. During this period, he also brought out two treatises titled, *studies in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (1930 and *Zen Buddhism and its Influence on Japanese Culture* (1938). His English translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* came out in 1932.

In recognition of Suzuki's services and scholarship, he was elected, in 1949, to the Japan Academy and conferred on him the honourific title the 'Order of Couture'. Since that time he spent most of his time delivering lectures on Zen Buddhism in the West, particularly in the U.S.A. where he served as Visiting professor at the Columbia University.

Besides rendering a yeoman service in propagating Zen Buddhism in the West, he was also instrumental in creating an awareness and interest about Japanese culture among western scholars, intellectuals and the writers. Moreover, he was recognised as an exponent of the Pure Land Philosophy.

Suzuki was a prolific writer both in Japanese and English, who authored 32 works in Japanese and 30 works in English.

C. S. Ranasinghe

SVAYAMBHŪNĀTH, located at Piprahwa near Katmandu, Nepal is one of the two oldest stupas in that country, the other being Bodhnath. According to the legendary sources, it dates back to the time of the passing away of the Buddha. Some others, however, believe that it was among the several stupas built by the Emperor Asoka (Tom Lowenstein, *The Vision of the Buddha*, London, 1996, p. 162). Though there are no epigraphical or literary evidence to prove its historicity, "it has been worshipped for more than 2000 years" (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. II, U.S.A., 2003, p.804).

Surmounted on a tumulus is a gilded square base called *harmika*. A pair of enormous human eyes, inlaid with metal and ivory, are embossed on each of its faces. This feature resembles "the huge faces in stone at Bayon at Angkor Thom in Cambodia..."(Sujata Soni, *Evolution of Stupas in Burma*, Delhi, 1991, p.63). These eyes, supposed to be manifestations of the all-seeing Buddha, are designed in such a way that the onlookers get the impression that the eyes follow them as they circumambulate the cetiya. A unique feature of Nepalese architecture of this stupa is the conventional dome and the steeple raised on thirteen tiers, which diminish in proportion as they rise. Those tiers are believed to represent thirteen Buddhist heavens. See PLATE XI.

C. S. Ranasighe

SYĀMOPLI MAHĀNIKYA: Syāmopāli Mahā Nikāya derives its name from Ven. Upali Mahāthera who was the head of the mission of monks that came from Siam (Thailand) and re-instituted the *upasampadā* tradition in Sri Lanka in 1756, marking the beginning of a new Sri Lankan sect. The mission was sent by emperor Boromkot of Siam on approval of the Sangharāja there for a request made by the Sri Lankan king Kirti Sri Rajasimha and Ven. Velivita Saranamkara. By the 18th century, Buddhism in Sri Lanka had reached such low levels that there were no qualified monks to conduct the Higher Ordination that was essential for the continuation of the *sāsana* in Sri Lanka. It is now the oldest and widely spread nikāya in Sri Lanka that has the largest number of temples, many of which have existed from the time of kings or were established by kings and are called Rajamahā vihāras (Royal Temples). Subsequently the two other nikāyas, the Amarapura Mahānikāya (1803) and the Ramañña Mahānikāya (1864) both introduced from Burma based on slightly different traditions of Higher Ordination. All the three nikāya (sects) belong to the Theravāda tradition. They are in fact traceable to the *upasampadā* tradition introduced from Sri Lanka to those countries during the classical times. It must however be noted that it was at a very critical time that Syāmopāli Nikāya was introduced, and that the other two nikāyas arose due to various issues regarding the 'purity' of the Siamese *upasampadā* and some other practices that developed within it during subsequent times.

In the Theravāda tradition, the Theras (Elders) are those who are fully qualified after proper Higher Ordination (*upasampadā*) and it is perceived that the *sāsana* (dispensation) would perish in the absence of *upasampadā* monks. The reasons for the disappearance of the *upasampadā* tradition and the resultant degeneration of the Buddhist tradition in Sri Lanka were in the making from the beginning of the Colonial period starting from the beginning of the 16th century. There was a climactic rise of Buddhist institutions in the 15th century during the time of King Parakramabahu VI, during whose time there were well known educational institutions of Buddhist learning and a large number of renown scholarly monks such as Toṭagamuve Sri Rāhula. It was also during the time of this king that several groups of monks from Burma, Thailand and Cambodia came here to obtain *upasampadā* under famous monks whose tradition

was respectfully referred to as the Sihala Sangha. There were also many earlier instances of monks from Sri Lanka taking residence in these countries and popularizing the Sri Lankan Buddhist tradition there. When colonial powers arrived here and started their proselytizing activities the religion lost its royal support due to constant wars and strife and the Higher Ordination that was annually held under royal support also was affected. The result was that popular deity cults and witchcraft that were hitherto kept in abeyance came into prominence. By the end of the 16th century the Order of monks degenerated into a semi-secular order referred to as *ganinnānse* system under which the monks maintained families and were involved in lucrative pursuits; their major monastic function became restricted to the management of temple properties. It was a sort of monastic landlordism where the monks slowly succumbed to secular practices and the ordinary people too generally deviated from Buddhist practices. Things climaxed when king Rajasimha I (1581-93) embraced Hinduism and suppressed Buddhism by burning Buddhist texts, killing monks and handing over of important religious properties to Saiva Hindus. There were attempts by later kings to re-institute the *upasampadā* (in 1596 by king Vimaladharmasūriya and in 1697 by king Vimaladharmasūriya II). However, these attempts had only temporary results and by late 17th century, degeneration had again set in. According to the *Kusalakriyānusandesaya* "the monks were immoral, deviated from the path of morality by supporting kith and kin being seduced by lay practices; they have entered the order for the sake of temple properties and have polluted the dispensation of the All Knowing One that leads to *nirvāna*; they have given up the learning of grammar and the Pali language, have learned extraneous subjects such as medicine, astrology, divination, magical formulas etc., and illegitimately earn properties without even a thought that there are norms such as Textual-learning (*paryāpti*) and Practice (*pratipatti*) in the dispensation of the Victorious One….. " The situation was so dim that even evangelists criticized that Buddhism has evolved through its pure form to Deity worship and Demonic cults.

It was left for Ven. Saranaṃkara, almost single handedly, to rescue the religion and all its institutions from this sad plight by his revivalist activities. His final aim was re-instituting of the *upasampadā* (For details, see Saranamkara Velivitiye Sri). He reintroduced Pali and Grammatical studies, encouraged his pupils to copy out religious texts, founded the *Silvat* group, wrote books for religious education and won a hard fought war against the corrupt orthodoxy that was well established and immensely powerful with its feudal authority. He also had to wean away kings from their allegiance to this orthodoxy and get their support for his revivalist activities. Although the Syāmopāli Mahā Nikāya traces its origin to Ven. Upāli, its initiator and the local coordinator was undoubtedly Ven. Saranaṃkara, a fact that even the other two later Nikāyas acknowledge. This historical background is essential in discussing the achievements of the Syāmopāli Nikāya.

At this critical juncture, it was inevitable that monks qualified to confer *upasampadā* had to be brought from a South East Asian country where Buddhism, still prevailed. However, by the 18th century the authority of Sinhala kings was restricted to the interior of the country without any naval power and they had to get help from the Dutch to obtain ships in order to send missions abroad to search for monks. The Dutch were overtly helpful but were in fact trying to sabotage these missions. In fact, in the first attempt during the time of King Sri Vijayarajasimha a mission was sent to Siam in 1741, but the ulterior motive of the Dutch was to expand their trade, and once this became apparent to the Siamese king , he was not keen to extend his support for the mission. The Dutch then tried to persuade the royal court that monks for the *upasampadā* could be obtained from Pegu or Arakan, two countries closer to Sri Lanka. But the court was insistent that it was in Siam that the purest form of Buddhism prevailed at the time, and that Pegu or Arakan must be considered only if it is impossible to obtain monks from Siam. In the following years the king while requesting for support from the Dutch also suggested to them that if the Dutch could get the mission to Madras in India, it could get the support of the British to go further. The Dutch were perturbed by this suggestion and after a long delay a mission was sent to Siam in 1747 (For details see *Siyam Sri Lankā Āgamika Sambandhatā*, p. 1-10). This mission too failed as the Sinhalese king died while the mission was on its way. Undisturbed by such drawbacks, Saranaṃkara continued to train the novices on the procedures as laid down in *Vinaya* texts. It is said in the *Sangarājavata* that Saranaṃkara knew all

the procedures of the ecclesiastic acts but only lacked the sanction of the *saṅgha* tradition (*sammuti sangun*). Finally in 1750 a mission was sent to emperor Bororokot, known in Sinhala sources as Dharmika, and this mission ended up in success and the monks headed by Venerable Upāli thera reached Sri Lanka in 1753.

There are several sources in Sinhala, Thai and Dutch containing the details of this mission. Records kept by Vilbāigedara and the Siamese ambassadors are immensely useful (a summary of the events based on these is in the *Siyam Sri Lankā Āgamika sambandhatā*). According to them the mission started on august 1750 and reached Siam in June 1751, passing through Rio, Johor, Pahang, Kalantan, Tranggano, Patani, Camboja, Ligor and Muvan. Once they reached Siam they were respectfully received and were given all facilities and were sent on pilgrimage to important religious places. The emperor planned with the Sangharāja of Siam that in order to make this mission a complete success, three batches of monks should be sent to Sri Lanka within a period of ten years so that after the lapse of that period the Sinhala monks who obtain higher ordination would have completed their probationary period (*nissaya*) and would be fully qualified to handle ecclesiastic undertakings.

According to the Siamese sources monks who were selected for the mission were Upāli Mahathera and Ariyamuni Mahāthera who were the leaders, and Anu Indajotasa, Kotthita, Kiya vu, Bojuna, Thu Luvan, Thon Suvanna, Pi Chamma, Phra Kya vu tang, Chann Lokon, Dakhun, Premak, Prem, Kramak yu, Mindha, Cunda and Kona. Venerable Upāli himself was a *Vinayadhara* and in the group were *kammavācā theras* and *upasampadā theras* who were the specialists performing different ecclesiastic acts. After selecting the properly constituted group of monks, the king was gracious enough to provide a ship for the monks to travel along with Vilbāgedara. 'The others in the mission were to go in the Dutch ship. They set off from Siam in November 1751, but the Siamese ship developed some trouble and started to sink. Those on board escaped and went to Ligor and Vilbāgedara informed the king of their plight and they were advised to return to Siam. After a few more months of delay, they set sail again in a Dutch ship and reached Sri Lanka in May 1753 at Trincomalee. On the way to Senkadagala they had to stay a few days at Godapola. At Godapola, the Sri Lankan Samaneras received some training on basic matters of the *upasampadā*, and other matters such as preparing the robes. According to Siamese sources, the Sāmaṇeras Saranaṃkara, Kobyakaduve and Tibbotuvāve were assigned to Brahmajōthi Kammavācā thera and the Sāmaṇeras Nāvinne, Medavala, Daramiṭipola and Ginihatpitiye to Mahāpunna Kammavācā Thera for training. The other Sāmaṇeras too were assigned to different mahātheras. It is to be noted that some of these Sāmaṇeras were to play a vital role in the religious, literary and cultural life of the country after the establishment of the Syāmopāli Nikāya. On the 4th July 1753, the monks reached the capital at Senkagagala and were accommodated at the Dhammikārāmaya (Malvatu vihāraya, probably named after emperor Dhārmika of Siam).

With all these arrangements, the stage was set for holding of the *upasampadā* ritual. Venerable Upāli Mahathera selected one of the buildings of the Malvatu vihāraya and declared it to be the *sīmāghara* (boundary-house) to hold the *upasampadā* (for details, see the *Syāmopasampadāvata* and the *Upāli-katikāvata*). Although the place was carefully selected and boundaries were marked by due declarations and stone marks (*pāsāna nimiti*), this *visungāma sīmā* was one of the controversial issues that apparently led to the origin of the later *nikāyas*.

Once the *sīmāghara* was ready, the king himself came to the preaching hall and requested the theras to hold the *upasampadā*. Accordingly the first *upasampadā* festival was held on the 20th of July 1753, the Āsala full-moon day. On this occasion, the Sāmaṇeras Kobbekaduve of Upositārāma, Saranaṃkara, Hulaṅgamuve, Bambaradeṇiye and Nāvinne, the chief of Asgiriya, received the *upasampadā*. While the Siamese Ambassador's Official Report does not mention Navinne's name, according to the *Mandārampura-puvata*, he was the second in the list. In this, Ven. Upāli served as the Preceptor or *Upadhyāya* Ven. Brahmajoti and Mahapuṇṇa as Teachers or *Ācārya* (details of this first *upasampadā* ritual are found in the *Upali Katikāvata*). The procedures of the ritual are in total agreement with those given in the vinaya texts. *Upasampadā* being the most important of the rites of passage of a monk whereby he is elevated to the full status is granted after much probity of one's suitability for that status.

It was during the rainy retreat *(vassa)* that the *upasampada* is normally held, and in that year ninety-seven monks received *upasampadā* under Upāli Mahāthera.

After the *upasampadā* the Siamese monks remained in Sri Lanka training and helping the local monks on monastic rituals such as *upōsatha* and *pavārana*. As arranged by their Sangharaja they were to give further training until the end of their probationary period. Under their supervision, the *nikāya* grew in numbers so that by the end of three years of their stay, three thousand were admitted as novices and seven hundred received *upasampadā*. The Siamese also helped the local monks to establish *sīmā* boundaries in a number of temples. Apart from usual rituals such as ordination, higher ordination, *upōsatha, kaṭhina*, and rules of acceptance of gifts *(paṭiggahana-sikkhāpada)*, they also trained some monks in *kammavācā*. In addition, *vidarśana* (insight meditation) practice too was introduced. At this initial stage, twenty-four local monks were trained under two *vidarśana* specialists, Ven. Mahānāma and Ven. Brahmassara.

In order to provide further training to Sri Lankan monks and to facilitate the first batch of Siamese monks to return to Siam, a second batch of monks were sent here on the initiative of the Siamese sangharāja and king Boromkot. Ven. Visuddhācariya and Varagñanamuni served as the leaders of this mission. Former was a specialist in both *Vidarsanādhura* (meditation practice) as well as in *Granthadhura* (textual learning) and the latter in the *Granthadhura*. According to Siamese sources, 64 persons including 16 monks set off from Siam in 1755, but eight of them, including four monks, perished when they were shipwrecked in the Eastern coast of Sri Lanka. (Details of this are found in "Second Siamese Mission to Sri Lanka 1755-56" and "Letter from the Chief Minister of Siam to the Chief Minister of Lanka"). By the time they reached here, Ven. Upāli had passed away and the task of training Sri Lankan monks was assigned to Ven. Visuddhācariya and Varagñ ānamuni Theras. According to the request of' Ven. Saranaṃkara a large number of canonical as well as non-canonical works too were sent with the second mission.

It must also be mentioned here that, the Syāmopāli monks did not blindly adopt all the traditions introduced by the Siamese. Saranaṃkara Mahāthera, who later was appointed the Sangharāja, was a highly erudite person keenly aware of the earlier Sri Lankan Budddhist tradition and for him the introduction of Siamese *upasampadā* was only a technical necessity. Some requests by the Siamese emperor were not acceptable here. One such was the execution and the worship of crowned images *(makuta-cumbita-Buddha)*. The *Jambupati-vatthu* sent here, was a text dealing with the subject. There is also evidence that a 3rd mission came in or around 1760. This time it was after the death of the Siamese emperor Boromkoth. A Siamese prince named Tep Phiphit too came with the group and there was an attempt to crown him after killing Kirti Sri Rajasiṃha. Details of this coup are not clear but Kirti Sri Rajasiṃha came to know of the plot and it was severely suppressed. The Siamese monks as well as Saranaṃkara were caught as culprits and were punished. However, the parties were reconciled later, and in 1764, after 12 years of training, Sri Lankan monks held their first *upasampadā*, with the active support of the king and the Syāmōpāli Nikāya became fully established in Sri Lanka.

The account given above shows how the aspirations of Saranaṃkara as well as those on the Siamese side came to be fulfilled. Once the order was fully established Saranaṃkara went ahead with his religious and literary activities with more vigor, ably supported by his pupils. While Saranaṃkara was interested in reviving the best of the older tradition, some were more interested in reverting to some vestiges of the *Ganinnānse* tradition, particularly of enjoying the temple lands and amassing wealth. Kirti Sri, for his part, renovated many of the old temples and established new ones all over his territory. These temples, titled as the rajamahā vihāras, became centers of the Syāmopāli Nikāya.

For Saranaṃkara re-institution of *upasampadā* was a sort of fusion with the older tradition. It was a case of renaissance than a reformation. This is apparent from his endeavors to write down books, copy them, make translations of philosophical works such as *Milinda pañha*, etc., by his pupils. In the Kirti Sri Rājasimha Katikāivata, written soon after the *upasampadā* at the behest of Saranaṃkara, one could see the revival of the old *Katikāvata* tradition. Most of the rules and regulations contained in it for the benefit of the *sangha* are culled out from the Dambadeni

Katikāvata of the 13[th] century. The Rājādhi Rājasiṃha Katikāvata written a few years afterwards reveals that some corrupt practices continued to exist. It also includes some new rules against amassing of wealth, writing of books for money, supporting relations in devious ways etc. that afflicted the order at the time. The literary tradition started by Saranaṃkara continued with more vigor under scholarly monks of the *nikāya*. In this regard, the contribution of Saranaṃkara, is generally acknowledged by literary historians, but equal credit should go to the institutions and the individuals, particularly those of the Syāmōpāli Nikāya for all what they did for the revival of Buddhist education in the country beginning from the latter part of the 18th century to the mid 20th century .The piriveṇa education too thrived during the period and scholar monks from the other *nikāyas* too continued this task, sometimes even with more vigor. The establishment of the Syāmōpāli Nikāya and thereby reviving of the great monastic tradition gave more confidence to the order of monks and once on the path legitimized by the Buddha and sangha, it was much easy for them to resist the proselytizing activities of the missionaries. For the next half-century or so, it was Syāmōpāli monks who contributed greatly to the education and helped to attract the village folk back to the Buddhist traditions. The monks of the *nikāya* introduced new preaching styles. The *paritta* ritual became very popular among the masses at the expense of deity and demonical rituals to which they hitherto adhered. A large number of popular poems based on *jātaka* stories appeared during this period and some of them were by the monks of the *nikāya*. It is sad to note that by now this scholar tradition in the nikāya has dwindled, specially among its higher echelons. Although a common *upasampadā* was held for both Malvatu and Asgiri chapters at the beginning, the latter started to conduct its own *upasampadā* since 1765. It is claimed that the Asgiriya Vihāra was in existence since the 14th century up to the time of the Siamese *upasampadā* and that Navinne Dhammadassi Thera who received Siamese higher ordination was its 27th incumbent. Since that time, as a chapter of the Syāmōpāli Mahānikāya, it is now under its 20th incumbency. The Malvatu chapter is now under its 25th incumbency. Both the chapters have continued their traditions or collectively the tradition of the Syāmōpāli Nikāya for the last 250 years. While the Asgiriya traces its origin to the earlier *araṇyavāsī* (Forest Dwelling) sect, Malvatu chapter had *grāmavāsī* (Village Dwelling) beginnings. But these distinctions have disappeared now. According to the survey conducted by the Department of Buddhist Affairs in 1984, Malvatu Chapter owned 4923 temples in 23 districts with 15164 monks and the Asgiriya chapter had 565 temples in 14 districts with 1383 monks. In 1855 the Kotte chapter of the *nikāya* was established under the title *Kotte Sri Kalyāni Sāmagri Dharma Mahāsangha Sabhāva* that has 352 temples in 13 districts with 1046 monks, and it had 5 regional sub divisions. The Ūve Syāmōpāli Nikāya started in 1939 had 22 temples with 78 monks. The Mahāvihāra-vamsika Syāmōpāli Vanavāsa Nikāya had 71 temples with 889 monks. In 1980, the Dambulla temple broke away from the Asgiriya chapter and started to operate independently. These divisions are not based on doctrinal matters but regional and personal considerations.

Ven. Saranaṃkara was always interested in dispelling caste prejudices within sangha as revealed from his *anuśāsanā vattoruvas* (List of admonitions). However, in the course of time the new *nikāya* came to be a special preserve of the Goyigama caste. Though liberal at the very beginning, later it became impossible for members of the other castes to obtain *upasampadā* in the Syāmōpāli Nikāya, a situation that even some of the erudite goyigama monks despised. Ven. Ambagaspitiye Gñānavimala, the originator of the Amarapura Nikāya obtained his ordination from Ven. Saranaṃkara but went to Burma for his *upasampadā* and after his return established the Amarapura Mahanikāya. Some other monks suspected the purity of the *upasampadā* of Syāmōpāli Nikāya and after obtaining *upasampadā* from Burma and started different chapters of the Amarapura Mahānikāya. It is now split into 32 sections. Ven. Ambagahavatte Saranaṃkara, the originator of the Ramañña Mahānikāya too received his *upasampadā* in the Syāmōpāli Nikāya and suspecting of its purity went to Burma and underwent *upasampadā* on several occasions. He returned and established the Ramañña nikāya in 1864. Although there are such sectarian distinctions, there is also a tendency now to take collective action by the sangha on matters of national interest. For example, the allegiance of the monks to the Hela Urumaya political organization cuts across the *nikāya* boundaries. The laity too is not much concerned with the *nikāyas* but honour the monks who could give spiritual guidance to them. Such failings

of the modern Sri Lankan sangha, particularly the sangha of the Siyam Nikāya are discussed by H.L. Seneviratne in his recent work titled " *The work of Kings: The New Buddhism in Sri Lanka.*

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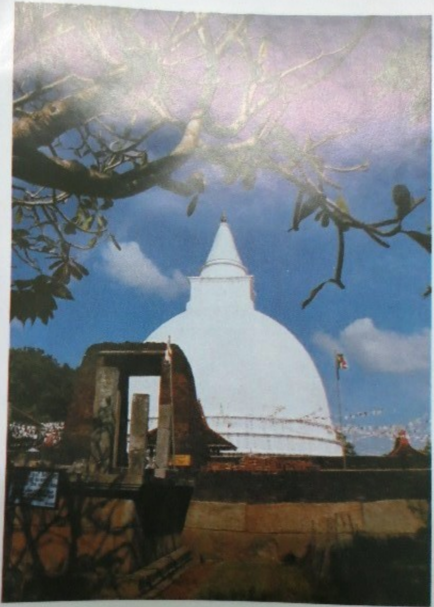
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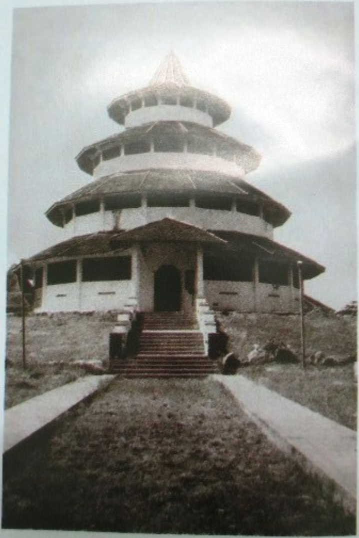
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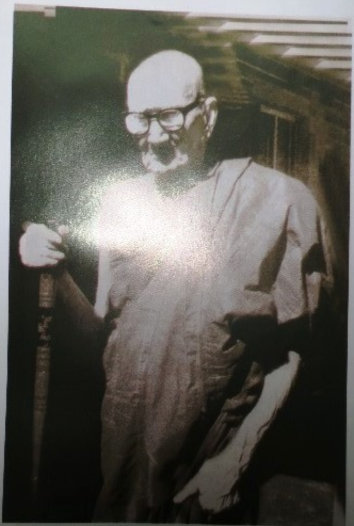
P.B. Meegaskumbura



The Seruvila Cetiya was in a dilapidated state when Ven. Dambagasāre Sri Sumedhaṅkara discovered it in the year 1922. Renovation work of the cetiya was commenced in Sept. 1925 and the renovated cetiya was declared open for the public by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka in 1931.
Courtesy : *Pūjanīya Seruvila*, Ven. Seruvila Saranakitti and Ven. Koṭapola Amarakitti, Colombo, Sri Lanka.



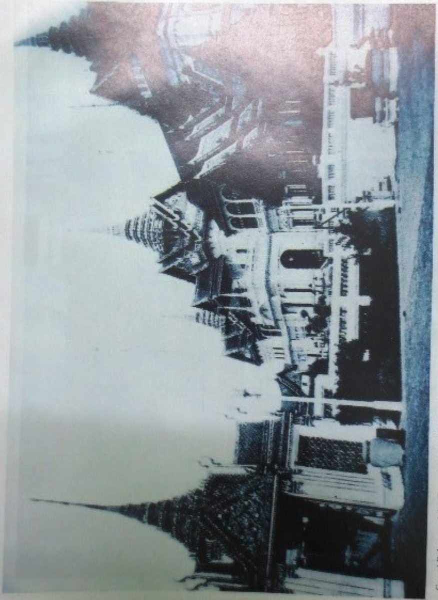
The new four storeyed shrine room built in the precincts of the Seruvila Cetiya.
Courtesy : *Pūjanīya Seruvila*, Ven. Seruvila Saranakitti and Ven. Koṭapola Amarakitti, Colombo, Sri Lanka.



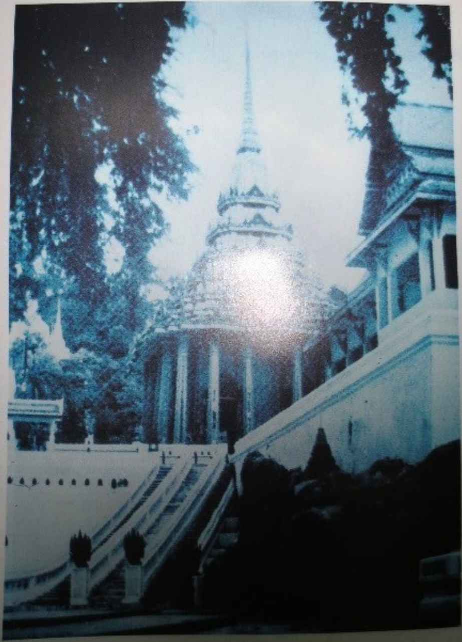
Ven. Dambagastāre Sri Sumedhaṅkara who discovered the dilapidated Seruvila Cetiya in 1922 and pioneered its renovation work.
Courtesy : *Pūjanīya Seruvila*, Ven. Seruvila Saranakitti and Ven. Koṭapola Amarakitti, Colombo, Sri Lanka.



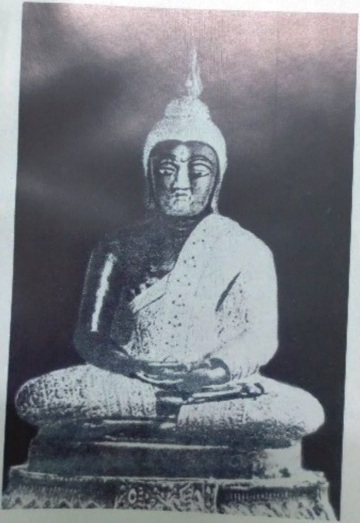
Wat Benvamabopit, an ancient Buddhist temple in Thailand.
Courtesy : *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Volume of Specimen Articles,* 1957.



Grand Palace and the Emerald Buddha Temple, Bangkok, Thailand.
Courtesy : World Fellowship of Buddhists, Thailand.



Wat Pra Buddhabad, Lopbury, Thailand. The Maṇḍapa erected over the foot print of the Buddha.
Courtesy : *World Fellowship of Buddhists, Thailand.*



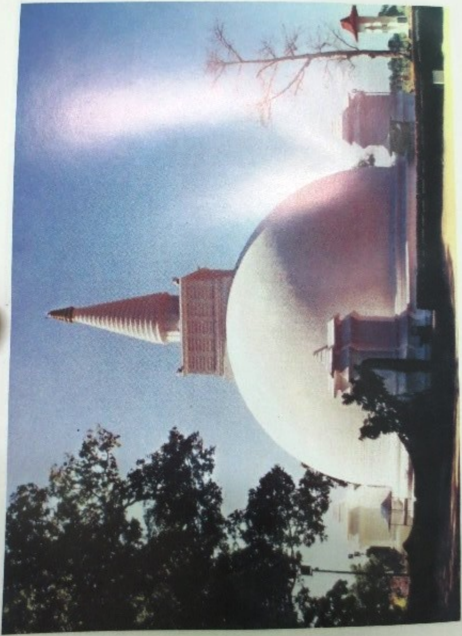
The miraculous Buddha image (Emerald Buddha) which is said to have been taken to Thiland from Sri Lanka in the reign of Rocarāja, one of the earliest kings of Sukhodaya.
Courtesy : *World Fellowship of Buddhists, Thailand*



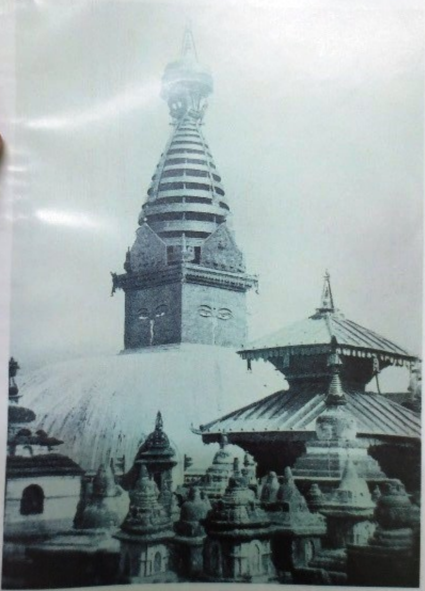
The Lord of Victory in the Shrine of the Great Reliquary, Pisnulok, Thailand.
Courtesy : *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Volume of Specimen Articles,* 1957.



Walking Buddha-style of Sukhodaya.
Courtesy *: Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Volume of Specimen Articles,* 1957.



Somāvatī Cetiya in Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : Mr. M. W. E. Karunaratne



Svayambhūnāth Stūpa in Nepal.
Courtesy : *The Way of the Buddha*. Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A ... Anguttara Nikāya I-VI ed. R. Morris. E. Hardy. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. *PTS.* 1885-1910.

AA ... Anguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Manorathapūrani), I-V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp. *PTS.* 1924-56.

AAWG ... Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Gottingen

Abhk. ... Abhidharmakoṣa (Nāgari characters), R. Sankrityayana, Banaras, 1930.

AbhKbh. ... Abhidharmakoṣabhāsya ed. Th. Stcherbatsky. *BB.* XX, 1930

AbhKk. ... Abhidharmakoṣakārikā ed. L. de laValle Poussin, Paris, 1931

Abhkvy. ... Abhidharmakoṣavyākhya, ed. U. Ne Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-36

Abhs. ... Abhidhammatthasangaha, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JPTS* 1884- 1-84

Abhsy. ... Abhidharmasamuccaya ed. P. Pradhan, ***VBS.*** 12, 1950.

Abhvt. ... Abhidhammāvatāra, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta. *BM.* I, 1915

ABIA. .... Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute.

ABORI. ... Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).

Abs Pus. ... Abhisamayālaṃkāraprajnāpāramitā upadesasāstra (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation), ed.Th. Stcherbatsky and F. Obermiller, *BB,* XXIII, 1929

Abs Pvy. ... Abhisamayālamkārālokaprajnāpāramitāvyākhya, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1932-35

AdsP. ... Adhyārdhasatikāprajnāpāramitā, ed. H. Leumann, Strassburg. 1912

Akanuma 1 ... Akanuma. C. : Indo-Bukkyo, Koyumeishi-Jiten (Dictionary of Buddhist Indian Proper Names), Nagoya, 1931

Akanuma 2 ... Akanuma, C : Kam-pa Shibu Agon Gosho roku (The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas). Nagoya. 1929.

AKM. ... Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes heraus g. von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft

AM. ... Asia Minor

AMG. ... Annales du Musee Guimet

Anagv. ... Anāgatavamsa. ed J. Minaeff *JPTS* 1886. 33 ff.

Anesaki. ... Anesaki, M. The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese. 1908

AO. .. Archiv Orientalni, Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute.

Aps. ... Apadāna. I-II. ed. *M.* E Lilley *PTS* 1925-27.

APA. . .... Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā (Visuddha janavilāsini . ed. C E. Godakumbura. *PTS* 1954

ArtA ... Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland).

Arvs' ... Arthavinis' caya. ed A. Ferrari. Rome. 1944.

AS. ... Aluvihāra Series (Colombo)

ASCAR. ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report.

ASCI. ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Inscriptions.

ASCMen ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon,

ASIAR. . .. Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report

ASIMem, ... Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir

AsP ... Aṣṭasahas'rikāprajnāpāramitā. ed. R. mitra, Calcutta. 1888.

ASWI. ... Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India

Āṭā. ... Āṭānātiyasūtra, ed. H. Hoffmann (Bruchstucke des Āṭānātiyasūtra), KITurf. V. 1939.

Avk. ... Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das. *BI* 1888-96

Avs' ... Avadānas'ataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* 19. 1958

BASR ... Bulletin de l' Academie des Sciences Russie

BB ... Bibilotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)

BBh ... Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930-36

Bc. ... Bodhicaryāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, Calcutta, 1901-14

Bcp. ... Bodhicaryāvatāra pañjikā, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, 1902

BD. ... Buddhist Dictionary, by Nyānatiloka (revised edition), Colombo 1956

Beal ... Beal, S. : The Buddhist Tripitaka, 1876

BEFEO ... Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient (Hanoi)

Bendall ... Bendall, C. Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge 1883

Bhkav. ... Bhadrakalpāvadāna, ed. S. Oldenbourg, 1884

BHS. .... Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary, F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953

Bksk. ... Bhavasamkrāntisutra (and commentary, reconstructed in Sanskrit from Tibetan translation), ed. N. Ariyswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938.

Bl. ... Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)

BiblB ... Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris)

BIIMEO ... Bulletino dell' instituto Indiano peril, Medio ed Estremo Orients (Rome)

BM. ... Buddhadatta's Manuals, 1-11, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1915, 1927

BMFJ. ... Bulletin de la Maison Franco Japonaise (Tokyo)

BhiPrat ... Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke des Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa), *KITurf.* III, 1926

BOH. ... Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest)

BPrā. ... Bodhisattvaprātimoksasutra, ed. N. Dutt. *IHQ.* 7, 1931, 259 ff.

BS. ... Buddhistic Studies. ed B. C. Law, Calcutta. 1931

BSOAS. ... Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London

BSS. ... Bombay Sanskrit Series

BST. ... Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)

Buc. ... Buddhacarita, ed. E. H. Johnston Calcutta 1935

Bup. ... Buddhaghosuppatti (with translation) ed. J. Gray. London, 1892

Buv. ... Buddhavaṃsa, ed. R. Morris, *PTS* 1882

BuvA. ... Buddhavaṃsa *Aṭṭhakathā* (Madhuratthavilāsini) ed. I. B. Homer. *PTS. 1946*

Cabaton ... Cabaton, A. : Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pali. Paris, 1907

Catus. ... Catuhśataka (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts reconstructed), ed. V. Bhattachārya. Calcutta. 1931

CHJ. ... The Ceylon Historical Journal

CII. ... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

CJHSS. ... The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies

CJSc. ... Ceylon Journal of Science – Section G

Ckv. ... Chakesadhātuvamsa, ed. J. Minayeff. *JPTS.* 1885, 5-16

Cordier ... Cordier, P. : Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, 11-111, 1909-15

Cp. ... Cariyāpitaka, ed. B. C. Law, Lahore 1924

CpA. ... Cariyāpiṭaka *Aṭṭhakathā* (Paramatthadipani), ed. D. L. Barua.*PTS.* 1939

CPD. ... A Critical Pali Dictionary, Copenhagen

Cvisp. ... Cittaviśuddhiprakarana, ed. P. B. Patel, *VBS.* 8, 1949

D. ... Digha Nikāya, I-III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, *PTS.* 1890-1911

DA. ... Dighanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sumangalavilāsini). 1-111, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids. J. E. Carpenter, W. Stede *PTS* 1886-1932

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Dbhs. ... Daśabhūmika-sutra ed. J. Radher, Louvain, 1926

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Divy. ...Divyāvādāna, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cabridge, 1886

DPPN. ...Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, 1-11. by G. P. Malalasekera, London, 1960

Dpv. ...Dipavamsa, ed. H. Oldenberg, London. 1879.

Dpv.2. ...The Dipavamsa. ed. B. C. Law. *CHJ.* VIII. Nos. 1-4. Maharagama. Ceylon, 1959.

Dukap. ... Dukapṭṭhāna, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids. *PTS.* 1906

EB. ... The Eastern Buddhist.

EI ... Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, Government Press).

Ency. Bsm. ...Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. ed. G. P. Malalasekera. Ceylon.

ERE ...Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. I-XIII, ed. I. Hastings. Edinburg. 1908-26

EW. ... East and West (Rome).

EWA. ... Encyclopaedia of World Art, I-VIII, McGrawHill

EZ. ...Epigraphia Zeylanica (Ceylon Government Press).

Gg. ...Gaṇḍistotragāthā (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese Kien ch'ui-fan-tsan) ed. Stael-Holstein *BB.XV.* 1913

GM. ...Gilgit Manuscripts, I-III, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar and Calcutta. 1939-50.

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Gv. ... Gandhavamsa. ed. J. Minayeff *J PTS.* 1886, 54-80

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Hetub. ... Hetubinduṭikā (with sub commentary) ed. S. Sanghavi and M. Jinavijayaji, *GOS.* 113, 1949.

HJAS. ... Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.

HOS. .... Harvard Oriental Series.

Hvp. .... Hastavālaprakarana (reconstructed in Sanskrit from Chinese and Tibetan translations) ed. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1918, 267 ff.

IA. .... Indian Antiquary (Bombay)

IAL. .... Indian Art and Letters (London)

IBK. .... Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu (University of Tokyo, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies).

IC. ... Indian Culture (Calcutta).

IHQ. ... The Indian Historical Quarterly.

It. .... Itivuttaka ed. E. Windisch, *PTS.* 1889

ItA. .... Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani, I-II ed. M. M. Bose, *PTS,* 1943-36.

J ... Jātaka (with commentary), 1-VI. ed. V. Fausboll, *PTS.* 1962.

JAOS ... Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JAs ... Journal Asiatique.

JASB ... Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBHU ... Journal of the Benares Hindu University.

JBORS ... Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

JBRAS ... Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBRS ... Journal of the Burma Research Society.

JBTS ... Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.

JCBRAS ... Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDLC ... Journal of the Department of Letters. University of Calcutta.

JGIS ... Journal of the Greater India Society.

JIH ... Journal of Indian History.

Jinac. ... Jinacarita, ed. W. H. D. Rouse, *JPTS.*104-5,1-165.

Jinak. ... Jinakālamali, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, PTS. 1962.

Jnāl. ... Jinālamkāra (with translation), ed, J. Gray. London. 1894.

Jm. ... Jātakamalā, ed. H. Kern, HOS. I Boston. 1891.

JOR ... Journal of Oriental Reserach.

JPTS ... Journal of the Pali Text Society.

JRAS ... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JSS ... Journal of the Siam Society.

Keith. ... Keith, A. B. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Oxford. 1905.

Khp. ... Khuddakapāṭha. ed. H. Smith *PTS.* 1915.

KhpA. ... Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā I). ed. H. Smith. *PTS* 1915

Khs. ... Khuddasikkhā. ed. B. Muller, *JPTS.* 1883.

KhT. ... Khotanese Texts, I-II. ed. H. W. Bailey. Cambridge. 1946-54.

KlTurf. ... Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte (Konig'liche Preussische Tufan-Expeditionen)

Kp. ... Karuṇāpundarika. ed. S. C. Das and S. C. Sastri, Calcutta. 1898.

Ks'yp. ... Kas'yapaparivarta, ed. H. Stael-Holstein 1926.

Kr. ... Karatalaratna (Sanskrit from the Chinese translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar. 1938.

Kvbh. ... (Karmavibhanga) Mahakarmavibhanga (La grande Classification des Actes) et Karma vibhangopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahākarma-vibhanga), ed. S. Levi. Paris, 1932.

Kvit. ... Kankhāvitarani, ed. Dorothy Maskell, *PTS.* 1956.

Kvu. ... Kathāvatthu, 1-11, ed. A. C. Taylor *PTS.* 1894-95 *KvuA.* Kathāvatthuppakarana Aṭṭhakathā. ed. Minayeff. *JPTS.* 1889, 1-222

Kvyu ... (Avalokites'varaguna) Kāraṇḍavyūha, ed. S. Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873.

Lal. ... Lalitavistara, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST* I, 1958.

Lank. ... Lankāvatārasutra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.

Ligeti. ... Ligeti Louis Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol. I. BOH. III, 1942-44.

Ls' ... Lokes'varas'ataka, ed. Suzanne Karpeles JAs. 1919,5.11, XIV, 357- 465

M. ... Majjhima Nikāya, 1-IV, ed. V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1888-1925.

MA. ... Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papancasūdani), 1-V ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I. B. Honer *PTS.* 1922-38.

MBT. ... Minor Buddhist Texts, ed. G. Tucci, *SOR.* IX Part 1, 1956.

MCM. ... Memoir of the Colombo Museum.

Mdhvr. ... Mādhyamakavṛtti, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, *BB.* IV, 1902-13.

Mdhvt. ... Mādhyamakāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, *BB.* IX.

Mgh. ... Meghasūtra, ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS.* I 880-288ff.

Mhbv. ... Mahābodhivamsa, ed. S. A. Strong *PTS.* 1891.

Mhm. ... Mahāmāyuri, ed. Oldenberg in Zapiski Vostschnago Otdelenija Imp. Rusesk, Archeol, Obschestva, XI, 1899.

Mhps. ... Mahāparinirvānasutra, ed. H. Waldschmidt, Abhandlungen der Deustschen Akademie, Berlin, 1950-51.

Mhs. ... Mahāmājsutra, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke Buddhistischer Sutras, I) KITurf. IV, 1932.

Mhsmg. ... Mahāyānasamgraha, I-II, ed. E. Lamotte (La Somme du Grand Vihicule d'Asanga), Louvain, 1938.

Mhv. ... Mahāvamsa, ed. W. Geiger (chapters i-xxxvii) *PTS*, 1980, ed. W. Geiger I-II, (chapters xxxviii-lxxii and Lxxiii-ci), PTS. 1925-27.

MhvA. ...Mahāvamsaṭika (Vamsatthappākāsini Mahāvamsa Aṭṭhakathā), I-II, ed. G. P. Malalasekera. *PTS*. 1935.

MhvE. ... Extended Mahāvamsa. ed. G. P. Malalasekera, *AS*. III 1937.

Mhvu. ... Mahāvastu, I-III. ed. E. Senart. Paris. 1882-97.

Mhvyut. ... Mahāvyutpatti. ed. R. Sasaki. Kyoto. 1916.

Miln. ... Milindapanha, ed. V. Trenckner, *PTS*. 1962

Mmk. ... (Arya) Manijus'rimulakalpa. ed. T. G. Sastri. *TSS*. 1920-25.

Moc. ... Mochizuki. S. Bukkyo-dai-jiten, 1- 8, Tokyo. 1933-57.

Mūls. ... Mūlasikkhā, ed. E. Muller, *JPTS*. 1883, 122-32.

Mvibh. ... Madhyāntavibhāga, ed. S. Yamagucchi, Nagoya. 1934.

Mvyk. ... Maitreyavyākarana, ed. S. Levi. melanges Linossier, Paris. 1933. 381-90.

Nanjio. ... Nanjio, B. Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, Oxford, 1883.

Nd.I. ... Mahāniddesa, 1- ed. L. de la Vailce Poussin and E. J. Thomas. *PTS*. 1916-17.

Nd.II. ... Cullaniddessa, 1-III, ed. W. Stede, *PTS*. 1981.

NdA.I. ...Nidddesavaṇṇanā (Saddhamma-pajjotikā- Mahāniddesa Aṭṭhakathā). 1-III, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS*. 1931-1.

NdA.II. ... Nidddesavaṇṇanā (Saddhamma-pajjotikā- Cullaniddesa Aṭṭhakathā), ed. Boruggamuwe Sri Revata *SHB*. XIV. 1923.

Nett. ... Nettippakarana, ed. E. Hardy. *PTS*. 1902

NettA. ... Nettippakarana Aṭṭhakathā ed. Widurupola Piyatissa, *SHB*, IX, 1921.

NIA. ... New Indian Antiquary.

NR. ... Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku-bu Kenkyu Ronshu (Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University).

Nrp. ... Nāmarūpapariccheda, ed, A. P. Buddhadatta, *JPTS*, 19 13-14.

Nrs. ... Nāmarūpasamāsa, ed. P. Dhammāra ma, *JPTS* 1915-16.

Nyāb. ... Nyāyabindu, ed. Th Stcherbatsky (Nyāya-bindu, Nyayabindutika), I- II, *BB*. VIII, 1904:III, 1929.

Nyap. ... Nyāyapraves'a (with commentary, ed. A. B. Dhruva, *GOS*, 38, 1930.

OM. ... Otani Daigaku Toshokan-zo Tibet Daizokyo Kanjur Kando Mokuroku, Kyoto, 1930-32

Panc.g. ... Pañcagatidipani.ed. L. Feer, *JPTS*. 1884. 152-61.

PB. ... Prabuddha Bhārata.

PBO. ... Polski Biuletyn Orintalistyczny (The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, Varsovie).

PED. ... Pali-English Dictionary, T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede. *PTS*.

Pet. ... Peṭakopadesa, ed. A. Barua, *PTS* 1949.

Phṛd. ... Prajnāpāramitāhrdayasūtra, ed. F. Max Muller, Oxford, 1884.

Pjm. ...Pajjamadhu, ed E. R. Gooneratne, *JPTS*. 1887, 1-16.

PMG. ...Publications du Musee Guimet.

PpA. ...Pañcappakarana Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), Part I, ed. Rerukane Ariyañāna, *SHB*, XXXVII, 1936 Part II, ed. Rerukane Canda-vimala, *SHB*. XL, 1938

Ppiṇd. ... Prajnāparamitāpiṇdārtha, I-II, ed. G. Tucci (Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajnaparamita, *JRAS*, 1947.

Prāt. ... Prātimokṣasūtra, ed. L. finot (Prātimokṣasū des Sarvastivadins) with a French translation of the Chinese version ed. Huber, JAs. XI, 2(1913). 473ff.

Prgsg. ... Prajjnāpāramitāratna guṇasañcayagāthā. ed. E. Obermiller, Moscow, 1937.

Prvār. ... Pramāṇavārttikaṃ(with commentary and sub-commentary) ed. R. Sankrityayana. Allahabad. 1949.

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PsA. ... Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā (Saddhammappakasini). I-III, ed. C. V. Joshi, *PTS*. 1933-47.

PSS. ... Panjab Sanskrit Series (Lahore).

PTC. ... Pali Tipiṭṭiaka Concordance. *PTS*.

PTS. ... Pali Text Society (edition).

Pug. ... Puggalapaññatti, ed R. Morris. *PTS*. 1883.

PugA. ... Puggalapaññatti Aṭṭhakathā. ed G. Lands-berg and Mrs. Rhys Davids. *JPTS*. 1913-14 pp. 170-254.

Pvs'P. ... Pañcaviṃsatisāha srikāprajnā-paramitā ed. N. Dutt, London, 1934.

Pvu. ... Petavatthu, with commentary Petavatthu Aṭṭhakath (Paramatthadipani), ed. E. Hardy. *PTS*. 1894.

Ratgot. ... Ratnagotravibhāgamahāyānottarat antra-sāstra ed. E. H. Johnston Patna, 1950.

Rkav. ... Roruka Avadāna (I: Tibetischer Text and Dt. Ubersetzung II Worterbuch), ed J. Nobel 1954.

Rpp ... Rāstrapālaparipṛccha, ed. L. finot, St. Petersburg, 1901.

Rsv. ... Rasavāhini, ed. Nanavimala Maha thera, Colombo, 1961.

Rvibh. ... Rūpārūpavibhāga. ed. A. Buddhadatta, *BM*. 1, 1915.

S. ... Saṃyutta Nikāya, I-VI, ed. L. Feer and Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS*, 1884-1904

SA. ... Saṃyuttanikāya Aṭṭakathā (Sāratthappakāsini), I-III ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS*. 1929-37.

Sadh. ... Sādhanamālā ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1025-28.

Sag. ... Saṃyuktāgama (fragments from Stein manuscripts), ed. L. de la Vallee *Poussin*, *JRAS*. 1913, 569 ff.

Sal. ... Sālistambasūtra (reconstructed), ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, (Bouddhisme, Etudes et Materiaux, Theorie es douze causes), Gand, 1913, 19-90.

Sāsv. ... Sāsanavaṃsa, ed. M. Bode, *PTS*. 1897.

Saund. ... Saundarānanda, ed. E. H. Johnston, Oxford, 1928.

Saund. K. ... Saundarānandakāvya, ed. Haraprasad, Sastri, Calcutta. 1910.

SBB. ... Sacred Books of the Buddhists.

SBE. ... Sacred Books of the East.

Sdars.' ... Sarvadars'anasaṃgraha, ed. E. B. Cowell. 1978.

Sdmp. ... Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra, ed. U. Wogihara and K. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934-3 5.

Sdmpy. ... Saddhammopāyana, ed. R. Morris, *JPTS*. 1887, 35-98.

Sdms. ... Saddhammasaṅgaha, ed. Nedimale Saddhānanda, *JPTS*. 1890, 2 1-90.

Sdurg. ... Sarvadurgatiparis'odhanausnisa vijaya-dhārani, ed. F. Max Muller, 1884.

Sgh. ... Sadgatihārikā ed. P. Mus; La Lumiere sur les Six Voies, Paris, 1939.

Shastri. ... Shastri, Hara Prasad A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government collection. Under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1917.

SHB. ... Simon Hewavitarane Bequest (Colombo)

SII. ... South Indian Inscriptions (Madras).

Siks. ... S'iksasamuccaya, ed. C. Bendall, St. Petersburg, 1897-1902.

Sīmā ... Simāvivādavinicchayakathā, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS*. 1887, 17-34.

SIS. ... Sino-Indian Studies (Santiniketan).

Sn. ... Suttanipāta, ed. D. Andersen and H. Smith, *PTS*. 1913.

SnA. ... Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā (ParamatthajotikII), ed. H. Smith, *PTS*, 1916-18.

Snir. ... Sandhinirmocanasūtra, ed. E. Lamotte (Sandhinirmocanasūtra, L'explication des Myste'res), Paris, 1935.

SOR. ... Serie Oricitale Roma.

Srs. ... Samādhirjasūtra (chapters 8, 19, 22), ed. Regamey, Warsaw, 1938.

Sskp. ... Saptas'atikāprajnāpāramitā, ed. J. Masuda, Tokyo, 1930.

Ssmg. ... Suttasamgaha, ed. P. Chaudhuri and D. Guha, *BI.* 1957.

SSmk. ... Saccasamkhepa, ed. P. Dhammārāma, *JPTS.* 1917-19, 1-25.

S'sp. ... S'atasāhasrikāprajnāpāramitā, ed. P. Ghose, BI. 1910.

Ssvu. ... Sahassavatthuppakaranam (in Sinhalese characters), ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Maradana, 1959.

Sumag. ... Sumāgadhāvādna, ed. G Tokiwai, 1897

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Svrn. ... Suvarnaprabhāsottamasūtra, ed. J. Nobel (Das Goldglanz Sutra), Leipzig, 1937.

Svu. ... Sihalavaithuppakaraṇa (in Sinhalese characters) ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1959.

Svyu. ... Sukhāvativyūha, ed. F. Max Muller, Oxford, 1883.

Taisho. ... Taisho Shinshu Daziokyo, ed. J. Takakusu, I-CII, 1924-32.

Tant. ... Tantrākhyāna ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS* 1888.

Thag. ... Theragāthā. ed. H. Oldenberg, *PTS.* 1883.

ThagA. ... Theragāṭhā., Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), 1-III ed,. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1940-59.

Thig. ... Therigāṭhā., ed. R. Pischel, *PTS.* 1883.

ThigA. .... Therigāṭhā. Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1893.

Thupv. ... Thūpavamsa, ed. B. C. Law *PTS.* 1935.

Tikap ... Tikapaṭṭhāna, I-III (with commentary), ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 192 1-23.

Tkg ... Telakatāhagāthā, ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *JPTS.* 1884, 49-68.

TM ... Tōhokutcikoku-Daigaku Hobun gakubu Tibet-Daizōyō So Mokuroku 1-11, Sendai, 1932.

Trins' ... Trims'ikāvijnapti, ed. H. Jacobi (Trims'ikavijnaptimit Bhāsya des Acarya Sthiramati), 1932.

TSS ... Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

TT. ... Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition, edited by D, T. Suzuki, Vol. 1-165.

TurkRern. ... Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan. ed. (in conjuction with other scholars) A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, I, Oxford, 1916.

UCR. ... University of Ceylon Review.

Ud. ... Udāna, ed. P. Steinthal, *PTS.* 1885.

UdA. ...Udāna Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadi pani), ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1926.

Udvg. ... Udānavarga, ed. N. P. Chakravarti, Paris, 1930.

Uvch .... Uttaravinicchaya, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, BM. 11, 23 1-304.

VajP. ... Vajracchedikāprajnāparamitāā, ed. (and translated) E. Conze *SOR.* XIII, Rome, 1957

Vajsu ... Vajrasūci, ed. (and translated), S. K. Mukho-padhyāya, Santiniketan, 1950.

Vbh. ... Vibhaṅga, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids *PTS.* 1904

VbhA. ... Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā (Sammohavinodani), ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1923

VBS. ... Vis'va-Bhārati Studies.

Vickāv. ... Vicitrakamikāvadana, ed. (and translated) H. Jorgensen, London, 1931

Vims'. ...(Vims'atikā) Vijnaptimātratāsiddhi, ed. S. Levi, 1925-26.

Vin. ...Vinayapiṭaka, 1-V, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879-83.

VinA. ...Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā), 1-VII, ed. J. Takakusu, M. Nagai, *PTS.* 1924-47.

VinMS. ... Mula Sarvāstivāda Vinaya Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III. ed. N. Dutt. 1939-50.

VinS. ... Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin, ed. (and translated in French) J. Fillozat and H. Kuno*JAs.* 1938, 21-64.

Vinvch. ... Vinayavinicchaya, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* 11. 1-230.

Vism. ... Visuddhimagga. ed. H. C. Warren and D. Kosambi *HOS.* 41, 1950.

Vvu. ... Vimānavatthu (with commentary), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1901.

WZKM ... Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Yam. ... Yamaka, I-II, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1911-13.

YamA. ... Yamakappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā ed. C. A.F. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1910-12, 51-107.

ZDMG ... Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

CROSS-REFERENCES OF SPEICAL TITLES TO ABBREVIATIONS

Atthasālini	Dhammasangani Aṭṭhakathā	*(DhsA.)*
Madhuratthavilāsini	Buddhavamsa Aṭṭhakathā	*(BuvA.)*
Manorathapūrani	Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(A.A.)*
Niddesa-vaṇṇanā	Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	*(NdA. I, II)*
Papañcasudani	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(MA)*
Paramatthadipani	Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā	*(CpA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā	*(ItA)*
Paramatthadipani	Pancappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā	*(PpA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā	*(PvuA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā	*(Thag A.)*
Paramatthadipani	Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā	*(Thig A.)*
Paramatthajotika I	Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā	*(KhpA.)*
Paramatthajotika II	Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā	*(SnA.)*
Paramatthamañjusā	Visuddhimagga Aṭṭhakathā	*(VismA.)*
Saddhammapajjotika I, II	Maha-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	*(NdA. I, II)*
Saddhammappakasini	Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	*(PsA.)*
Samantapāsādikā	Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā	*(VinA)*
Sammohavinodani	Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā	*(VbhA.)*
Sāratthappakāsini	Samyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(SA.)*
Sumangalavilāsini	Digha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(DA)*
Visuddhajanavilāsini	Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā	*(ApA.)*

3-CM 8536

TAIWAN. Taiwan was formally known as Formosa. Buddhism was introduced to Taiwan in the sixteenth century A.C from China, along with Taoism, by the migrant Chinese, who sought refuge in this island after the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1662 A.C. Taiwan, was ruled by the Southern Ming dynasty, till the Qing dynasty wrested it from them in 1683.

Before the advent of Chinese, the island was inhabited by uncouth ruffians such as pirates and tribal headhunters. That was the main reason why it did not attract the cultured Chinese from the mainland till they were forced to seek refuge there. The first wave of Chinese migrants to Taiwan were Ming loyalists disguised as monks, who lacked a profound knowledge of lofty Buddhist ideals or its orthodox practices like meditation. They, however, functioned as incumbents of temples and fulfilled the spiritual needs of the laity by performing their funeral rites, etc. At the same time they immersed themselves mostly in occult practices like rain-making and were also occupied with secular diversions like painting and composing poems.

Canche was the first-orthodox Buddhist monk to arrive in the island from China in 1675. It is recorded that the Chinese military commander Chen Yonghua had constructed the Longhu yan ("Dragon Lake Cave") and offered it to Canche.Later, the priest himself founded the Biyun-si monastery near present city of Chia-yi.

As Buddhism began to get rooted in the island, several other monasteries began to come up in and around the capital, Tainan. Significant among the early Buddhist monateries are: the Zhuxi ('the Bamboo stream' 1664), the Haihui (1680), the Fahua ('the Dharma Blossom': 1683), "the Longshan ('the Dragon Mountain: 1738) and the Chaofeng ('Transcending peak': 1763).Though these monasteries were occupied by many monks and nuns, majority of them had to remain as novices, since there was no way for them to receive higher ordination (*upasampadā*) in Taiwan. Therefore, those who yearned to receive higher ordination were forced to go to the mainland.

After the Chinese- Japanese war, China had to surrender Taiwan to Japan in 1895.Japanese started to rule it by dividing it into three sections, namely Taihoku-ken, Taichū-ken and Tainan-ken. With the Japanese troops came the Japanese Buddhist monks, who set up centres to propagate Japanese form of Buddhism among the inhabitants.However, they could not achieve their expectations as respective head temples in Japan could not provide sufficient funds to carry on proselytization activities. Nevertheless, it was during the Japanese occupation that the performance of higher ordination started in Taiwan. It commenced with the setting up of platforms required for performing that religious rite at four monasteries, namely, the Lingquan Chan in Keelung, Lingauyan Chuen on Guanyin mountain, the Fayun Chan near Miaoli and the Chaofeng in Kaohsiung.It is recorded that the abbots of these four monasteries, upon receiving the higher ordination at the Yongquan monastery in China returned to Taiwan and performed it on other monks and nuns. They, in turn, established their own monasteries all over the country. It ultimately paved the way for the emergence of four great ancestral lineages that eventually rendered an immense service for the propagation of Buddhism in Taiwan.

Even under the Japanese domination, the Taiwanese Buddhists of Chinese descent seemed to be quite adamant in preserving the identify of their own form of faith from its Japanese counterpart. To this end, the monks and laity got together to form Buddhist organizations to represent their problems to the government and to safeguard their interest in religion. The most notable of those was the South Seas Buddhist Association founded in 1922.

At the end of the World War II, Japanese had to return Taiwan to China in 1945.However, when the Communists captured power in China in 1949, the nationalists fled to Taiwan seeking refuge there. Since there arose a political and economic instability in Taiwan in the ensuing period. Buddhism and its clergy had to undergo severe difficulties. When the situation there began to improve, several leading Buddhist monks from China in the calibre of Hangija (1891-1957), Baisheng (1904-1989) and Yinshun (1906), who represented newly revived Buddhist Associations of the Republic of China (BAROC) came to Taiwan to sojourn there, hoping to return to their homeland once the situation improved. Located in Taipei, BAROC played a vital role to represent matters of Buddhist interest to the government. It gained recognition as a responsible organization and the government entrusted to it, among other things, the functions of registration of all monks and temples, performing the ordination rites of monks and framing rules pertaining to religions. However in its dealings

with the government to safeguard Buddhism, it sometimes had to clash with the authorities. Two such instances were the agitation it made when the government failed to return to the Buddhists the monasteries confiscated during the Japanese occupation, to be used again for religious purposes, the other notable instance being, when the government turned down the request to set up a Buddhist university.

In 1989, the government took over from it the responsibility of registration of monks and nuns and strated to register them as ordinary citizens under their lay names. Powers of the Association were curtailed further with the abolition of the 'one niche, one organization' rule. Thus, the government deprived BAROC of its unique privilege and it resulted in the proliferation of several Buddhist organizations like Fo Kuang Shan and Dharma Drumha Mountain Association.

A notable feature in Taiwanese Buddhism was that nuns outnumbered by far the number of monks. It is well-evinced from the fact that in the period extending from 1953 to 1986, BAROC has ordained 6006 nuns as against 2030 monks, a fact that raised concern amongst some Buddhists about the status of nuns *vis-à-vis* the monks. In the last few decades, Taiwan has become a fast developing industrialized nation, which had its repercussions on the Buddhist clergy. Emergence of modern trends in the social set-up coupled with new value systems that substituted the age-old traditional patterns seem to have dissuaded lay people from entering the order. It was particularly conspicuous in the case of males.

A marked attitudinal change among the people concerning doctrinal aspects too became visible. The traditional way of thinking emphasized the importance of spiritual attainments, if one intends to be reborn in the Pure Land. However, in recent times that ideal has undergone a considerable transformation and now the emphasis is on creating the Pure Land on this very earth and in this very existence itself through one's own good deeds that contribute to make this world a better place to live. A similar transformation of attitudes is to be seen in the case of Buddhist monasteries too. The traditional method of collecting funds by way of soliciting donations and providing religious services at funerals, etc, has given way to a more sophisticated method of generating funds *via* lay organizations that are under jurisdiction of the respective monasteries. Some prominent monasteries run ventures like publishing houses for the same purpose.

Buddhism in Taiwan is progressing slowly, but steadily amidst new challenges. It is estimated that at present there are over 3000 temples and about 5,750,000 Buddhists in the country (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol.17, USA, 1982, p 998).

C.S.Ranasinghe.

TAJJANĪYAKAMMA: *Tajjanīyakamma* (Budst.Skt. *tarjanīyakarma*), the formal disciplinary act of censure (*tajjaniya*). The full term is a combination of *tajjaniya*, a gerundive from the verbal form *tajjeti* 'to threaten, frighten or censure' and *kamma*, 'a formal act of the *Saṅgha*.'

Five such formal acts of discipline, not directly based on the *Pātimokkha* rules, as, for instance, the *parivāsa* and the *mānatta*, are specified in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vin*.I.49 etc.) but without any detailed discussion on them. However all these are given in the first chapter called the *Kammakkhandhaka* of the *Cullavagga* (*ibid*.II 1 *ff*) with all the details regarding the reason for their imposition, conduct expected from the punished and the revocation of the punishment. Of these five disciplinary acts four, viz. the formal acts of censure (*tajjanīya*), subordination (*nissaya*), banishment (*pabbājanīya*) and suspension (*ukkhepanīya*), which seem to have been arranged in an ascending order of gravity, fall into one category. The other, the formal act of reconciliation (*paṭisaraṇīyakamma*), seems to form a category of its own. The monastic failings specified in the *Cullavagga* as applying to the imposition of the four punitive acts of the first category have been tabulated by Prof. Dheerasekera[1] as follows:

A. 1. " When a Bhikkhu is a maker of strife, quarrelsome, a maker of disputes, given to idle talk, and raises legal questions in the *Saṅgha*.
2. "When he is ignorant, unaccomplished, full of offences and heedless of injunctions.
3. "If he lives in company with householders, in unbecoming association with householders.

B. 1. "If in regard to moral habits, he comes to have fallen away from moral habits.
2. "If in regard to good habits, he comes to have fallen away from good habits.
3. "If in regard to right views, he comes to have fallen away from right views.

C. 1. "If he speaks dispraise of the Buddha
2. "If he speaks dispraise of the Dhamma
3. "If he speaks dispraise of the *Saṅgha*"

If a monk is marked by the qualities of any one of the above groups the *Saṅgha* could carry out a formal act of censure on the offender.

Legal Validity or Invalidity of an Act

For any formal disciplinary act to be legally valid it should, in the final analysis, be in accord with the Dhamma and carried out by a complete Saṅgha (*dhammena samaggena kataṃ hoti*). Further it should have been carried out 'in the presence of' (*sammukhā*) of the accuser and the accused, preceded with an interrogation (*paṭipucchā*) of the accused who has acknowledged (*paṭiññāya*) the offensive act. It should be carried out only when there is an offence (*āpattiyā*) which could lead to a confession (*desanāgāminiyā*), but has not been already confessed (*adesitāya āpattiyā*). It has to be carried out only after reproving (*codetvā*) the monk concerned, having made him to remember the offensive act (*sāretvā*) and having charged him (*ropetvā*).In the absence of all these qualities the formal act of censure is not legally or disciplinarily valid and is one that is hard to settle.

Conduct Expected of a Censured Monk

One against whom a formal act of censure has been carried out is expected to conduct oneself properly in accord with all the following conditions. Such a one should not give higher ordination (*na upasampādetabbo*) nor guidance (*na nissayo dātabbo*) nor make a novice attend upon him (*na sāmanero upaṭṭhāpetabbo*). He should not consent to an agreement to exhort nuns nor should he exhort nuns even if agreed to. He should not repeat the same offence, nor commit another that is similar, nor an offence worse than that. The censured person should not find fault with the formal act nor with those who carried it out. He should not suspend the *uposatha* or the *pavāraṇa* of a regular monk.The censured person should not issue commands or set up authority nor ask for leave.He also should not reprove or make remember another monk nor should he quarrel with monks (*na bhikkhūhi sampayojetabbo*).

Revocation of a Formal Act of Censure

If a monk censured by the Saṅgha is satisfied that he has acted properly within the bounds of all the above conditions he could appraise the Saṅgha that he has conducted himself properly, become subdued and mended his ways and, appeal for the revocation of the formal act. If the Saṅgha is satisfied, a motion, followed by three repetitions, to revoke the formal act could be placed before the assembly which could decide to revoke it. But if the Saṅgha is not satisfied with the conduct of the censured monk they may not revoke it. It is, however, very clear from the eighteen conditions amounting to the proper conduct of a censured person that, during the operative period of the act, he is removed from all positions and acts of authority in the Saṅgha and that he is debarred from certain privileges normally enjoyed by a regular member of the Saṅgha.

C.Witanachchi.

Reference

1 .Dheerasekera,Jotiya, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, Ministry of Higher Education .Research Publication Series, M.D. Gunasena and Co.,Colombo 1982,p.118.

TAKKASILĀ.

Preliminary: Takkasilā (Skt. Takshasilā) is an ancient city of North Western India of which the present name is Taxila, apparently a Greek coinage. Its literal meaning is "City of cut stones or the Rocks of Taksha". Indian tradition has attached a mythological beginning to the city. According to the Indian Epic *Rāmāyana* it was founded by Bharata, younger brother of Rāma, an incarnation of Kriśna. It was named after Bharata's son Taksha. Takkasilā (Taxila) is referred to in the Indian Greco-Roman literary sources and also in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. It was situated at the confluence of three great trade routes in ancient times, one from Eastern India, second from Western Asia and the third route from Kashmir and Central Asia. Therefore Takkasilā (Taxila) was the place where three important cultures, Indian, Iranian (Persian) and Greek met. As a result of the trade routes that passed through Takkasilā (Taxila), it became a prosperous city in the ancient world. Arrian, a Greek historian

and philosopher describes it as "a large and wealthy city and most populous between the Indus and Hydaspes. Strabo, a Greek geographer, declares it as a large city and adds that the neighbouring country was "crowded with inhabitants and was very fertile. Pliny, a Roman historian, calls it a "famous city situated on a low, but level, plain in a district called "Amanda".

History: Gandhāra (of which Taxila or Takkasilā was the capital) is mentioned as a strapy or a province in the inscriptions of Achaemenian (Persian) king Darius I, in the 5th century B.C. It is evident that Taxila or Takkasilā was under Archaemenian rule for more than a century. Alexander the great invaded India in 326 B.C. Ambhi (Omphis), the ruler of Taxila at the time, surrendered the city and placed its resources at Alexander's disposal. Alexander is supposed to have halted at Taxila and refreshed his army before advancing to battle with Porus. Takkasilā or Taxila remained under Greek rule for about 100 years. After Alexander's death which occurred in 323 B.C. Taxila was absorbed into the Mauryan empire founded by Chandragupta, under whose rule Taxila became a provincial capital.

Perhaps due to the severe oppression of Chandragupta, Takkasilā (Taxila) revolted against the Mauryan rule, towards the beginning of the reign of his successor and son Bindusāra (300-273 B.C.), who sent his son Asoka to suppress the revolt. Asoka successfully suppressed the rebels and was there as the viceroy till his father's death. Asoka who succeeded his father maintained sovereignty over this distant part of his empire in the course of his long rule of 37 years (273 – 236 B.C.). It was during the reign of Asoka that Buddhism was officially introduced to Gandhāra, of which Takkasilā was the capital, although Buddhism might have been known to Takkasilā during the life time of the Buddha, as we will see later. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, one of the nine missions sent out under the patronage of Asoka to propagate Buddhism, proceeded to Kāsmira- Gandhāra region (which included the city of Takkasilā). The Buddhist mission headed by the thera Majjhantika was responsible for establishing the *Buddha Sāsana* in the Kāsmira Gandhāra region as per the *Mahāvamsa* account (chapter xii verse 3). The presence of Asoka's inscription at Takkasilā (Taxila) further testifies to his sovereignty over Takkasilā.

Soon after the death of Asoka, the Empire of Magadha began to disintegrate and Takkasilā (Taxila) was able to declare its independence. But their independence was short lived. Takkasilā (Taxila) was annexed by the Indo-Greek kingdom of Bactria. It remained under Indo-Greeks till early 1st century B.C. After the Indo-Greeks, some hosts of invaders from Western and Central Asia rushed to India. They were Salas or Scythians, Parthians[1] and Kushānas and reigned over this region up to the first half of the third century A.C. Among Kushāna rulers, Kaniska (78-102 A.C.) was a great patron of Buddhism similar to Asoka. Kaniska's reign was the golden age of Buddhism in Takkasilā (Taxila).

In the 4th century A.C. the Sasanian king Shapur II (310-379 A.C.) appear to have conquered Takkasilā (Taxila) as evidenced by the numerous Sasanian copper coins discovered at Taxila. But little information is available regarding the Sasanian occupation of Taxila. Towards the end of the 5th century A.C. Hūnas (Huns) a host, of barbarians from Central Asia, stormed and ransacked Taxila.

Taxila never recovered from that calamity. Subsequent records contain no reference to it. But the Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang, who visited it in the 7th century A.C. as we will see later, has left an important record of Taxila after the Hun invasion.

Takkasilā as referred to in Buddhist texts: Valuable information is found in Buddhist texts regarding Takkasilā. It is the capital of Gandhāra, one of the sixteen kingdoms (*Mahājanapadas*) of ancient India. However it is not referred to in any of the *suttas*. But the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (*Vin*. I, 269) refer to it. The *Mahāniddesa* (Vol. I, p. 154), an ancient commentary included in the canon (*Khuddaka Nikāya*) refers to Takkasilā as a destination where people go in search of wealth, inspite of the hazardous journey. Rest of the references are confined to commentaries, specially the *Jātaka* commentary.

The distance to Takkasilā from Benares is given as two thousand '*yojanas*'.[2] The road passed through a thick forest infested with robbers (*J*. I, 395). When King Bimbisāra was reigning in Rājagaha, Pukkusāti was the king at Takkasilā (*MA*. V. p. 33). Here Takkasilā is taken as a "*Paccantadesa*" (distant region). The king of Takkasilā was also called Gandhārarāja[3] (*J*. II, 219). King Bimbisāra developed a friendship with King Pukkusāti through traders who came from Takkasilā to Rājagaha (*MA*. V, p. 33). The same source records that King Bimbisāra sent a letter to King

Pukkusāti, through traders intimating him about the appearance of the Buddha in the world. As a result Pukkusāti is supposed to have given up his kingdom and ordained himself as a monk under the Buddha, at Rājagaha (*ibid*). There has been a constant movement of traders between Takkasilā and Rājagaha. *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhA*. I, 326) also speaks of a caravan proceeding to Takkasilā through Soreyyanagara. It is important that according to *Soreyya Thera Vatthu* (*DhA* I, p. 329), once Mahākaccāyana Thera has been living associating Takkaśilā. According to *Pālāyi Jātaka* (*J*. II, 217), once the king of Benares made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Takkasilā. Similarly *Dutiyapālayi Jātaka* (*J*. II, 220), the king of Benares tried to capture Takkasilā, but failed in his attempt. The *Dīpavamsa* (Chapter III verse 31) records the names of twelve kings, descendants of Dipankara, who ruled Takkasilā in succession.

Takkasilā the Seat of Learning: According to the Pali *Jātaka* commentary Takkasilā was a famous seat of learning, where kings, Brahmins and other influential families sent their sons for their higher education. The contemporaries of the Buddha, such as Pasenadi, king of Kosala, Mahali, a chief of the Licchavis, Bandulamalla, a prince of Mallas (*DhA*. I, 337), Jīvaka, Buddha's personal Physician (*VinA*. I, 277), Angulimāla (*MA*. III, 328), the dreadful bandit who later became an *arahant* etc. are supposed to have had their education at Takkasilā. As seen in the *Jātakas* Takkasilā is described as a seat of learning where the students could learn almost any subject, religious or secular, from the *Vedas* to Mathematics and Medicine, military skills such as archery and even Sorcery. The pre-eminence of Takkasilā as a seat of learning academic and practical subjects appear to be the natural outcome of its geographical position at the North Western gateway to India, particularly the cosmopolitan nature of its population. The interchange of Eastern and Western ideas following the Achemenian conquest has stimulated the spread of knowledge. Yet it is seen that the information collected from the *Jātaka* commentary regarding Takkasilā and its education system, has no historical basis or historical value. But it could be valued as a general description of the education system prevalent in India during the time of the Buddha, and the pre-Buddhist period. *Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka* (*J*.II, 277) clearly describes why the kings of the day sent their sons to be educated at Takkasilā inspite of the long hazardous journey involved, although there have been teachers in their native places equal to those teachers at Takkasilā. They were sent there in order to subdue their pride, train them to bear heat and cold and to get them acquainted with the customs and traditions of the people.

From the *Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka* (ibid. 277) it is clear, Takkasilā provided the necessary training for future kings. The *Jātakas* describe how the princes from distant kingdoms such as Benares (*J*. I .409), Magadha (*J*. III, 238), Mithila (*J*. IV, 315), Sivi (*J*. V, 210), Kosala (*J*. III, 115) etc. came to Takkasilā to complete their education. According to *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka* (*J*. V, 457), at a particular time five hundred princes were studying under the Disāpāmokkācariya . Thus it is clear that kings of various kingdoms of ancient India preferred to get their sons, the future kings, trained at Takkasilā. Therefore, it appears that almost all kings of the day have been past pupils of Takkasilā. The *Manorathapūrani* (*AA*. IV, 180) statement that once 84000 princes were studying together at Takkasilā under a particular Disāpāmokkācariya, appears as a gross exaggeration.

Takkasilā was also the favourite choice of Brahmin families who wanted to send their sons for higher education. The *Jātaka* commentary (*J*.I, 356, *J*. V, 127, *J*. III, 39 etc. etc.) describe numerous instances where the learned Brahmins, specially the *Purohitas* (king's Head Priest) sent their sons to Takkasilā for their education. Both the royalty and Brahmins studied together (*J*. III, 158). Though the royalty and Brahmins appear to have formed the majority among the student population, there is no reason to assume that the Takkasilā education was confined to them only. Sons of ordinary people, except the *candālas* appear to have been studying at Takkasilā. A youth named Piṅguttara (*J*. VI, 347) who was studying at Takkasilā was neither a royal prince nor a Brahmin. *Candālas* (outcastes) were not admitted, if they were known. The two *candāla* youths (*J*. IV, 390), who studied under disguise, were discontinued when they were exposed. The education at Takkasilā was open to all except the *candālas*.

Disāpāmokkācariya: The supreme head of each academic discipline at Takkasilā was known as Disāpāmokkācariya (World renowned ācariya). The fame of Takkasilā as a seat of learning was due to its teachers. They were the authorities, specialists and experts in the subject they professed. There have been many such world renowned teachers running their own educational centers independently. In addition to

teaching, maintenance of discipline, providing food and lodging for residential students were among his responsibilities. The Disāpāmokkācariya was assisted by assistant masters called Pitthācariyas who were the senior students (*J.* V, 457). Once the teachers retired due to old age, those senior students were offered their places (*J.* V, 128). The relationship between the teacher and the students during their stay at Takkasilā was similar to the relationship between a father and a son. There had been a tradition of giving the daughter of the teacher to the most senior student, or sometimes to the student the teacher liked most (*J.*VI, 347 and *DhA.* IV, 66). It is not known whether there has been any systematic organization among the various Disāpāmokkācariyas at Takkasilā. They would have been following accepted traditions, norms, and standards individually and maintained the quality of Takkasilā education. It is possible that they shared common lecture rooms when teaching a large number such as 500 students.

Curriculum: Takkasilā was a seat of higher education where the adult students are sent to complete their education. The male students were sent there when they were sixteen years of age. As evident from the *Jātakas*, Takkasilā appear to have had a systematic curriculum drawn for the students by the authorities. It covered religion and secular sciences and arts as well. It is important that theory was followed by practicals as a rule.

Vedas: Among the subjects, the study of the three *Vedas* was given an important place. As seen in the *Jātakas* almost everybody studied *Vedas* to begin with, before they proceeded with subject areas of their own choice. Not only the Brahmins, even the royalty commenced their studies with the *Vedas*. There are also instances where Brahmin students studied *Vedas* only (*J.* II, 110). The teaching of *Vedas* sometime was called teaching of *Mantas* (*Mante vācesi J.* I, 402).

Eighteen Skills: The study of the *Vedas* was often followed by the study of the eighteen skills (*Tayo vede aṭṭhārasasippāni uggaṇhitvā J.* II, 87). In some places instead of *Aṭṭhārasa sippāni*, *Aṭṭhārasavijjāṭhānāni* is given (*tiṇṇam vedānam pāram gantvā aṭṭhārasānaṃvijjāṭhānānaṃ nipphattiṃ pāpuṇi J.* I, 259). The education and the training acquired at Takkasilā was given as "*Sabbasippāni uggaṇhitvā*" *J.* II, 85 (having learnt all the skills). All these appear to represent the various skills taught at Takkasilā, which could be pursued as means of living. Therefore it is clear that those who came after Takkasilā education were equipped to select trades of their own choice, for their livelihood and were able to provide goods or services to the society.

Medical Science: Among the various sciences taught at Takkasilā, the medical science was the most important, which had a great reputation. The *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (*VinA.* 269) provides a detailed account of the medical school at Takkasilā while relating the story of Jīvaka, the personal physician of the Buddha. The head of the Medical School was known as *Disāpamokkha vejjo* (world renowned physician). Jīvaka, a discarded child brought up by Prince Abhaya, went to Takkasilā from Rājagaha of his own will, even without informing his foster father and told the *Disāpāmokkha vejja* that he wished to learn medicine. Jīvaka was a brilliant student and studied hard. He studied for seven long years, but there was still more to learn. He went to his teacher and told him "Sir, I have studied for seven years, but I don't see an end of this science. When will I be able to see an end". The *Disāpāmokkha vejjo* decided to give Jīvaka a practical test. He ordered Jīvaka to examine the area around and report if there was anything that is not used for curative purposes. Jīvaka after a thorough search came back and reported that he did not come across anything which is not used for curative purposes. After he listened to the report of his pupil the teacher said "Son, you have mastered the subject". It is important that the medical student at Takkasilā Medical School had to face a strict practical test at the end. Jīvaka who came to Rājagaha is reported to have performed a surgery on the head of the Seṭṭhi at Rājagaha, as directed by King Bimbisāra. Therefore it should be clear that surgery too was a part and parcel of the medical education provided at Takkasilā. Therefore it is seen clearly that Takkasilā Medical School had produced fully equipped, well recognized medical practitioners of the day.

Archery: Archery, too, appears to have been given an important place in the Takkasilā curriculum. The son of King Brahmadatta, named Asadisakumāra, according to *Asadisajātaka* (*J.* II, 82), went to Takkasilā, learned the three *Vedas* and eighteen skills and became an expert archer. Similarly, Bhīmasena, a Brahmin youth (*J.* I 356), too, learned all sciences (*sabba sippāni*) and became an expert archer. Archery was an important skill which was essential for the military expeditions in the ancient world. It is seen that several students were specializing themselves in

archery, in the *Jātakas*. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that military skills, such as use of weapons, was included in the Takkasilā education.

Other skills: There appear that several other skills were taught at Takkasilā. For those who wish to learn elephant lore (*hatthi silpa*) was one such subject area available for those who wanted to pursue. This shows that veterinary science was among the subjects taught at Takkasilā and some would have specialized about the "elephant".

Several useful magic charms taught at Takkasilā are referred to in the *Jātakas*. A spell to resurrect the dead (*J.* I. 510), spell to understand all animal cries, (*J.* III. 415), charming of snakes (*J.* IV. 456), detection of the hidden treasures (*Nidhiuddhāranamantam*) (*J.* III 116), art of prognostication (*J.* III, 122) etc. are found referred to in the *Jātakas*.

Fees: The education at Takkasilā was not given free. The students were required to pay for it. All inclusive payment was one thousand, called "*ācariya bhāga*" which was to be paid in advance. (*J.* I, 272). This appears to be a very reasonable amount, because it included tuition fees, as well as for food and lodging, for the whole period. Yet the education at Takkasila was not confined to those who could afford to pay only. There was a scheme for those who were unable to pay. Those affluent students who brought the "*ācariya bhāga*" were treated like the elder sons of the teacher's family and learnt during the day. (*Tilamutthi Jātaka J.* II, 277). Those students who were unable to pay were allowed to work for the teacher during the day in lieu of the "*ācariya bhāga*" and learn during the night and were known as "*Dhammantevāsika*". Moreover one could learn on the promise to pay later. *Dūtajātaka* (*J.* IV, 224) refers to a Brahmin youth who learned on the promise of paying later.

The Disāpāmokkhācariya's prime concern was not to accrue wealth by teaching. He helped the needy students. He used to provide expenses for the students who were going back after learning, if they needed. When Jīvaka was going back to his native country the teacher gave him a part of his travelling expenses (The teacher wanted him to earn the balance, by practising what he learnt).

Discipline: It is seen that strict discipline has been maintained at Takkasilā in spite of the large student population drawn from various kingdoms. As related in the *Tilamutthi Jātaka* (*J.* II, 278), the son of King Brahmadatta was punished for stealing a handful of sesame from an old woman who was drying sesame seeds spread on a mat, while he was going for a bath. At Takkasilā everybody without an exception had to obey the rules and regulations. While imparting knowledge of various subjects, the teachers at Takkasilā were observing the character and the behaviour of the student. The *Cūlanandiya Jātaka* (*J* II, 200) describes how, the Disāpamokkhācariya advised a Brahmin youth who was returning, having completed his education, not to be rude and aggressive, as he has observed those weaknesses in his character. The student life at Takkasilā appears to have been simple. Even the sons of kings were not provided extra money. As seen in the *Tilamutthi Jātaka* (*J.* II, 277) King Brahmadatta when he sent his son to Takkasilā for education gave him one thousand coins as *ācariyabhāga*, one pair of soled sandals, and a sunshade of leaves only. Similarly, according to *Junha Jātaka* (*J.* IV, 96) prince Junha, son of king of Benares, while studying at Takkasilā, accidentally broke the food bowl of a Brahmin. The prince agreed to pay for the damage, but had no money with him at that time. The prince asked the Brahmin to come and see him once he succeeds his father at Benares. Thus it is evident that even the sons of kings had no alternative but to lead simple lives at Takkasilā, like all others.

Food provided to students appear to have been simple. *Vārana Jātaka* (*J.* I, 318) describe how a servant girl prepared gruel for breakfast of students studying under the Disāpāmokkācariya. In addition to simple food provided by the teacher, some philanthropic householders invited the teacher and his pupils occasionally for lunch, as seen in the case of (*J.* IV. 391), (*J.* I, 317) etc.

The last phase of Takkasilā: However the identification of Takkasilā as an educational centre is confined to Pali commentaries, except for a single reference in the *Vinaya*. Moreover Greek and Roman historians are totally unaware of Takkasilā's fame as an educational centre. Even Chinese travellers are silent on this aspect. After Huns sacked Taxila (Takkasilā) *circa* beginning of the 5th century, no records are available on it. But the records of Chinese travellers shed some light for our guidance.

Records of Chinese Travellers: The records of the two Chinese travellers provide some information pertaining to the period immediately prior to the Hun invasion as well as its condition, sometimes after the Hun invasion.

Fa-hsien visited Takkasilā at about the beginning of the 5th century A.C. He calls it "Chu-sha Shi lo" or the "severed head". He says "Buddha bestowed his head in alms at this place and hence they gave this name to the country. He found it a flourishing centre of Buddhist sanctuaries and monasteries. He witnessed two stūpas where the kings, officials and the people rivalled each other in offering presents. But his account of Buddhist monuments is very scanty, though it is evident that during the period he travelled, the great Buddhist sanctuaries were still vigorous and flourishing. He witnessed four other stūpas of Taxila.

Hiuen-Tsang visited "Ta-cha-Shi-lo" or Taxila (Takkasilā) in 630 A.C. and again in 643 on his return journey to China. This is after the Hun invasion. He describes the city as about 10 *li* or 1 2/3 miles in circuit. The royal family was extinct and the province which was previously been subject to Kapisa, was then a dependency of Kashmir. The land irrigated by a number of springs and water courses was famous for its fertility. The monasteries were numerous, but mostly in ruins and desolate and there were only a few monks who studied the Mahāyāna or esoteric doctrine of Buddhas. At about 12 or 13 *li* or 2 miles to the North of the city there was a *stūpa* of king Asoka, built on the spot where the Buddha in a former existence had made an alms gift of his head. This was one of the four great *stūpas* that were famous all over North-west India.

Re-Discovery of Taxila (Takkasilā) and the Archaeological Excavations: It was Sir Alexander Cunningham the father of Indian Archaeology who discovered this celebrated city of Taxila, which hitherto remained unknown. He was baffled at the beginning in deciding the exact site of Takkasilā, owing to the erroneous instances given by some western writers. It was itineraries of Chinese travellers that finally helped him to identify the correct location. The site of the ancient city of Taxila (Takkasilā) is located between the Indus and Jhlum rivers about 22 miles north west of Rawalpindi in present Pakistan.

The excavations were commenced by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1863 -64 and 1872- 73. He has identified the local site known as Saraikhala (Kala-ka-sarai) as the ancient city of Taxila or Takkasilā. The excavation was continued by Sir John Marshal over a period of 20 years and completely exposed the ancient site and the monuments. Cunningham was able to trace 55 *stūpas*, two of which are large, 28 monasteries and 9 centers.

Dharmarājika Stūpa: This *Stūpa* is the most important monument discovered in the course of the excavations and is supposed to have been built by King Asoka who has been designated as Dharmarāja in the *Divyāvadāna* for his construction of *stūpas*, for enshrining Buddha's relics. It is the oldest among the monuments. Kunāla stūpa is another important stūpa identified by John Marshal as the *stūpa* described by Hiuen Tsang, put up on the site, where the eyes of prince Kunāla, Asoka's son, were plucked out as a result of a plot, by his step mother (Asoka's second wife). Bhallar stūpa is another important monument at Taxila. Sir John Marshal has identified it with that referred to by Hiuen Tsang, where the Buddha in a previous existence offered his head.

Moreover as a result of extensive archaeological excavations, remains of large circular *stūpas*, surrounded by minor *stūpas*, monasteries, chapels, apsidal temples, images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, sculptures depicting the stories from the life of the Buddha etc. have been discovered at the site of Jaulian Mohra, Moradu, Bhir Mound, Sir-kap, Sirsukh, Jandial, Lal chak, and Badalpur, within the area of Taxila (Takkasilā). All those findings testify to the existence of centres of Buddhism during a long period of time. *See* PLATES XII-XVI.

K. Arunasiri

References:

1. According to early Christian legends Taxila was visited by Apostle Thomas during the Parthian period. Another distinguished visitor was the Neo Pythogorean sage Apollonius whose biographer Philostratus described Taxila as a fortified city that was laid out on a symmetrical plan and compared it in size to Nineveh.
2. The *Susimajātaka* (*J.* II, 47) account which says that a Brahmin youth went to Takkasilā from Benares in one day, learnt Vedas and elephant lore and returned to Benares the next day, appear to be a gross exaggeration.
3. *Kumbhakāraka Jātaka* (*J.* III, 377) refers to a king named Naggaji at Takkasilā. But *DPPN* Vol. I, p. 983 has misquoted it as a name of a country of which Takkasilā was the capital

TANG-KAO-SÊNG-CH'UAN: The Biographies of Eminent Monks of the T'ang Dynasty who went to the Western Regions to Search for the Law (*Taisho*, No. 2066) was written by I-tsing of the T'ang dynasty during his stay in the Kingdom of Śrīvijaya in the South Seas- modern Sumatra of Indonesia- in 691 A.C. (the second year of T'ien -shou Period of Empress Wu). The scope of the records includes the careers of 56 monks of the T'ang dynasty who went to the Western Regions and India to study Buddhism and search for Buddhist scriptures, roughly covering a period of 46 years beginning from 645 A.C. when Hsüan-tsang returned to China from India, down to 691 A.C. when this book was completed and sent back to Ch'ang- an. The book is further supplemented with the *Records of Returning to the South Seas*, an account of the careers of four monks who accompanied the author in his second voyage to the Kingdom of Śrīvijaya in 689 A.C. From these records we may get some idea of the enthusiastic fervour that set these distinguished Chinese monks abroad for India one after another, undaunted by hardships and dangers, in their search for the Law; and we may also draw information concerning the conditions of communication in those days that connected China with the Western Regions, the South Seas, India and other countries. It is recognizable that the footsteps of these monks did reach vast regions including modern India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and other countries, where they enjoyed the intimate guidance of the learned monks of the West and the cordial reception accorded to them by the kings of different countries. Thus, these records provide us with a great deal of valuable historical material concerning the cultural exchange and the peaceful fraternity between China and India, the Western Regions and the different countries in South Asia. It is a testimony to the deep-rooted, inobliterable tradition of friendship that has existed between China and these countries.

The author of this book, I-tsing, was a Buddhist scholar who reached the greatest achievement in going to India to study Buddhism ever since Hsüan-tsang during the T'ang dynasty. His own experience in travelling and studying abroad can be found in scattered form in the accounts of other monks. For instance, the accounts of his departure for India and his returning to Śrīvijaya are given at the end of the Life of Hsüan-k'uei (no. 46). And in the Life of Wu-hsing (no. 52), the Life of Ta-chin (no 56) and the Life of Cheng-ku (no 1) of the supplementary record), the author's stay in Śrīvijaya and his returning voyage therefrom are related. Careers of the other monks who went to the West for the same purpose are also recorded in this Biography, as the author either met them personally in the West or heard about them from others. This Biography, therefore, may be regarded as a work describing the lives of Chinese monks in their continual truth-seeking pilgrimages to the West around the period of the author's lifetime.

Contemporary Chinese Monks who went to the Western Regions in Search of the Law: Of the Chinese monks of that period who ventured in the same way as the author to travel to the West in search of Buddhism- including those who met him in the Western Regions, those who travelled together with him, and those whom he heard about – fifty-six in all are mentioned in the Biography, and four in the supplementary record – a total number of sixty. As recorded in the Biography according to the sequence of years of their going to the West, Hsüan-chao was the first and Ta-chin the last; whereas Cheng-ku and the three others were of still later dates. The following is the list of names arranged and given at the beginning of the book: (1) Hsüan-chao, (2) Tao-hsi, (3) Shih-pien, (4) Aryavarman, (5) Hui-yeh, (6) Hsüan-t'ai, (7) Hsüan-k'o, (8 & 9) two monks from Silla, (10) Buddhadharma, (11) Tao-fang, (12) Tao-shêng, (13) Ch'ang-min, (14) Dh'ang-ming's disciple (15) Matisiṁha, (16) Hsüan-hui, (17) Cittavarman, (18 & 19) two sons of the nurse of the princes Wen-ch'eng who married the Tibetan king, (20) Ven-lung, (21) Ming-yüan, (22) I-lang, (23) Chih-an, (24)I-hsüan , (25) Hui-ning, (26) Yün-ch'i, (27) Mokṣadeva, (28) K'uei-ch'ung, (29) Hui-yen, (30) Hsin-chou, (31) Chih-hsing, (32) Mahāyānadīpa, (33) Saṅghavarman, (34 & 35) Pi-an and Chih-an, (36) T'an jun, (37)I-hui, (38-40) three monks of the great T'ang, (41) Hui-lun, (42) Tao-lin (43) T'an-kuang, (44) a monk of T'ang, (45) Hui-ming, (46) Hsüan-k'uei, (47)Shan-hsing, (48) Ling-yün, (49) Sêng-chê (50) Hsüan-yu, (51)Chih-hung, (52) Wu-hsing, (53)Fa-chên, (54)Ch'êng-wu, (55)Ch'êng-ju, (56) Ta-chin, (57-60) Chêng-ku, Saṁghadeva, Tao-hung and Fa-lang. This order "is arranged according either to the priority of years of departure from China or to the dates of their deaths." It may be seen from this order that I-tsing himself

departed for the West after T'an-kuang and Hui-ming and before Ling-yün and Sêng-chê.

The following is a list of the native places of these sixty monks:

One from Taichou (Hsüan-chao).
Two from Chichou (Tao-hsi and Shih-pien).
Three from Ping-chou(Tao-fang, Tao-sheng and Ch'ang –ming)
Two from the capital (Matisimha and Hsüan -hui)
Five from Ichou (Ming Yüan, I-lang, Chih-an, I-hsuan and Hui-ning)
Two from Kaochang (Pi-an and Chih-an)
Three from Loyang (T'an-jun, I-hui and Chih-hung)
Six from Chingchou (Tao-lin, T'an-kuang, Hui-ming, Wu-hsign, Fa-chen and Ch'eng-wu
One from Junchou (Hsüan -k'uei)
One from Tsinchou (Shan-hsing)
Two from Hsiangchou (Ling-yün and Fa-lang)
Two from Lichou (Sêng-che and Ta-chin)
One from Liangchou (Ch'ang-ju)
One from Chêngchou (Cheng-ka)
One from Pienchou (Tao-hung)
One from Pei-ti (Samghadeva)
Four anonymous monks of the Great T'ang (three of them were nominated as "monks of the Great T'ang while the fourth one was simply called "a monk of T'ang).
Four persons whose native places are unknown (Ch'ang –ming's disciple, Cittavarman, Lung and Hsin –chou).

Four from Chiaochou (Yün-ch'i, Mokṣadeva, K'uei-chung and Hui-yen).
Two from Aichou (Chih-hsing and Mahāyānadīpa).
Seven from Silla (Āryavarman, Hui-yeh, Hsuan-t'ai, Hsüan -k'o, two monks of Silla and Hui-lun).

One from Kokuryō (Hsüan -yu)
Two from Tibet (two sons of the nurse of the princess Wen-ch'eng).
One from Tukhāra Surika (Buddhadharma)
One from Samarkand (Samghavarman).

The reason why the monks of Chiaochou, Aichou (modern Vietnam), Silla, Kokuryō, (Modern Korea), Tibet, Tukhāra Surika, (Modern Afghanistan) and Samarkand (modern Uzbek), were included in the list of monks of T'ang is obvious. Generally speaking, in spite of the difficulties of communication between eastern and western Asia in those days, the fame of the highly civilized and prosperous Mahāchina had long found its way westward to the Indians; and hence, notwithstanding the fact that these monks came from different places, it is quite conceivable that they should have been taken as eminent monks from the Great T'ang, once they reached India, a land far away from their native countries. Moreover, the monks of Vietnam and Korea in those days were mostly well trained in the Chinese language and accustomed to the cultures of the Han and T'ang dynasties; so that, when they met Chinese monks in the Western Regions, a feeling of brotherhood would naturally attract them into the company as monks of T'ang, not willing to be alienated.

Again, considering the separate regions, (1) the area of Chiaochih in North Vietnam had always maintained intimate relationship with the land of Han since the Ch'in and Han dynasties, until as late as the 10^{th} century A.C., when it was established as an independent state. Before that, i.e. at the time of I-tsing, Chiaochou and Aichou were still under the political and cultural influence of the T'ang regime just as the other states in China herself. (2) In the area of Korea, the state of Silla unified the peninsula and promoted friendly relations with the court of T'ang. At that time the Koreans and the Chinese were in fraternal relationship, and particularly the monks of Silla and Kokuryō were imbibed with Chinese culture and many of them had studied in China so long that they loved the land of T'ang as they loved their own countries. (3) Although Tibet in those days was in a somewhat antagonistic position to the court of T'ang, the two sons of the nurse of Princess Wen-ch'eng, seemed to be of Chinese blood who had gone to Tibet with the princess. (4) As for Buddhadharma of Tukhāra Surika, and Samghavarman of Samarkand, they both came to China in their early youth and were accustomed to Chinese life and culture. Buddhadharma became a Buddhist monk in Szechuan province and travelled widely in various states of the empire; and Samghavarman was appointed by the Emperor of T'ang to accompany an imperial envoy to the western countries. For these reasons when these monks reached India, they seemed to have come from the same

homeland as the monks of T'ang and cared for each other like fellow-countrymen. It is, therefore, understandable that the author of this biography should regard them as T'ang monks and wrote about them in his work.

In more than one respect, the pilgrimages of the T'ang monks to the west were made under the influence of Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang. Not only by their own great achievements did these two masters inspire numerous learned monks to travel to the western countries to study Buddhism, but the books they wrote, e.g., the *Record of Buddhist Countries* and the *Record of the Western Regions of the Great T'ang Dynasty*, in which they put down their personal experiences in their travels and studies and in their search for Buddhist scriptures, also served as guide-books for those who followed in their foot steps. Thus at the beginning of his work, I-tsing wrote: "The Ven. Fa-hsien was the man who first opened the untrodden way and the Ven. Hsüan-tsang followed him, in clearing the noble road." He praised and respected them as good examples, and his own achievements proved comparable with those of his two honourable predecessors.

Many other monks recorded in this Biography, such as Hsüan-chao, Tao-lin, Ling-Jun, Chih-hung and Wu-hsing who were traveling in the western countries at the same time with the author, were all outstanding scholars of notable achievements. Among them, Hsüan-chao brought back many "Sanskrit texts which were all kept in the capital," when he first returned to China, and he had an idea of translating the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-saṅgraha* into Chinese. Chih-hung, a master of the Vinaya school, "was able to give the Chinese translation in the meanwhile when he was hearing the lectures on the *Vinaya-sūtra* compiled by Gunaprabha." Wu-shing, a master of the Ch'an (*Dhyāna*) school when staying at the Nālandā Monastery, translated the *Āgama-sūtra* into Chinese in three fasciculi, which he sent back to China together with a letter to the monks at home, informing them about the condition of contemporary Buddhism in Central India. The Sanskrit texts of North India, which he brought back to China with himself, were later taken to Ch'angan by imperial order. Out of these texts, Subhākarasiṁha and I-hsing, selected several *sūtras* concerning Buddhist rites and ceremonies and translated them into Chinese (See the *Continuation of the Record of the Pictures of Ancient and Modern Translations of Sutras*. It is regrettable that, owing to the difficulty of communication in those days, most of these monks were obliged to stay in foreign countries for life and did not have the same chance to return to their mother-land to make good use of what they had learned and offer the same concrete contribution to Chinese Buddhism as the author did.

The Routes taken by the Monks of the T'ang Dynasty to the West: The routes by which the sixty eminent monks as recorded in this Biography travelled from China to India, may be roughly traced along two lines, one by land and the other by sea. Twenty of them travelled by the land route (also known as the northern route), and thirty-five by the sea route (also known as the southern route), while the route taken by the other five monks is unknown. It is worthwhile to point out here that, during the early period of the T'ang dynasty, political unity was prevailing in China and peaceful diplomatic activities were going on between China and the Western Regions as well as the various countries in Southeast Asia. Envoys from the court of T'ang were continually sent out on friendly missions to the countries by both the land and the sea routes. According to the chapter on Ancient Ruins in Tao-hsüan's Record of the Country of Skyamuni, the T'ang envoys travelled by three different land routes from China to India. The first was the eastern route, starting from the northwest of Hochou, (modern Linhsia passing through Shanchou modern Lotu in Chinghai province), Koko Nor (modern Chinghai), the camps of T'u-yu-hun (that part of Chinghai province bordering modern Sungpan of Szechuan province), Pai-lan-ch'iang, modern Pai-lan-shan in the Tibetan area in the northwest part of Szechuan province), the town of Chi-yu, the country of To-mi, the country of Su-p'i, the country of Kan, the country of T'u-fan (modern Lhasa), the country of Hsiao Yang-t'ung (modern Shigatze) the Pass of Ta-ts'ang-ch'ü, the Pass of Mo-shang-chia-san-pi, finally the country of Nepla (Nepal) whence to proceed to central India. The second was the middle route, starting from Shanchou and passing through Liangchou (modern Wuwei in Kansu province), Kan-chou (modern Changyeh in Kansu province), the Yü-men Pass, Kuachou, Shachou, modern Tunhuang), Shanshan, the Great Desert, the country of Kustana (modern Hotien), the country of Chakkka (modern Yehcheng), the country of Khsa (modern Sule), the country of Khabandha (modern

Tash-kurghan), the country of Sama (in the north of modern Pakistan), the country of Termistat (modern Afghanistan), the country of Bahlika (ibid.), the Great Snow Mountain (the Hindukush), the country of Kapisa (modern Afghanistan), the country of Jguda (ibid.), the country of Varana in west India (modern Pakistan) and finally proceeding to central India. The third one was the northern route, starting from Ch'angan and passing through Kuachou, the Mohoyen Dessert, Ichou (modern Hami in Sinking province), Kaochang (modern Turfan), the country of Agni (modern Yenchi), the country of Kucina (modern Kucha), the Hot Sea in the north of the Pamir Rangne (modern Kirghiz), the country of Nujkend (modern Kazakh), the country of Chaj (Uzbek), the country of Samarkand (ibid.), the country of Kasanna (ibid.), the Iron Gate (ibid.), the country of Bahlika, the country of Bayna (Afghanistan), the country of Kapisa, the Great Snow Mountain, the country of Lampka (ibid.), the country of Uddiyna (Pakistan), the country of Kasm+ra (Kasmir) and finally proceeding into Central India.

Of these three routes, the first one, that is, the eastern route, starting from Ch'angan and reaching India via Tibet and Nepal, was opened in the 15th year of Chên-kuan Period (641 A.C.) when Princess Wen-ch'eng was married to King Sron-btsan-sgam-pu of Tibet, who at the same time married a princess of Nepal. It was by this route that the Chinese envoys Li I-piao and Wang Hsüan-tsê thrice journeyed to the Western Regions during the Chen-kuan and Hsien-ch'ing periods. The second route – the middle route-was the one which traversed the Pamir Plateau by the south of the T'ien Mountains and entered Western and Northern India through Afghanistan. It was by this route that Hsüan-tsang returned to Ch'angan from the Western Regions in the 19th year of the Chen-kuan Period (645 A.C.). The third route, that is, the northern route, started from the north of the T'ien Mountains, and passing through the north of the Pamir Plateau, the Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan and the northern part of Pakistan, entered Kashmir. Hsüan-tsang travelled by this route from Ch'angan to the Western regions in the 3rd year of the Chen-kuan Period (629 A.C.). All these three routes were open to travellers during the early period of the T'ang dynasty, and thus in his *Record of the Country of Skyamuni* Tao-hsüan says, "Many routes have been opened to India since the Han Dynasty to the T'ang Dynasty. But the envoys of Great T'ang used to travel by three routes." What he refers to here are precisely the three routes mentioned above. Now we see that among the eminent monks who travelled to the west as recorded in this Biography, eleven (namely, Hsüan-chao, Tao-hsi, Shih-pien, Hsüan-t'ai, Hsüan-k'o, Tao-fang, Tao-sheng, Matisimha, the two sons of the nurse of the Princess Wen-ch'eng, and Hui-lun) seemed to have travelled at different times by the first route, that is, the eastern route via Tibet and Nepal, Hsüan-hui, Cittavarman, the Ven. Lung, the three monks of the Great T'ang, Hsin-chou and Hsuan-chao (in his second pilgrimage) probably took the second and the third routes, that is, the middle and the northern routes, by the south and the north of the T'ien Mountains respectively. As for Āryavarman and Hui-yeh, it is not clearly stated in the Biography by which route they travelled, although we are told that they went by land. During this period as recorded in the Biography, a much greater number of monks travelled to the west by sea than by land. The reason was that sea communication had already been much facilitated as a result of the progress of the science of navigation and the frequency of Chinese and foreign sea going vessels sailing between China and foreign countries. The *Geographical Record* in the *History of T'ang* describes the main line of the sea route from China to India as follows: The voyager put to sea at Canton, passed T'un-mên-shan (in the north of Hong Kong), Chan-pu-lao-shan (Mt. Tambrau), Ling-shan, the country of Mên-tu, the country of Ku-ta, the island of Pen-t'o-lang (Panduranga), Chün-t'u-lung shan (pulo condore, the above places were situated along the sea-coast of Vietnam), the strait between the country of Lo-yüeh, (at the south end of Malayan Peninsula and the country of Śrivijaya (Sumatra), (the Straits of Malacca), the country of Kalinga (Java), and the Lion country (Sri Lanka) and finally arrived at the country of Malaya (in South India). This was, of course, only one of the sea routes of that time. Moreover, there were many sea-going vessels to maintain the traffic between Canton and the various countries in the South Seas satisfactorily. For instance, it is said in Yüan-k'ai's *Biography of the Great Monk of T'ang who Travelled to the East*: "In Canton there are three Brahmanic monasteries, where the Indian monks dwell. In the river there are numerous Brahmanic, Persian and K'un-Lun ships, loaded with all kinds of spices and precious gems heaped like hills.

The ships are six or seven *chang* in length. (One *chang* is ten Chinese feet). Here a great variety of peoples, e.g., those from the Lion country (Sri Lanka) the country of Tazi (Arabs), the country of Ku-t'ang, the White Barbarians, the Red Barbarians, etc. keep coming and going, some as visitors and some as settlers." It was also very convenient to travel by merchant ships to the other ports along the coast of Kuangtung province; and the Chinese monks found no difficulty in embarking on south bound ships at Chiaochou where foreign vessels used to touch for business (See the *Chronicle of T'ang* , No. L., in the *Mirror of Governance*). Thus the imperial envoys of the court of T'ang appeared particularly active on the South seas in conducting their diplomatic missions of peace and friendship to India and the various countries in South Asia (see the Biographies of Mahāyānadīpa, Pi-an, Chih-an, Ta-chin, etc.). These are the reasons why the monks of the T'ang dynasty preferred the sea route. But the voyages could not be exactly the same for all of them, for the individual cases might vary. For instance, I-tsing and his attendant monk Shan-hsing, and Chen-ku, Saṅghadeva, Tao-hung and Fa-lang of later times, all sailed at first from Canton to Śrivijaya. From Śrivijaya I-tsing sailed again to Malāyu, Kedah and the country of the Naked(Nicobar) and reached the country of Tāmralipti in East India, from where he proceeded to Central India. On the other hand, I-lang, Chih-an, I-hsüan, Chih-hung and Wu-hsing sailed from the Bay of Ch'inchou in Kuang-tung province to India. Among them, I-lang, Chih-an and I-hsüan started their voyage by merchant ship from the Cape of Wulei in Ch'in county, and reached Lankāsuka (Thailand) via Fu-nan (Cambodia). From Lankāsuka I-lang and I-hsüan proceeded to the Lion Island and consequently reached India. Chih-hung and Wu-hsing sailed by a sea going vessel from Hop'u to Chiaochou (northern part of Vietnam), Sri Vijaya, Nagapattana (on the east coast of South India), the Lion Island, the country of Harikera (Arakan in Burma), and reached East India, from where they proceeded to Central India. Ming-Yüan, K'uei-ch'ung, T'an-jun, Yün-chi and Hui-ming started their voyage to the west from Chiaochou of whom Ming-yüan and K'uei-chung went to the Lion Island via the country of Kalinga and proceeded to South and Central India. Hui-ming only reached Pi-ching, central part of Vietnam), while T'an-jun only reached the country of Pembuan to the north of Kalinga, and Yün-ch'I travelled as far as the country of Śrivijaya. Fa-chen, Ch'eng-wu and Ch'eng-ju sailed from Pi-ching and reached the country of Kedah via the northern part of Kalinga. Where the other sixteen monks (i.e., Ch'ang-min and his disciple, the two monks form Silla, Hui-ming, Mokṣadeva, Chih-hsing, Hui-ye, Mahāyānadīpa, I-hui, T'an-kuang and the anonymous monks of T'ang, Sēng-chē, Lin-yün, Hsüan-yu and Ta-chin) started their voyage to the west is not clearly stated in the Biography. We only know that Hui-ning, Chih-hsing, Hui-ye, Mahāyānadīpa, Sēng-chē, Ling-yün and Mokṣadeva reached India either by way of the Island of Kalinga or the Lion Island, or after making some circuitous visit to other countries. Ch'ang-min and his disciple, the two monks of Silla, I-hui, T'an-kuang, another anonymous monk of T'ang and Hsüan-yu only reached the countries in the South Seas. Pi-an, Chih-an and Ta-chin sailed at different times with the envoys of T'ang and reached the country of Śrivijaya.

What is worth our attention is that most of the monks of the T'ang dynasty who went to India by the sea route as recorded in the biography, landed in East India and then proceeded to Central India. This was because Buddhism was prosperous in the various states in East India and the travel from East India to Central India was shorter and easier. Mahāyānadīpa, for instance, sailed to the Lion Island and "travelled through South India to East India". I-ching himself also sailed from the country of Kedah to the country of Tāmralipti in East India, where he met Mahāyānadīpa and went together with him to Nālandā. Tao-lin, too, first reached Tāmralipti in East India by sea and then travelled to Central India. Chih-hung and Wu-hsing sailed from the Lion Island to Harikera, a country bordering East India, and then, crossing the border, proceeded to Nālandā. Only Ming-yüan landed in South India on his way to the Mahābodhi Monastery, but he died on the way and no more was heard about him. K'uei-ch'ung was the only one who travelled to Central India by landing in West India.

It is equally worthwhile to notice that, as is mentioned at the end in the life of Hui-lun in the first part of this Biography, more than twenty monks of ancient China had travelled to Central India by way of the Tsang-ko route in Szechuan province in the third century A.C. during the reign of King Śrigupta. This is a route which we still expect to open today, leading from between the borders of Yunnan and Szechuan

provinces, traversing the 'Barbarian Mountains" and entering Assam in India. It is said in Hui-lin's *Dictionary of Pronunciation and Meaning of Sanskrit Terms in all Buddhist Scriptures*, vol. LXXXI, "Going out from the south of Szechuan province and passing through the counties of Yuyao, Yüeh-chien, Puhsi, Yungch'ang, etc., one crossed the barbarian regions and entered the southern border of Tibet. After travelling over a number of high mountains and precipitous peaks towards the west and crossing rivers and valleys in a distance of some 3,000 *li*, one came to the limit of the Tibetan territory. Beyond that, passing along the southern slopes of the Snow Mountain, one entered the territory of the country of Kāmarūpa situated in the southeast part of East India. This mountainous route is the shortest way to India, forming a short cut by land from China to the Five Indias. But it is a very difficult route. In order to journey by this route, one has to keep to the right season. In summer, travelling is rendered impossible by excessive heat and poisonous insects, so deadly that whoever chanced to meet them can scarcely survive. Neither is it passable in autumn, when large tracts of land are inundated by rain. In winter, although there are no poisonous insects, but again there are the biting cold, and the difficulties of climbing over the heavily snow-clad mountains. So, there remain only the first three months of the year that may serve as the fit season for travelling. Even then, one has to be equipped with sufficient knowledge of foreign languages as well as a certain amount of money to pay for the passages. Thus provided, in addition to the guidance of some native tribesmen, and by making inquiries all along the way, one may be assured of reaching one's destination."

The records of the different routes by which the monks of the T'ang dynasty travelled to India to seek for the Dharma, either by journeying through the Western Regions or by voyaging on the South Seas as recorded in the Biography, still remain the most important historical and geographical materials for the study of the ancient communications between China and the various Asian countries, especially between China and India, and this is one of the respects in which this work deserves our attention and investigation.

The activities of the Monks of the T'ang Dynasty in the Western Countries: During the period of about fifty years after 645 A.C., these sixty eminent monks of the Great T'ang dynasty travelled all over India of that time (including the whole of present India and Pakistan and a part of Afghanistan), Nepal, Sri Lanka, the country of Śrivijaya, the country of Kalinga (Java), the country of Harikera (Burma), the country of Dvāravati, the country of Laṅkāsukha (Thailand), the country of Fu-nan (Cambodia), Chiaochou, Aichou, Champa, Pi-ching (Vietnam), etc., engaging themselves in paying homage to sacred places, seeking for the Dharma, or conducting other activities of cultural intercourse. The circumstances in which they lived in the various countries and the conditions of their studies may be summarized as follows:

The intercourse between India and China during the T'ang dynasty was started by Hsüan-tsang who studied and lectured on Buddhism in India. With his unprecedented talent and convincing eloquence, Hsüan-tsang succeeded in winning unique respect and admiration of the kings and ministers, as well as the monks and laymen of the Five Indias; so much so that the famous King Śīladitya of Magadha in Central India sent an envoy to China to establish friendly relationships with her. In return, Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty despatched Liang Huai-ching, Captain of Yun Chi, Li Yi-piao, a high official in the Imperial Guard, and Wang Hsüan-ts's, Chief of the Staff of the Right Division of the Guards to the Crown Prince, as envoys to the court of King Śīlāditya at different times. These envoys lost no chance to make friendly visits to other countries in the Five Indias and exchange gifts with them. Among these envoys Wang Hsüan-tse with his twenty-two subordinates went to the Western Regions three times as envoys (see the *Pearl-grove of the Garden of the Law*, vol. IV). On the other hand, not a few eminent monks and Brahmans of India went to China on friendly visits as well as on preaching missions.

After the death of King Śīlāditya, Magadha for a time fell into a state of disorder, but Buddhism was still prosperous in India. In Nālandā Monastery, the highest centre of learning in India, Bhadanta Ratnasiṁha lectured on the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* in succession to Śīlabhadra, and the Ven. Jinaprabhā also lectured at the same time on the *Mādhyamaka Śāstra* and the *Śata śāstra* in the same monastery. The Ven. Jñānacandra preached on the *Hetuvidyā-śāstra* in the Tilakada Monastery, which was situated not far away

to the northwest of the Nālandā Monastery. In describing the well-known teachers of India in his time, I-tsing writes in his *Record of the Inner Law Sent Back from the South Seas* vol. IV, "There are four (most distinguished) teachers now in the West, namely, Jñānachandra of the Tilakada Monastery (in Magadha), Ratnasiṁha of the Nālandā Monastery, Divākaramitra in Eastern India, and Tathāgatagarbha in the southern district. These masters are all equals to the ancients in their brilliant characters, worthy followers of the past Sages. In making arguments on the Hetuvidyā, they aspire to match Dinnāga; in appreciating the doctrine of Yogācāra they zealously search into the theory of Asaṅga. They cleverly conform to Nāgārjuna in their discourses on the non-existence, while they thoroughly fathom the teaching of Samghabhadra in the treatment of the 'existence'. This shows that India at that time was still producing Buddhist teachers of remarkable capability and that the study of Buddhism was still popular among scholars.

Such famous monasteries as the Nālandā Monastery, the Mahābodhi Monastery, the Tilakada Monastery, the Subhūtipuruṣa Monastery (the Monastery of the King Āmraba), the Śubhabandhana Monastery (the Parinirvāna Monastery), and the Monastery of the King of Lāṭa, were the most familiar resorts of the monks of the T'ang dynasty. Of these the Nālandā Monastery was the foremost one in the whole of India. It was constructed by six kings in succession, and with a circumference of forty-eight *li*, it had eight courtyards and three hundred rooms. In it lived 3,500 monks, most of whom were learned scholars of great talent. Many great śāstris, e.g., Dharmapāla, Candrapāla, Guṇaprajñā, Sthiramati, Jñānacandra and Śīlabhadra had been chief lecturers in this monastery. The Ven. Prabhākaramitra, who came to China to translate Buddhist scriptures and preach on Buddhism during the early period of the T'ang dynasty, belonged to this monastery. It was chiefly in this monastery that Hsüan-tsang studied Buddhism when he was in India. Hsüan-chao, Tao-hsi, Āryavarman, Tao-shen, Mahāyānadīpa, Tao-lin, Ling-yün, Chih-hung, Wu-hsing, and I-tsing as recorded in this Biography, had all studied here. Among them I-tsing spent ten years in this monastery and brought back to China about 400 Sanskrit texts in 500, 000 ślokas, a quantity that would suffice to form 1,000 fasciculi if translated into Chinese. Moreover, in this Biography I-tsing gave full descriptions to the design and system of the monastery, and submitted a plan drawn by himself (unfortunately the plan is lost in the modern edition) to the emperor requesting him to build a monastery in China after the same pattern in order to propagate Buddhism.

Next comes the Mahābodhi Monastery, the sacred place which none of the monks of the T'ang dynasty would miss in their pilgrimage to the holy spots. In the 19th year of Chen-kuan period (645 A.C.) during the early period of the T'ang dynasty, Wang Hsüan-ts'e visited this monastery and erected a slab inscription at the west of the stupa under the Bodhi-tree (vide. the *Pearl-grove of the Garden of the Law*, vol. xxix). On his return he invited eight monks from this Monastery to China, and along with them two sugar refiners, who were charged with the task of producing sugar from the sugar-cane of Yuehchou and this they did with success. (*Life of Hsüan-tsang* in the *Continuation of the Biography of Eminent Monks*, Vol. iv). In the third year of Yung-hui Period (652 A.C.), the Ven. Jñānaprabha of the Mahābodhi Monastery sent Bhikṣu Dharmadirgha to China to exchange correspondence and gift with the Ven. Hsüan-tsang (the Life of the Ven. Hsüan-tsang vol. vii). In the first year of the I-feng period (676 A.C.) Divākara also came from this monastery to China and translated many Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Thus this monastery, too, had an age-old tradition of friendship with China, and in this Biography we find a number of Chinese monks who stayed in this monastery and studied Vinaya, namely, Hsüan-chao, Tso-hsi, Shih-pien, Hui-yeh, Hsüan-t'ai, Hsüan-k'o, Tao-fang, Tao-sheng, Matisiṁha, Hsüan-hui, Mokṣadeva, K'uei-ch'ung, Saṁghavarman, Pi-an, Chih-an, Hui-lun, Tao-lin, I-tsing, Chih-hung, and Wu-hsing. Of these monks Tao-hsi was said to have erected a slab-inscription in Chinese in this monastery, and Saṁghavarman made rich offerings to its body of monks. Tao-fang, Chih-hung and Wu-hsing were officially granted the admittance to the regular membership of the monastery, an honour that distinguished them from ordinary visitors.

The third monastery, Tiladaka, was the place where Hsüan-chao, I-ching and Wu-hsing stayed to study Hetuvidyā. The fourth monastery, the Subhūti-puruṣa, was the monastery of the king of Āmraba in Central India. Here, Hīnayāna Buddhism was the

prominent faith and the king often made offerings to the monks. Chinese monks such as Hsüan-chao, Tao-hsi, Shih-pien, Matisiṁha, Hsin-chou, Chih-hsing and Chih-hung stayed in this monastery for prolonged periods to study Buddhism and were highly respected by the king. Of them Hsüan-chao lived for three years upon the offerings of the king, and Hui-lun also stayed here for ten years. Next, the Subhabandhana Monastery was the Parinirvāna Monastery at Kusinagara in Central India. Here, Tao-hsi studied Vinaya and Mahāyānadīpa even took his last breath. Finally, the Monastery of the King of Lāta was situated on the west coast of South India, in which Hsüan-chao stayed for four years and was honoured by the king, and Tao-lin also lived in it for a year and studied Tantric Buddhism.

The chief objective that the truth-seeking monks of the T'ang dynasty aimed at in various Indian monasteries seemed to be the study of these five subjects of Buddhism: *Hetuvidyā*, *Abhidharma (koṣa)*, *Vinaya*, *Mādhyamaka* and *Yogācāra*. According to I-tsing's description, "they devoted themselves to the study of *Hetuvidyā* and *Abhidharmaakoṣa*. In learning the *Nyāyamukha*, they achieved the mastery of the art of reasoning by inference (*anumāna*); and in studying the *Jātakamālā* they showed brilliant faculties of understanding. After that, they took up regular courses on the *sūtras* under their teachers' instruction for two or three years, mostly in the Nālandā monastery in Central India, or in the country of Valabhī in Western India." (See the *Records of the Inner Law Sent Back from the South Seas*, vol. IV). Hsüan-chao also "engaged himself in the study of the *Abhidharma-koṣa-śāstra*, after which he learned *Vinaya*. Having completed his studies in these two subjects, he went to the Nālandā Monastery, where he stayed for three years and studied the *Mādhyamaka-śāstra* and the *Śata-śāstra* under the guidance of the Ven. Jinaprabha, and in addition, he learned the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* from Bhadanta Ratnasiṁha." (See the Biography). Chih-yung "studied *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma-koṣa-śāsstra* and he was also well versed in *Hetuvidyā*. In the Nālandā Monastery he perused the Mahāyāna scriptures, and in the Subhūti-puruṣa Monastery he concentrated his energy to the study of Hīnayāna Buddhism" (Ibid). Wu-hsing also "went to the Nālandā Monastery where he attended lectures on the Yogācāra, studied the *Mādhyamaka-śāstra*, pored over the *Abhidharma-koṣa śāstra* and made researches into *Vinaya* scriptures. He then went to the Tilakada Monastery to study the works of Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti." (Ibid.) It is evident that, as a rule, the T'ang monks studying Buddhism in the West could be regarded as having graduated in their studies only after they had gone through with these courses.

In other countries, such as Jālandhara (in North India), Kaśmira (Kashmir) and Samataṭa (in modern Pakistan), Hsüan-chao, Hsüan-hui and Sêng-chê were received and well provided by the kings with special courtesy and respect, and they stayed in these places for long periods. In Tāmralipti (in East India), Mahāyānadīpa, Tao-lin and I-tsing stayed for years either to learn the Sanskrit language or to study *sūtras* and *Vinaya* texts. Hsüan-chao and Tao-lin and another anonymous monk from T'ang either made pilgrimages to the holy repository of the Buddha's skull-bone in Kapisa, or received ordination in the Nava-vihāra in the country of Bhalika (both places were in present Afghanistan).

Besides India, some of the monks as recorded in the Biography also visited Nepāla (Nepal); these were Hsüan-chao' Tao-his, Hsüan-t'ai, Tao-fang, Tao-sheng, Matisiṁha, Hsüan-hui and the two sons of the nurse of the princess Wen-ch'eng. Buddhism was then prosperous in that country, and in the *Record of the Western Regions of the Great Dynasty*, vol. vii, the king of Nepāla was described as "a man who has pure faith in Buddhism, who respects learning and honours virtue and is famous far and near." At that time the king of Tibet had already married the princess of T'ang and the princess of Nepāla. Li I-piao and Wang Hsüan-ts'ê visited Nepāla more than once as envoys of the court of T'ang to establish relations of friendship, and in return, Nepāla also sent envoys to the court of T'ang. When Hsüan-chao returned to China from India on the first occasion he took the Nepāla route, and the king sent men to escort him to Tibet, where he once again had the chance to see Princess Wen-ch'eng who sent him back to China duly provided. The opening of this route and the establishment of friendship between the court of T'ang and Nepāla, enabled Tao-hsi, Hsüan-t'ai, Tao-fang and Tao-sheng to travel through Nepāla to India, whereas Matisiṁha and Hsüan-hui returned to China from India by this same route. But the last mentioned two monks both died in Nepāla on their way home. As for Tao-fang , he returned from Central India and settled down in Nepāla permanently.

Among those monks who travelled by the South Sea route, twelve persons, i.e., I-lang, I-hsüan, Ming-yüan, K'uei-ch'ung, Hui-yen, Chih-hsing, Mahāyānadīpa, Sêng-chê, Ling-yun, Hsüan-yu, Chih-hung, and Wu-hsing, reached the Lion Island at different times. This island had a deep relationship with China in the history of Buddhism. Both Fa-hsien's *Record of Buddhist Countries* and Hsüan-tsang's *Record of the Western Regions of the Great T'ang Dynasty* contain detailed descriptions about this country. Although we are not sure whether or not Wang Hsüan-tse himself did visit this island in his three journeys to the west as the imperial envoy, it is recorded in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty vol. CCXXII, second part, that in the third year of Tsüng-chang period (670 A.C.) during the reign of Emperor Kao-tsung , a delegation of friendship arrived in China from that country. It is quite probable that that was a return visit from the Lion Island after some Chinese envoy had visited that country. Theravādin Buddhism was then already gaining prominence in that country, but Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism was also prevalent at the same time. There, the manifestations of the miraculous powers of the Buddha's Tooth Relic were known to the lands far and near. Most of the monks of T'ang came to this country to pay homage to the relic on their way to Central India. Among them, Ming-yüan, on his first arrival in this country, was treated with much respect by the king. Sêng-che's disciple, Hsüan-yu, who visited the Lion Island with his teacher, received ordination and settled down in this country.

There were four persons, T'an-kuang, Chih-hung, Wu-hsing, and another anonymous monk of T'ang who reached the country of Harikera at different times. This country is described in the Biography as situated on the eastern border of East India. Chih-hung and Wu-hsing sailed from the Lion Island towards the northeast and arrived in this country, where they stayed for one year before they proceeded to East India. An anonymous monk came here with many scriptures and was respected by the king who requested him to take charge of a monastery, where he stayed until his death.

Those monks of T'ang who visited Śrīvijaya, the country of Kalinga, the country of Pembuan (the southwest part of Borneo), included Ch'ang-min and his disciple, Ming-yüan, Hui-ning, Yün-ch'i, Mokṣadeva, K'uei-ch'ung, Hui-yen, Pi-an, Chih-an,T'an-jun, Tao-lin, I-ching, Shan-hsing, Chih-hung, Wu-hsing, Fa-chen, Ch'eng-wu, Ch'eng-ju, Ta-chin, Chen-ku, Saṅghadeva, Tao-hung, Fa-lang and the two monks from Silla, twenty-six persons in all.

Śrīvijaya was then a large country in the South Seas, and Buddhism was very prosperous owing to its vicinity to India. Shortly after the establishment of the T'ang regime, friendly relations were established between China and that land. According to the *Ts'e Fu Yuan Kuei*, a collection of archives compiled in the Sung dynasty, vol. CLXXVII, in the 18th year of the Chen-kuan period an envoy from the country of Malāya (this country and the country of Baros were later annexed to Śrīvijaya) came to T'ang and presented gifts. It is also recorded in the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*), vol. CCXXII, second part, that since the Hsien-hêng period (670 A.C.) , Śrīvijaya had frequently sent envoys to the court of T'ang to establish friendly relations. But the chief stimulus to these visits of foreign envoys must have been the initiative taken by the court of T'ang in sending envoys abroad to establish friendly relations with various countries. Take for instance, Pi-an and Chih-an who sailed to foreign countries with the imperial envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'ê, as is recorded in the Biography, first part, and they died on the voyage, leaving their belongings in Śrīvijaya. This shows that Wang Hsüan-ts'e, in executing his missions to the West, did visit Śrīvijaya.. It is also said in the second part of the same work that the Ven. Ta-chin bringing with him Buddhist scriptures and images sailed with an envoy of T'ang to Śrīvijaya in the second year of Yung-ch'un period (684 A.C.) This gives further evidence to the frequency of friendly intercourse between the court of T'ang and this country. Thus when Chih-hung (who was a nephew of Wang Hsüan-ts'e) and Wu Hsing visited this country, "they were honoured by the king in an unusual manner. Golden flowers and grains were scattered over them, the four requisites were offered in prostration and perfect sincerity, all signs of exceptional respect as befitting the visitors from the court of the emperor of the great T'ang." When they left for the West, the king dispatched his royal ship to carry them to the Island of Malāyu and the country of Kedah.

In Śrīvijaya I-tsing was also supported by and received presents from the king. He stayed in this

land for half a year to learn the Indian language until he went on board the king's royal ship to Malāyu and the country of Kedah, from where he proceeded to East India. The two monks from Silla., as well as Yun-ch'i, Pi-an, Chih-an and Ta-chin also visited this country and stayed for sometime. On his way back to China from India, I-tsing brought with him Sanskrit scriptures of the Tripiṭaka in more than 500,000 ślokas to this country and stayed here for seven years more, continuing his studies under the guidance of a learned teacher by the name of Śākyakīrti. In the meantime, he went to Canton once and invited Chen-ku, Saṁghadeva, Tao-hung and Fa-lang to Śrīvijaya to help him in his works of writing, editing and translating. It was in Śrīvijaya that he wrote this Biography and the famous *Record of the Inner Law Sent Back from the South Seas*, which he entrusted the Ven. Ta-chin who was staying with him in that country, to send back to China on board some merchant ship.

The country of Kalinga had also established peaceable and friendly relations with the court of T'ang during the early period of that dynasty. According to the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty*, vol. CXCVII, a delegation of friendship from that country arrived in China in the 14th year of Chen-kuan period (640 A.C.). It seems that the envoys of T'ang had also made friendly visits to this country by that time. Chinese history further records that that country was then under the rule of a queen named Hsi-mo, wherein peace prevailed and Buddhism was also prosperous. The Chinese monks, Ch'ang-min, his disciples, Ming-yüan, K'uei-ch'ung, Hui-ning, Yün-ch'i and Tao-lin all visited this country and enjoyed friendly receptions. Hui-ning in collaboration with Jñānabhadra, a learned monk of that country, translated the last two portions of the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* into Chinese. He dispatched Śrāmanera Yün-ch'i to send the translation back to Ch'angan and in return bring from the capital of T'ang several hundred whole pieces of fine silk to be presented as rewards to Jñānabhadra. This illustrates the intimacy of Buddhist relationship that was existing at that time between the two countries.

Concerning the conditions of the intercourse between the country of Pembuan and China during the early period of the T'ang dynasty, little is known. Hīnayāna Buddhism was then prevalent in that land (cf. the description of the Island of Pembuan in the *Record of Inner Law Sent Back from the South Seas*, vol. I.), and Yün-ch'i and T'an-jun visited this country at different times. Fa-chen, Ch'eng-wu and Ch'eng-ju, too, seemed to have been in this land.

Of the monks as recorded in the Biography, Mahāyānadīpa, I-lang, Chih-an, I-hsüan, I-hui and Tao-lin visited at different times the country of Dvāravati (the area of Ta-chen at the lower part of the Menam River in Thailand) and the country of Langāsuka (the part of modern Thailand along the Malayan Peninsula). According to the *Record of Inner Law Sent Back from the South Seas*, the peoples of these two countries "greatly reverence the Triple-gem. There are many who hold firmly to the precepts and perform the begging vow which has become a custom.

In the 12[th] year of Chen-kuan period (638 A.C.) an envoy of Dvaravatī came to China and presented native products to the court of T'ang. Later in the 23[rd] year of the same period (649 A.C.), another envoy arrived from that country and presented elephant tusks and "fire-pearls" as gifts to the Chinese emperor, who in return gave good horses to be brought back by the envoy. (See the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty*, vol. CXCVII.). T'an Hsü was once sent by the court of T'ang as an envoy to this country (See the Life of Mahāyānadīpa in this Biography), and the Ven. Mahāyānadīpa, who had been there and become a monk in his youth, took his chance to return to Ch'angan with this Chinese envoy.

Ever since the Liang dynasty the country of Lankāsuka had been carrying on friendly intercourses with China through Buddhism, and I-lang, Chih-an, I-hsüan, I-hui and Tao-lin had all been to this country. When I-lang, Chih-an and I-hsüan arrived here, "the king received them as guests of Honour". And Tao-lin was also "treated by the king with respect and kindness".

Those monks of the T'ang who travelled through the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan (modern Cambodia), included I-lang, Chih-an and I-hsuan. The kingdom of Fu-nan had an intimate relationship with Chinese Buddhism since the Liang dynasty. During the T'ang dynasty this country changed its name as Chên-la. In the sixth year of Wu-te period (623 A.C.) the king of Chên-la dispatched an envoy to present native products to the court of T'ang, and in the second year

of Chen-kuan period (628 A.C.) another envoy was sent to China together with the envoy of the kingdom of Lin-yi,(the central part of Modern Vietnam), to establish friendly relations. In return, Emperor T'ai-tsung also presented rich gifts to that country. The two countries then maintained very friendly relations. But the ancient name of Fu-nan had left an indelible impression on the T'ang monks, because several learned monks of ancient Fu-nan had translated many Buddhist scriptures and commentaries into Chinese during their sojourns in China. None of the Chinese monks recorded in this Biography stayed in this country, with the exception of I-lang, Chih-an and Yi-hsuan who passed it on their way from Chiaochou to Lankāsuka.

As for the following monks of the T'ang dynasty as recorded in this Biography, viz., Yün-ch'i, Mokṣadeva, K'uei-chung, Hui-yen, Shih-hsing, Mahāyānadīpa, Ming-yüan, Saṁghavarman, T'an-jun, Tao-lin, Hui-ming, Chih-hung, Wu-hsing, Fa-chen, Ch'eng-wu and Ch'eng-ju, some were natives of Chiaochou and Aichou, while the others were visitors to Chiao-chih (Chiachou), Champa and Pi-ching at different times. The above-mentioned regions were originally under the administration of the Garrisoned Prefecture of Chiaochou of T'ang, and in the first year of Tiao-lu period (679 A.C.) of Emperor Kao-tsung, it was promoted to the site of the Headquarters of the Protectorate of An-nan. The local people were accustomed to the cultures of Han and T'ang and had deep faith in Buddhism coming from the land of Han. In religious life and sentiment, they were in perfect harmony with the people of China proper just like the members of a big family. Thus when T'an-jun came to Chiao-chih, "he was held in high esteem by both monks and laymen", so much so that Yün-chi volunteered to be his attendant in his travels to the South Seas. When Ming-yüan came to Chiao-chih, K'uei-ch'ung offered himself as a disciple and followed the master to India. Chih-hsing of Aichou and Hui-yen and Mokṣadeva of Chiaochou, in their travels to the west to seek for the Law, were regarded as monks of T'ang. Chih-hung and Wu-hsing spent one summer in this country when they were travelling to India from Ch'angan. Mahāyānadīpa of Aichou was willing to return to Ch'angan with the Chinese envoy whom he met in the country of Dvāravatī. All these facts indicate the intimate relationship existing at that time between the monks of China proper and those of these regions.

It was under these circumstances that the sixty monks of the T'ang dynasty as recorded in this Biography went abroad as students of the religion, at the risk of their lives, to pay homage to the sacred places, to absorb new knowledge and to search for Sanskrit texts, in an effort to enrich the Buddhist culture in their mother-land.

The Biography may be regarded as an important record about the ancient Chinese monks who went abroad to study Buddhism, and at the same time it contains a wealth of valuable materials concerning the communication, history, geography, politics and cultures in ancient China, India and the various countries of South Asia. In 1894, E. Chavannes translated this work into French, entitled *Memoire compose a l'epoque de la Grande Dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Eminants qui allerent chercher la loi dans les Pays d'Occidents*. In 1942, the Japanese scholar, K. Ashitachi translated it into Japanese with annotations. Both are useful works of reference for the study of this Biography.

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Kao Kuan-ju.

TAṆHĀ, "craving", (Skt. *tṛṣṇā*), is according to the early Buddhist analysis of existence the very root cause of the *saṃsāric* predicament. Due to its pivotal role as the chief cause for bondage, *taṇhā* occurs in numerous passages and contexts in the early discourses, and forms the topic of an entire chapter in the *Dhammapada* (*Dhp.* 334-359). Most prominent among these occurrences is perhaps its role as the main factor responsible for the arising of *dukkha*, highlighted in the second noble truth.

In order to give an overview of *taṇhā* and its implications, the scheme embodied in the four noble truths could be applied to *taṇhā* itself. Adopting this approach, the present article will first of all attempt to define *taṇhā* (1), followed by examining its arising (2) and the implications of its cessation (3), and finally turn to the steps to be undertaken in order to arrive at freedom from *taṇhā* (4).

(1) The nature of *taṇhā*

The term *taṇhā* literally stands for "thirst", a meaning echoed also in its near synonym *tasiṇā*. *Taṇhā* - as a figurative type of thirst that demands the satisfaction of desires - manifests as a sense of lack or want, and has its root in dissatisfaction. Such thirst, longing, wanting and craving can arise in relation to a range of objects, hence *taṇhā* can manifest in various ways.

A prominent listing of such manifestations occurs in the standard exposition of the second noble truth, which differentiates between sensual craving, *kāma-taṇhā*, craving for existence, *bhava-taṇhā*, and craving for non-existence, *vibhava-taṇhā* (e.g. *S.* V, 421, See also VIBHAVATAṆHĀ). The first of these, sensual craving, could manifest in relation to any of the six senses, resulting in altogether six modes of craving according to each sense-object. These are the six *taṇhākāya*, which comprise *rūpa- taṇhā*, *sadda-taṇhā*, *gandha-taṇhā*, *rasa-taṇhā*, *phoṭṭhabba-taṇhā*, and *dhamma-taṇhā* (e.g. *D.* III, 244). Craving for existence could be for material or immaterial forms of existence, resulting in *rūpa- taṇhā* and *arūpa- taṇhā*, which the *Saṅgīti Sutta* (*D.* III, 216) lists together with *nirodha-taṇhā*, craving for cessation.

The *Saṅgīti Sutta* also presents a set of four types of craving more specifically related to the life of a monk or a nun, the *cattāro taṇhuppādā*, which comprise craving related to robes, to food, to lodging and to forms of existence (*D.* III, 228).1 In addition, craving could also be for views, *diṭṭhi-taṇhā* (*A.* II, 12), for the four nutriments (*S.* II, 101), for wealth (*Dhp.* 355), or for appropriating in general, *ādāna-taṇhā* (*Sn.* 1103).

A presentation that covers altogether one-hundred-and-eight manifestations of what appear to be forms of craving for existence can be found in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* II, 211-213). This discourse begins by distinguishing eighteen forms of internal craving and eighteen forms of external craving. The internal manifestations of craving are various modes of imagination that begin with the basic notion "I am", which then leads to imaginations of the type "I am like this", "should I be otherwise?", "may I become like this", etc. Their external counterparts come into being when this same notion "I am" is related to the external world, such as "by this I am" etc. Adding these two modes together, and relating them to the past, the present and the future, results in altogether one-hundred-and-eight ways of bondage, explained in this discourse to result in being enmeshed by craving, *taṇhā-jālinā*.

With the imagery of being enmeshed by craving, of being caught in the net of craving, this discourse provides a lead over from the more analytical presentations, by way of listing various manifestations of craving, to other passages that bring out the nature of *taṇhā* with the help of various similes and images. The relation provided in this *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourse between the net of craving and the issue of views recurs in the *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta*. This

discourse points out that the monk Sāti, who tenaciously held on to the wrong view that the same consciousness transmigrates in *saṃsāra*, was caught in the great net of craving, *mahātaṇhā-jāla* (*M.* I, 271). The relation between craving and views recurs also in an exposition by Sāriputta, according to which speculative views about the future destiny of a *Tathāgata* after death are but the product of delighting in craving, *taṇhā-rāma*, of enjoying and rejoicing in craving, *taṇhā-rata taṇhā-samudita* (*S.* IV, 390).

The net imagery recurs in relation to craving in general in a verse in the *Theragāthā*, which compares the condition of one who has destroyed the net of craving, *taṇhā-jāla*, to the stainless moon on a clear night (*Thag.* 306). The *Dhammapada* also employs this imagery, when it contrasts the net-like nature of craving to the freedom attained by the Buddha who, in contrast to such forms of entrapment, has a quite literally limitless range, *ananta-gocara* (*Dhp.* 180).

The nuance of craving as a form of bondage, *bandhana* (*S.* I, 8), which underlies the net imagery, recurs also in other similes. Overcome by craving, *tasiṇā*, beings run around in circles comparable to a rabbit caught in a snare (*Dhp.* 342). Covered by craving's cloak, *taṇhā-chadana-chāditā*, one is in bondage like a fish in a trap (*Ud.* 76). The idea of bondage or binding together also underlies a simile that presents craving as a seamstress, *taṇhā sibbanī*. This seamstress sews together contact, its arising and cessation; or else it sews together past, future and present; or else pleasure, pain, and neither-pleasure-nor-pain; or else name, form and consciousness; or else sense-organs, sense-objects and consciousness; or else personality, its arising and its cessation (*A.* III 399-402).2 Whichever of these complementary perspectives is taken on the seamstress of craving, the result is the continuity of becoming, *bhava*, and hence the continuity of *dukkha*.

This sticky craving, *taṇhā visattikā* (*Dhp.* 335), forms a yoke that binds beings to existence, *taṇhā-yoga* (*It.* 50). It causes beings to take up the burden of the five aggregates, *taṇhā vuccati bhārādānaṃ* (*S.* III, 26), in fact it is responsible for the very arising and existence of a being, *satta* (*S.* III, 190), and after death such a being will be carried on to its next rebirth based on craving, *taṇhupādāna*, like a flame carried on by the wind (*S.* IV, 400). That is, from the perspective of faring on in *saṃsāra*, craving is the fetter par excellence, *taṇhā-saṃyojana* (*It.* 8).

Another set of images revolve around the theme of growth in nature, alerting us to the danger of allowing craving to follow its natural course and thereby become stronger and stronger. This nuance can be seen in a *Dhammapada* verse that compares the fertility of the underlying tendency to craving, *taṇhānusaya*, to a tree that grows again after being cut down, as long as its roots are left intact (*Dhp.* 338). Hence craving together with its root need to be removed (*S.* I, 16). The idea of growth recurs also in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, according to which craving is the moisture, *taṇhā sineho*, due to which the seed of consciousness grows on the field of karma (*A.* I, 223). Craving is like a creeper, *taṇhā-latā* (*Thag.* 1094), that needs to be cut in order to reach liberation. A verse in the *Dhammapada* takes up the same imagery, pointing out that in the case of those who are heedless craving will grow like a creeper, *māluvāviya* (*Dhp.* 334). As a result, the same verse explains, beings proceed from one life to another, comparable to a monkey that leaps from tree to tree in search of fruit.

The simile of the monkey that leaps from tree to tree brings out a nuance of faring on endlessly, a nuance that comes to the fore in another set of images that relate craving to a stream. There is no stream like craving, *n' atthi taṇhāsamā nadī*, a verse in the *Dhammapada* warns (*Dhp.* 251), and another passage points out that those who are under the power of craving are carried along by the stream, *taṇhādhipannā anusota-gāmino* (*A.* II, 6). Hence the task is to completely cut off craving just like drying up a fast flowing river (*Sn.* 3). By thorough comprehension of craving the flood will be crossed (*Sn.* 1082), and one who has completely eradicated craving, an *arahant*, deserves to be reckoned as one who has cut the stream, *chinna-soto* (*S.* IV, 292).

A more detailed treatment of the stream imagery can be found in a discourse in the *Itivuttaka* (*It.* 113-115). This discourse describes a man who allows himself to be carried along by a pleasant stream. An onlooker from the bank of that river warns the man that soon this river will lead to a pool with whirlpools and dangerous beings, so that the man carried along by the river will incur death or suffering similar to death. This imagery draws out the treacherous nature of the

stream of craving and sounds a stern warning against succumbing to its all too powerful pull. The whole world, in fact, is being led and dragged here and there by this powerful pull of craving, *taṇhāya niyati loko* (*S.* I, 39). The helpless predicament that results from falling prey to craving is described again in another simile, which compares beings under the influence of craving for existence, *taṇhā-gataṃ bhavesu*, to fish wriggling in water that is about to dry up (*Sn.* 776-777).

The danger inherent in succumbing to craving, to which this simile alerts, becomes even more conspicuous in another set of similes that compare craving to a dart or an arrow. The world is afflicted by this dart of craving, *taṇhā-sallena otiṇṇo* (*S.* I, 40), as it is always burning with desires. The same imagery also recurs in several verses in the *Theragāthā*, which report monks formulating the strong determination not to take food or leave their hut (*Thag.* 223 and 313), or even sit down at all (*Thag.* 514), until the dart of craving has finally been removed.

The *Sunakkhatta Sutta* provides additional background to the dart imagery (*M.* II. 260), explaining that the dart of craving is smeared with the poison of ignorance and has smitten the wound of the six internal sense-bases. The surgeon who pulls out the dart of craving from this wound is the *Tathāgata*, and to remove this dart requires mindfulness as the probe and noble wisdom as the knife. Hence the Buddha as the good physician who teaches the path to freedom from craving is also called the destroyer of the dart of craving, *taṇhā-sallassa hantāra* (*S.* I, 192). A complementary to this imagery, similarly taken from the realm of physical affliction, presents craving as the tumour's root, *gaṇḍa-mūla* (*S.* IV, 83), that needs to be removed in order to arrive at a state of mental health.

A monk who has not succeeded in removing craving can not really be reckoned as one who is solitary, even if he should be living in remote places, far removed from contact with others. The reason is that he has craving as his second (*S.* IV, 36), whether it be craving for sights, sounds, or any other agreeable sense-object. This discourse introduces yet another imagery related to craving, that of one's second, one's ever-present companion, *taṇhā dutiyo puriso* (*Sn.* 740). This imagery brings out the ever present deep seated feeling of dissatisfaction engendered by craving, a wanting so ingrained in one's habitual experience of the world that it is almost taken for granted. In fact, according to another passage *taṇhā* can be appropriated as a self, *'taṇhā attā 'ti* (*M.* III, 284). That is, craving is so well entrenched in experience that it has become part of one's sense of identity. This makes the removal of craving all the more difficult, since the goal of freedom from craving not only requires the insight that craving is inexorably bound up with dissatisfaction and frustration, but also requires giving up part of what is experienced as "I" and "mine".

This ever present second companion is quite powerful and often enough takes on the leading role, so much so that, with craving as one's second, one easily becomes a slave to craving, *taṇhā-dāsa*. The implications of being a slave to craving are drawn out in the *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta* (*M.* II, 71). According to this discourse, King Koravya had been puzzled by the fact that the young and healthy Raṭṭhapāla, son of the most wealthy house in town, had decided to leave all possessions and relatives behind in order to go forth as a Buddhist monk. In his explanations to the king about what had motivated him, Raṭṭhapāla employed the imagery of being a slave to craving, *taṇhā-dāso*. To explain this imagery, Raṭṭhapāla asked the king what he would do if he heard that among the neighbouring territories to the east a land could be found full of riches and easy to conquer. The king replied that he would certainly conquer it. Raṭṭhapāla continued to ask the same question for territories found in any other direction, including territories found far beyond the sea. In each case the king had to admit that he would wish to conquer them. In this way, Raṭṭhapāla was able to bring home to the king the insatiability of the thirst for power, a mode of craving suitably drawn from the king's own field of experience. Paradoxically enough, the very craving for more power turns the king into a slave, a slave of craving.

As the example provided in the *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta* shows, the arising of craving can take place quite independent of any real need, since even the king of the country, in spite of being more powerful than anyone else in his kingdom, will never be satisfied with his dominion, but always be ready to exert himself in order to further extend his domain. The example provided by Raṭṭhapāla thus leads us over to the second

theme to be discussed in relation to craving: the causes of its arising.

(2) The arising of *taṇhā*

Factors that contribute to the arising of craving are mentioned in the second noble truth, according to which the arising of *dukkha* is directly related to craving that is accompanied by delight and lust, *nandi-rāga-sahagatā*, delighting here and there, *tatra tatrābhinandinī* (*S.* V, 421). This reference to the tendency of delighting here and there, in this or that, reveals that once one perceives something as delightful, as gratifying (*assāda*), craving arises.

To highlight the dynamics that result from perceiving things as gratifying, the discourses employ several imageries. Just like a great fire, to which ever more fuel is added, will keep on burning for a long time, so for those who perceive things that can be clung to as gratifying, *upādāniyesu dhammesu assādānupassino*, craving will increase (*S.* II, 85). A similar imagery recurs in another simile that illustrates the situation of those who perceive things that can fetter as gratifying, *saññojaniyesu dhammesu assādānupassino*. For them, craving will increase just like an oil lamp will keep burning as long as oil is being added and the wick is adjusted (*S.* II, 86). The seeing of things that can be clung to, or that can fetter, as gratifying receives an additional treatment in two similes taken from the growth of trees. These similes describe how perception of gratification fosters the growth of craving with the example of a great tree that is well nourished through its roots (*S.* II, 87), and with the example of a sapling that is well cared for and watered (*S.* II, 89).

Another discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* takes up the same theme in more detail, explaining that craving arises and becomes established in regard to whatever in this world is pleasant and agreeable, mistaking it to be lasting, to provide real happiness and satisfaction, and finally appropriating it (*S.* II, 109). This discourse compares giving in to such craving to a thirsty man who partakes of a drink that is of exquisite taste, even though he knows it to contain poison.

These various presentations illustrate from complementary perspectives the indication given in the twelve-link presentation of dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*, according to which the arising of *taṇhā* takes place in dependence on feeling, *vedanā-paccaya* (*S.* II, 1). Hence it is with the arising and manifestation of feelings that *taṇhā* needs to be kept in check.

The indication that the condition for the arising of craving is to be found in feeling also has another dimension, which comes to the fore in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. According to this discourse, a monk had asked the Buddha: "Who craves?" (*S.* II, 13). Such a question is not appropriate, the Buddha pointed out, since an inquiry into the nature of craving should rather be worded in terms of: "what is the condition for craving?"

In addition to pointing out the role of feeling as the condition for craving, the twelve-link presentation of dependent arising also highlights that *taṇhā* in turn is responsible for the arising of *upādāna*, clinging or attachment, and ultimately in the arising of *dukkha*. The unwholesome consequences that arise due to *taṇhā* are treated in more detail in the *Dasuttara Sutta* (*D.* III, 289), which enumerates altogether nine states that are rooted in craving, *taṇhā-mūlaka*. These begin with the quest for the desired object, *pariyesanā*, which, when successful, in turn leads to gain, *lābha*. Having obtained gain requires the making of decisions about what should be done with such gains, *vinicchaya*, due to which arise lust and desire, *chanda-rāga*. These lead via attachment to appropriation, *ajjhosāna* and *pariggaha*, out of which avarice and hoarding result, *macchariya* and *ārakkha*. The end result of all this, according to the *Dasuttara Sutta*, is the taking up of sticks and swords, quarrel, slander and falsehood etc.

Notably, these dire consequences await those whose pursuit of the objects of craving has been successful. In the case of those who have not been able to satisfy the demands of their inner thirst, unwholesome states and reactions will arise all the more quickly.

The *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta* describes how the perception of sensual pleasures as gratifying leads to a quest for obtaining them through earning a livelihood, a quest that in itself is often enough beset with much suffering, pain and at times even danger

(*M.* I 86). When in spite of all effort this quest has not been successful, the poor victim sorrows and grieves, laments and weeps, beating his breast, crying in distraught 'my work is in vain, my effort is fruitless'. Should his efforts succeed, however, the gains will have to be protected against avaricious kings and cunning thieves, as well as against natural calamities. Having depicted in detail the dangers that lurk at each of these successive steps needed to secure the objects of craving, the *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta* also treats the taking up of sticks and swords as the final result of the quest for craving satisfaction, describing in gruesome detail the suffering and evils of quarrel, warfare and crime in ancient India.

In addition to being directed to sensual pleasures, craving may also manifest in relation to various forms of existence. A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* points out that a first beginning of such craving for existence, *bhava-taṇhā*, cannot be predicated (*A.* V, 116). That is, craving for existence has been one's companion since times immemorial. Nevertheless, according to the same discourse a condition for craving for existence can be pointed out right in the present, which is none other than ignorance, *avijjā*.

In short, for the ignorant ones who allow themselves to succumb to the arising of craving sorrows grow, just like grass grows after rain (*Dhp.* 335). In contrast, from those who overcome craving sorrow falls off, like water from a lotus flower (*Dhp.* 336). The imagery of the lotus untouched by water leads us to the next aspect to be explored in relation to *taṇhā*, to the cessation of craving.

(3) The cessation of *taṇhā*

The eradication of craving equals *Nibbāna*, *taṇhāya vippahānena, 'nibbānam' iti vuccati* (*S.* I, 39), hence the destruction of craving, *taṇhakkhaya*, stands on a par with various other epithets used for *Nibbāna* (*S.* IV, 371). Such destruction of craving is part of a standard description of *Nibbāna* as the stilling of all formations, *sabba-saṅkhāra-samatha*, the relinquishment of all substrata, *sabbūpadhi-paṭinissagga*, the destruction of craving, *taṇhakkhaya*, dispassion, *virāga*, and cessation, *nirodha* (*M.* I, 436). The same formula recurs also in the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta*, where it forms part of the Buddha's reflection that *taṇhakkhaya* as a goal is not easily appreciated by those who are under the influence of delight and passion (*M.* I, 167).

The complete and remainderless cessation of craving, *taṇhāya asesa-virāga-nirodho*, its giving up and relinquishment, *cāgo paṭinissaggo*, is the theme of the third noble truth, which points out that with the cessation of craving the cessation of *dukkha* is reached. The accomplished ones, who have become free from craving, *vītataṇhā*, have plucked out the darts of existence, *bhava-sallāni* (*Dhp.* 351). Those who in regard to any of the five aggregates are devoid of craving, *vigatataṇhā*, are beyond any form of agitation when any of these aggregates changes and becomes otherwise (*S.* III, 8). At the same time, they are also beyond any speculative views on the destiny of a *Tathāgata* after death (*S.* IV, 387). In fact, for those who are freed through the destruction of craving, *taṇhakkhaya-vimuttino*, any standpoint for views has been uprooted, *diṭṭhiṭṭhānā samūhatā* (*It.* 48); and those without craving for existence or non-existence are free from underlying perceptions, *bhavābhave vītataṇhaṃ saññā nānusenti* (*M.* I, 108).

The liberation attained through the destruction of craving also implies the highest degree of ethical perfection in early Buddhism. Thus an *arahant*, one who has completely eradicated all forms of craving, is incapable of consciously killing a living being, of taking what has not been given, of engaging in sex, of knowingly speaking falsehood, and of enjoying sensual pleasures by hoarding them in the way this is done usually in lay households (*M.* I, 523).

One who has thus been freed through the destruction of craving, *taṇhakkhaye vimutta*, is reckoned by the wise as a sage (*Sn.* 211), and such a sage rid of craving, *nittaṇhā* has gone beyond the vision of the world with its gods (*Ud.* 77). Having abandoned craving, *taṇhaṃ pahatvāna*, such a one deserves to be reckoned a Brahmin in the true sense of the term (*Dhp.* 416).

For such a one, who has eradicated craving, there is no more questing or searching, just as there is no need to search for a well when water is available all around (*Ud.* 79). The absence of any further questing or searching, depicted in this imagery, is perhaps not surprising, as the freedom that results from the

destruction of craving yields supreme happiness. According to a verse in the *Udāna*, be it the sensual happiness of the world or divine happiness in heaven, none of them is worth even the sixteenth part of the happiness of the destruction of craving, *taṇhakkhaya-sukha* (*Ud.* 11). Since it is reasonable to give up a smaller happiness, if in this way a greater and superior happiness can be gained (*Dhp.* 290), a true disciple of the Buddha does not delight even in divine pleasures, but delights in the destruction of craving, *taṇhakkhaya-rato hoti* (*Dhp.* 187). This leads us on to the last aspect of *taṇhā* to be discussed in the present article, the path that leads to the happiness of freedom from craving.

(4) **The path to freedom from *taṇhā***

The path to freedom from craving is the same as the path to freedom from *dukkha*, namely the noble eightfold path (*S.* IV, 371). More specifically, the path to the destruction of craving can be found in the development of the seven awakening factors, *bojjhaṅga* (*S.* V, 86), and in the development of the four *satipaṭṭhānas* (*S.* V, 300).

Since craving arises and grows due to perceiving something as gratifying (*assāda*), perceiving things as unsatisfactory - in the sense of directing attention to their inherent disadvantage and danger (*ādīnava*) - leads to diminishing and eventually to eradicating craving. In the case of sensual craving, a particularly strong mode of this form of craving grows ever more as long as particular aspects of the body are seen as beautiful, *subhānupassino bhiyyo taṇhā pavaḍḍhati* (*Dhp.* 349). Counter-methods for such craving would therefore be the contemplation of the aspects of the body that are not beautiful, *asubha*, by directing mindfulness to the anatomical parts of the body as described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.* I, 57).

The unsatisfactory nature of sensual pleasures in particular is the theme of a series of similes delivered in the *Potaliya Sutta* (*M.* I, 364-366). According to this discourse, to search for satisfaction through sensuality is comparable to a hungry dog that gnaws a meatless bone, or to a bird that has gotten hold of a piece of food but is being attacked by other birds and therefore has to let go of the food again in order to avoid injury. Thirst for sensuality burns, just like a blazing torch held against the wind, or like falling into a burning charcoal pit. Sensual pleasures are illusory like a dream, or like parading with things that are owned by others. To pursue sensual pleasures is dangerous, like having climbed up a tree in search for fruit, only to find that the tree is being cut down by another person. Another simile in the *Māgandiya Sutta* compares the unsatisfactory nature of sensual pleasures to the situation of a leper, indicating that to indulge in sensual pleasures is like a leper who cauterises his wounds over a fire and scratches them, experiencing momentary relief by an act that aggravates his condition (*M.* I, 507). The purpose behind these various similes is to aid in the development of wisdom that sees craving for sensual satisfaction as futile and meaningless.

To eradicate the mode of craving that is directed to forms of existence, *bhava-taṇhā*, requires the development of deeper insight, *abhiññā* (*M.* III, 289). Such deeper insight for the purpose of destroying craving for existence would in particular require insight into the illusory nature of the notion "I am", which is the very basis for such craving for existence. To overcome craving for existence, what has come into being should be seen simply as something that has come into being, *bhūtaṃ bhūtato disvā* (*It.* 44), i.e. as the product of a conditioned process and without imposing any "I" notions on it, followed by developing detachment and disenchantment. This points to a sober appreciation of the true nature of one's own existence, and therewith of the ultimately unsatisfactory nature of all forms of existence.

According to an instruction delivered by Ānanda, it is based on *taṇhā* that *taṇhā* should be overcome, *taṇhaṃ nissāya taṇhā pahātabbā* (*A.* II, 145, See also CRAVING). As the same discourse explains, it is based on craving for liberation that other forms of craving can be overcome. The tantalizing use of *taṇhā* in an evidently positive sense in this passage, namely as a term that represents the highest of aspirations, the wish to reach full liberation, is significant.[3] Ānanda's indication that *taṇhā* can become the very means to overcome *taṇhā* points to a gradual procedure which replaces unwholesome forms of craving and desire with more wholesome counterparts.

The central point behind this presentation is to bring out the need for a gradual approach when trying

to overcome craving, and the need to develop wisdom. Wisdom in the sense that to overcome *taṇhā* through *taṇhā* requires a clear understanding of what are wholesome objects of desire, and what are their unwholesome counterparts, such as sensual objects or modes of existence. Such wisdom is based on the clear ethical distinguishing between what is wholesome and what is unwholesome, and is coupled with the insight that the objects of unwholesome cravings are of such nature that they will never yield any lasting or true satisfaction.

The gradual approach that underlies the presentation according to which *taṇhā* should be overcome through *taṇhā* enjoins a gradual shift of the basic mode of craving and desire from unwholesome to wholesome objects. A first stage in such a gradual approach is reflected in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. According to this discourse, those who have full faith in the impermanent nature of craving and its objects, or who fully accept such teachings after reflection, can already be reckoned as faith-followers (*saddhānusārī*) or Dhamma-followers (*dhammānusārī*), and are thus well on the path to stream-entry, since they are unable to perform deeds that lead to a lower rebirth (*S.* III, 227).

The difficulties involved in attempting to overcome craving, which make it pertinent that a gradual approach is employed, could be illustrated with the help of the *Cūḷataṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta*. This discourse reports how Sakka, the king of gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-three, approached the Buddha with the question how one becomes liberated through the destruction of craving, *taṇhā-saṅkhaya-vimutta* (*M.* I, 251). The Buddha's poignant reply was that one needs to know that all things are not worth adhering to, *sabbe dhammā nālaṃ abhinivesāya*.

Yet, for Sakka to be able to put this penetrative maxim into practice was apparently not easy. In fact, after receiving this instruction, Sakka returned to heaven and continued disporting himself with his heavenly maiden in a pleasure pond. It needed the timely intervention of Mahāmoggallāna, who through a feat of supernatural power caused the beautiful palace of Sakka to shake and tremble, to bring the king of gods to his senses. In this way, this tale allegorically highlights the difficulties of putting the path to freedom from craving into practice, as this demands moving right against the current of the satisfaction of desire, and requires sustained practice undertaken beyond a mere superficial intellectual appreciation. Every single step that moves against this current, and thereby withstands the attraction of Māra's daughter Taṇhā (*S.* I, 124), is an all-important step in the direction of the true happiness of freedom from craving.

Anālayo

References

1 Cf. also *Sn.* 339, which mentions only the first three of these four.

2 These different perspectives are given as comments on the verse spoken in *Sn.* 1042.

3 That there can be wholesome forms of craving is also recognized in *Nett.* 87: *taṇhāduvidhā, kusalā pi akusalā pi.*

T'AN LUAN. T'an-luan (476-542) was an eminent monk of Northern Wei, a promoter of the Pure Land doctrine during the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties. He was a native of modern Yen-mên of the Ta-t'ung district, Shan-si. (*The Treatise on the Pure Land* written by Chia-ts'ai of T'ang records him as a native of Wên-shui of Ping-chou). His home being in the neighbourhood of the sacred Wu-t'ai Mountain, he became familiar from childhood with the legends about the miraculous manifestations of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Shortly after he grew up to his early teens, he went up the mountain to seek for the Truth. Deeply impressed by the holy sites that he saw, he offered himself to be a monk. He read extensively, including religious and non- religious literature, and made remarkable attainment in the study of the four *śāstras* of Nāgārjuna's system (i.e the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, the *Madhyamika-śāstra*, the *Dvādaśasanikāya—śāstra* and the *Śata-śāstra* and the theory of the Buddha-nature.

Later he studied the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra*. Feeling that the recondite meaning therein were rather too difficult to understand, he betook himself to the compilation of an exegetic work on it. Barely had he

gone over one half of the text when he was suddenly attacked by some disease in the respiratory organs, which interrupted his work and obliged him to go abroad for medical treatment. On the way at Fên-chou, his disease was suddenly relieved. He would have resumed his writing work, had he not been agonized by the impression that life was too short and that all personal ambitions would be fruitless without sufficient Longevity. Incidentally he heard of the famous hermit T'ao Hung-ching , (456-536) of the South, who was held in high esteem far and near as a scholar of extensive and profound knowledge and an expert in the technique of achieving immortality. To seek for this man, T'an-Luan immediately set upon a southward journey. It was not an easy matter at that time for a northerner to get admittance into the domain of the Liang regime. When T'an-Luan arrived at Chien-k'ang, i.e, modern Nanking), he successfully passed the official inquiries and finally was fetched to the presence of Emperor Wu-ti himself. Being assured that T'an-Luan was not a spy from the North, the emperor granted him an audience in the Ch'ung-Yün Hall for a discussion on the profound principle of the Buddha-nature, in which T'an-Luan's views got much approval from the emperor.

T'ao Hung-ching was then living in the Mao Shan of Chu-Yung, greately revered by the Emperor Wu-ti, so that people of the time generally mentioned him as "the Grand Premier in the Mountain". T'an-Luan first sent him a letter in which he stated his purpose and expressed his wish to learn from him the art of achieving immortality. His application got an immediate reply of welcome from T'ao who had heard of his high fame. At Mao-shan, T'an-Luan was cordially received by the famous hermit, who gave him one long copy of *Hsien-ching* (*Manual of Immortality*) in 10 fascicles. Bringing this book with him, T'an-Luan took leave for the North, meaning to carry out the exercises according to the prescription in some well-chosen spot.

On his way back, T'an-Luan passed Lo-yang where he chanced to meet Bodhiruci, a Tripiṭaka master of north India. To this foreign *śramaṇa* he confided his wishes, asking whether Buddhism had any device to offer that would prove superior to the Chinese *Hsien-ching* in achieving immortality. Bodhiruci told him that the *Hsien-ching* was no match for Buddhism, and that no technique of achieving immortality could accomplish that end. So saying, he handed T'an-Luan a copy of the *Amitāyur-Buddha-bhāvanā-sūtra*. "This is a wonderful prescription to achieve immortality", he added. "Practise accordingly, and you will be able to be liberated from birth and death". Perfectly convinced by this instruction of Bodhiruci, T'an-Luan burned up the Heien-ching that he brought along, and devoted himself thenceforward to the cultivation of the Pure Land doctrine. Not only practising by himself, he was as zealous in converting others to the same faith. Gradually his influence grew, and a large multitude of devotees surrendered themselves to him. The reigning monarch of Wei honoured him with the appellation of " the Devine Luan", and by decree appointed him abbot of the Great Temple of Ping-chou (the site being in the neighbourhood of the Tsin Tzŭ of modern T'ai-yüan). Towards his old age ,he was appointed abbot of the Hsüan-chung Monastery at the Shih-pi-Yü of the North Mountain of Fên-chou. According to a tablet inscription erected in the 3rd year of Ch'ang-ch'ing, (823 A.C)of T'ang which was entitled " The Record of the Four Boundaries of the Land property Donated by a Special Mandate" and which is still preserved today in the Hsüan-chung Monastery of Chiao-ch'êng, T'an-Luan started to build this monastery at the Shin-pi-yü in the 2nd year of Yen-hsing (472 A.C.) . Under the reign of Emperor Hsiao-wên, the sixth ruler of Wei, and the construction was completed in the 1st year of Ch'êng-ming (476 A.C). In the mean time, he used to go to the northern slope of Mount Chieh), modern Mount Mien in Chieh-hsiu, Shansi) to guide the devotees there in their performance of invoking Amita Buddha. That place was henceforth called the cliff of Master T'an-Luan. In the 4th year of Hsing-ho, 542 A.C) of Eastern Wei, he died of sickness in a temple of P'ing-Yao at the age of sixty-seven. An edict of the Wei ruler states that he was buried in the Wên Valley of T'ai-Ling by the western side of the Fên River, where a brick stūpa was erected with a memorial tablet (vid. *Biography of T'an-Luan* in the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks* by Tao-hsüan).

.Concerning the date of T'an-Luan's death, however, even T'ang documents are at variance. The *Biography of T'an-Luan* contained *in* Chia-ts'ai's *Treatise on the Pure Land* (2nd fasc.) relates him as still living at the beginning of Northern Ch'i. In the *Biography of Tao-ch'o* contained in the 20th fascicle of the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, as well

as Wên-shên and Shao-k'ang's *Abridged Records of the Auspicious Responses of people who were Born to the Western Pure Land*, he is mentioned as "Master T'an-Luan of the Ch'i Dynasty". Besides, in the *Inscription on the Image of the Infant Buddha* (a rubbing from the original kept in Lo Chên-yü's collection) dated the 2nd month of the 5th year of T'ien- pao of the Northern Ch'i, there appears the name of a certain Bhiksu T'an-Luan" styled as the sponsor of the vow. This may furnish us a reason to speculate that T'an-Luan's death could not have occurred earlier than the 5th year of T'ien-pao of Northern Ch'i (554 A.C). But so far, no definite conclusion has been reached at in this respect.

Concerning T'an-Luan's writings, as far as are mentioned in the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks* (fasc.6), the *Ching-chi-chih* of the History of Sui, and the *I-Wên-chih* of the *New History of T'ang*, etc., ten works are ascribed to him:

1. *Commentary on the Mahāsaṁnipāta-sūtra*, unfinished (vid.Biog.of T'an-Luan, in fasc.6 of the *Cont.Biog.of Em.Mks)*
2. *Twelve Gāthās for Worshipping the Pure Land* (*ibid.*)
3. *Gāthās in praise of Amita-buddha*, 1 fasc.,(extant).
4. *An-Lo-chi*, 2 fascs. *(ibid.*with 1 & 2).
5. *A Brief Discussion on the principle of the Happy Pure Land*,1 fasc.(extant)
6. *A Commentary on the Treatise of Rebirth to the Pure Land*,2 fascs.(extant)
7. *A Discussion on the Curing Effect of the Respiratory Exercise*,1 fasc.(vid. *Ching-chi-chih* of the *History of Sui*, fasc.34).
8. *Miscellaneous Pills for Curing Diseases*,3 fascicles (*ibid.*)
9. *Methods of Respiratory Exercise*, 1 fasc.(vid.*I-wên-chih* of the *New History of T'ang*,fasc.59).
10. *Important Instructions on Breathing Exercise*, 1 fasc. (vid. *I-wên-chih* of the *History of Sung*, fasc.205).

Of these ten works, (1) has long been lost, while the (7), (9) and (10) seem to be the same book under different titles, some sort of medical treatise on the respiratory techniques (cf. Yao Chêng-tsung's *Researches of the Ching-chi-chih of the History of Sui*. According to the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, T'an-Luan was expert in controlling his mental functioning and breathing, and his fame as a skillful diagnostician was said to have filled the capital of the Wei state. His *Treatise on Regulating the Breathing* was commented upon by wang Shao, member of the Imperial secretariat.All these may serve to show that T'an-Luan had his attaintment in medical science. His *Commentary of the Mahāsaṁnipāta- sūtra* was an unfinished work,and consequently seems to have not been circulated. In the 1st fascicle of the *Exposition of the words and sentences of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra* composed by the Master of T'ien-t'ai, (i.e. Chih-i), there is a quotation from T'an-Luan which runs thus: "(Their) minute analysis often drags on endlessly like a twisting column of smoke, carrying along granules and dust. " This critical remark might have been taken from T'an-Luan's *Commentary of the Mahāsaṁnipāta-sūtra*.

The *Twelve Gāthās for Worshipping the Pure Land* seems to be identical with the extant *Gāthās in Praise of Amita Buddha*, and the *An-lo-chi* identical with the extant *Brief Discussion on the Principle of the Happy Pure Land*.Thus three works may be considered as T'an-Luan's works extant now,vis. *A commentary on the Treatise of Rebirth to the pure Land, Gāthās in praise of Amita Buddha and A Brief Discussion on the Happy Pure Land.*

The Commentary on the Treatise of Rebirth to the pure Land, in 2 fascicles, is an exegetic work on the *Amitābhavyūhopadeśa* composed by Vasubandhu of India. The first fascicle deals with the verse portion and the second fascicle with the prose portion of the *Treatise*.In the course of explanation, T'an-Luan now and then presents his own original views, e.g. the theories of the two ways and the two powers, the maintenance of the invocation of Amita's name as an essential practice, the formulation of the two aspects of turning one's merits, etc., which are all concrete expressions of his pure Land doctrine. *Gathās in praise of Amita Buddha*,which comprises 195 Septa- syllabic lines, is an eulogium on the merits of Amita Buddha and his Pure Land, based on the *Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra*. Hence it is also entitled *Laudatory Verses to the Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra* or *Laudatory Verses to the Greater Sūtra* (vid. Chia-ts'ai's *Treatise on the Pure Land*, fasc.2).

A Brief Discussion on the Happy Pure Land is composed in the form of questions and answers, whereby a series of problems concerning the Pure Land of Amita are presented and resolved one by one. Some of the questions are of a general nature, while others concern specific points, and altogether nine topics are discussed about, e.g. the question whether the Pure Land appertains to any of the Three Realms, what its glories are, how the different classes of birth are graded, what about those born to the "borderland" or those of the "uterine birth", how to solve the five kinds of doubt about Amita's wisdom, the question about salvation or non-salvation, the problem about the ten continuous remembrances, and so forth. In his *Treatise on the Pure Land* (fasc.2), Chia-ts'ai says, " Master T'an-Luan composed the *Laudatory Verses to the Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra* in 195 septa- syllabic lines along with the one fascicle of *Questions and Answers*, both of which are in circulation". This statement may lead to the conclusion that the *Brief Discussion* and the *Questions and Answers* are in fact identical works originally circulated as appendises to the *Gāthās*. Yüan-shiao of Silla in his *Essentials of the Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra* holds that the parable of "crossing the river with one's clothes on or off" was first related by Kumārajiva. Divergent opinions have also been set forth by other researchers.

T'an-Luan's philosophy finds its full exposition in his *Commentary on the Treatise of the Rebirth to the Pure Land*. At the outset, he at once makes reference to Nāgārjuna's *Daśabhūmivibhāṣa* to propound the theory that there are two ways, the difficult one and the easy one, for a bodhisattva to attain the *Avaivartika* (the stage of non-retrogression). The attempt to achieve this aim in a period of five impurities is really difficult, but if one be resolved to be born to the Pure Land by virtue of the faith in Amita Buddha whereby to be initiated into the rank of right decision (*samyaktva-niyata-rāśi*) of Mahāyāna, it would be easy. In other words, at a time when there is no Buddha it is difficult to attain the *Avaivartika* " by one's own power solely without the assistance of the power of others, " just as to travel by walking is laborious and difficult. On the other hand, to be born to the Pure Land through the power of Amita's vows and achieve the *Avaivartika* by the help of other's powers would be much easier, just as to travel by the water route onboard a ship would be easy.

T'an- Luan's teaching of laying great emphasis on the reliability of Amita's original vows has its source from the *Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra*. In his *Commentary on the Treatise of Rebirth to the Pure Land* (2nd fasc.), he praises the superiority of the power of Amita's original vows and recommends the practice of the five methods of remembrance as the best means to benefit oneself as well as others, which will facilitate the achievement of the *Anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*. The important point is to take Amita Tathāgata as an assisting condition, to take the 11th , the 18th and the 22nd of Amita's 48 vows for the chief source of external powers, thus establishing the essentials of the cult of Amita's Pure Land and providing an expedient for the devotees to obtain the advantage of achieving the rebirth, the non-retrogression and hence the speedier attainment of Buddhahood. In this way, T'an-Luan initiates a remarkable innovation in the history of Buddhist faith. The theory of Amita's original vows later advanced by Shantao under the T'ang dynasty was a direct development from this doctrine of T'an-Luan.

It is generally accepted that T'an-Luan obtained his Pure Land doctrine from Bodhiruci. But there are some who hold that it was transmitted to T'an-Luan through two other masters, namely, Hui-ch'ung and Tao-ch'ang (see Tao-ch'o's *An-Lo-chi*, fasc. 2). According to some records, Hui-ch'ung at first received the Pure Land cult from the famous Hui-Yüan of Lu shan and later got approved by Bodhiruci, so that he might be regarded as a disciple of both masters. Tao-ch'ang was Hui-ch'ung's disciple and at the same time the 3rd abbot of the Tung-Lin Monastery of Lu Shan (see Shoso's *Biographies of the patriarchs of the Pure Land School in the Three countries*. How these two masters, both successors of Hui-Yüan, came to be regarded as disciples of Bodhiruci is not known. Considering the fact that T'an-Luan has made no mention of them in his writings, we may reasonably imagine that no intimate relation between them and T'an-Luan ever existed.

Concerning the transmission of the Pure land cult during the interval between T'an-Luan and Tao-ch'o, twenty- two names are mentioned in the *Record of the Lineage of Buddha and Patriarchs* (fasc.27) as eminent monks who were born to the west. But all of them seem to have no direct relation with T'an-Luan. Tao-ch'o's *An-lo-chi* (2nd fasc.) mentions the names of Ta-

hai and Fa-shang among the six Chinese Masters of the Pure Land School, but nothing definite is said about their positions in the transmission of T'an-Luan's tradition. Only Shoso of Japan (op.cit.) relates Ta-hai as the successor of T'an-Luan of the Hsüan-chung Monastery and Fa-shang as Ta-hai's successor. But this seems to be a tradition of later date. After all, the true transmitter of T'an-Luan's teaching, the master who further developed the Pure Land doctrine and who eventually became the precursor of Shan-tao, could be no other but Tao-ch'o.

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Lin Tzū-ch'ing.

TĀNTRIC BUDDHISM. The term *tantra*, coming from the root *tan* to spread, weave, elaborate or expand, signifies 'web' or 'warp' and metaphorically, it was used to designate a scientific treatise. By extension, the term was later used to mean an uninterrupted series of such treatises. Next, the theory or the system itself, which such works presented, came to be so designated. Thus the *Tantras* represent a class of Indian (Hindu and Buddhist) religious literature which assumed popularity in India during the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era.

Tantrism in Buddhism could be called the concluding phase of the history of the religion in India. It is not a special school of Buddhism as Yogācāra or Mādhyamika, but a particular and a somewhat peculiar religious cult that grew out of Mahāyāna philosophy and Hindu theology with an admixture of popular folk religion. Its philosophical basis was that of the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra systems. Being a combination of Buddhist, Hindu and folk religious elements it was quite heterogenous in character and outlook. It seems to have arisen as a popular need of the times when Buddhism had become a mere subject of academic study and philosophical theorising than a practical way of life. People seem to have needed something practical than the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra theories and a religious system that emphasises the mystic, ritualistic and the practical aspects such as Tantric Buddhism which accordingly was the natural outcome.

Poussin (*ERE*. XII, p.193) points out that the differences between the Mahāyāna Sūtras and the Buddhist Tantras are not clearly laid down, for doctrines peculiar to the two schools are discussed indiscriminatey in these two branches of literary works. And his observation that "the spirit of Mahāyāna had become largely tinted with the spirit of Mahāyāna Tantrism or rather that the Tantric syncretism made little distinction between Mahayanism and Tantrism properly so called," is quite justified. Even the *Sutra (mdo)* and *Tantra (Rgyud)* sections of the Tibetan canon are said to be overlapping.

As observed earlier the word '*tantra*' is related to the concept of weaving and its derivatives (thread, web, fabric etc.), indicating the intervowenness and the interdependence of all that exists. Anagarika Govinda observes that Tantrism, developed with logical necessity from the teachings and the religious practice of Vijñānvādins and Yogācārins (the former name emphasises more the theoretical or philosophical, the latter more the practical aspect of the same school of Mahayana Buddhism). Like a gigantic wave, the Tantric conception of the world swept over the whole of India, penetrating and modifying Buddhism and Hinduism alike and obliterating many of their differences" (*The Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, pp.93-4).

Certain features of Tantric Buddhism, specially those practices advocated by the left-handed Tantrists, could be explained as the emergence of certain elements ('vulgar magical rites' as described by Poussin: *ERE*, XII, p.195) that had been suppressed in society during the earlier phases. For, although the contents of the Tantric works go back at least to the beginnings of the Christian era, those ideas did not have an opportunity for wide diffusion as their advocates were not organised as a sect.

Edward Conze briefly summarises the salient features of Buddhist Tantrism thus: "the Tantra combines the devotional needs of the masses with the meditational practices of the Yogācāra school, and with the metaphysics of the Mādhyamikas. In other words, the Tantra took over the vast pantheon of popular mythology, with its bewildering variety of deities,

fairies, witches etc. The Tantrists agreed, however, with the metaphysical assumptions of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, according to which only one reality of emptiness is fully real, whereas any kind of multiplicity would be ultimately unreal and the fictitious product of our imagination" (*Buddhism*, p.184).

It was this composite system of Tantric religion that came to be called by the general name *Vajrayāna* or the Adamantine Way. It is the way for the realisation of ultimate reality which, as the void *(śūnyatā)* is adamantine (*vajramaya)* or immutable. And in this sense it has assumed significance as one of the many vehicles (*yāna, naya)* leading to final liberation. The concept of *śūnyatā* was adopted because the philosophical basis of Tantric Buddhism was the same as that of the Mādhyamika School. In Tantrism the term *vajra* (diamond) assumed such significance as a symbol of the transcendental that the entire school came to be designated as Vajrayāna.

The aims of Tantrism may be discussed at two levels as mundane and as transcendental. As regards the former its aims were the attainment of various kinds of perfections or supernatural powers (*siddhi),* which are magical in character. These *siddhis* consisted of such things as success in love-affairs, averting and curing diseases, extraction of snake-poison, prevention of snake-bites, acquisition of academic knowledge, vanquishing of opponents etc. etc. (cp. the *sādhanas*, 151, 155, 218, *256* in the *Sādhanamālā).*

B. Bhattacharyya in his *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* (Oxford University Press, 1932, pp.88-9) gives a list of such eight great *siddhis* practised specially by the Buddhists as given in the *Sādhanamālā*. These are :

i. *khagga*, **ii.** *añjana*, **iii.** *pādalepa*, **iv.** *antardhāna*, **v.** *rasarasāyana*, **vi.** *khecara*, **vii.** *bhūcara*, **viii.** *pātāla*. Here *khadga* signifies the *siddhi* that enables one to achieve victory in battle with the help of a charmed sword; *añjana*, may be the magic unguent which, when applied to the eyes, gives the power to perceive the treasures hidden from the eyes; *pādalepa*, the ointment which, when applied to the feet, enables one to move about unseen by others; *antardhāna*, is a similar mysterious power enabling one to disappear miraculously before an audience; *rasa-rasāyana* may either be the magic solution which turns baser metals into gold or the medicine which confers immortality; *khecara*, enables one to levitate; *bhūcara*, enables one to go at will anywhere on the earth in a moment and *pātāla*, is the power of going to the nether worlds. It was mainly through the agency of *mantras*, that these powers were obtained.

These and many other rites, which are magic and esoteric in character, are mentioned (op.cit. Ch. ix) as practised by the Tantric Buddhists. And these practices, which serve all sorts of purposes ranging from ritualistic worship to white and black magic, savour of folk religion and are as primitive in character as those of the *Atharvaveda*.

An important aspect in the Tantric ritual is the rite of invoking a deity (*sādhana)* as shown in the *Sādhanamālā* (*GOS.* XLVI), containing 312 such *Sādhanas*. Fundamentally, the ritual consits of the *sādhaka* (devotee) first purifying oneself and then going to a solitary place. Choosing a clean spot there he makes certain offerings such as flowers, incense etc. for the Buddhas and the deities and then meditates on the four *brahmavihāras* (s.v.). These are the introductory rites after which he meditates on the seed-syllable (*bīja-mantra*: s.v.) of the deity chosen for that particular rite, making use of the appropriate magic circle (*maṇḍala*, s.v.). By intensive meditation he causes the deity to arise before him identifying himself with him or in other words realising the identity of the deity and himself. Now he is the god himself, possessing all his powers (see *ERE*, xii, *193-6).*

This description shows that the preparatory part of this *sādhanā* has many features in common with mental development (*bhāvanā)* of early Buddhism. Choosing a lovely and a purified spot, worshipping the Buddhas and above all the meditation on the four *brahmavihāras* all these are not foreign to the *bhāvanā* exercises of early Buddhism. The *bīja-mantras* have affinities with the *kasiṇas* of early Buddhism. The creation of the mental picture of the deity for the purpose of acquiring his powers, is a part of the magical tradition belonging to the popular religion of mankind.

It seems that, as in the *Samatha-bhāvanā* (development of tranquillity) of early Buddhism, these devotional exercises, when undertaken for the purpose of pure self-development, can lead to various states of trance (*jhāna).* And if undertaken merely for a

worldly purpose, the states produced by these exercises could be described as a kind of self-hypnosis. While their yogic character is not difficult to be seen, it was these yogic elements that found their fullest development in the Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism.

It is worth remembering here that according to the Buddha, if one takes to these practices merely for the acquisition of supernatural powers, one would not attain the right goal of attaining release and enlightenment. Hence the Buddha discouraged the habit of displaying miracles as was in the case of Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja (*Vin*.II, 110 f.). The leading tenets of Tantric Buddhism could be discussed under the following sub-topics:

Mantra: *Mantras* or magic spells play a very important role in Tantric Buddhism and it is owing to this significance that Vajrayāna is sometimes designated as Mantrayāna or Mantranaya. The Tantric Buddhists use *mantras* and *dhāraṇis* profusely as means of mental development and concentration. Their use is based on the belief in the mysterious power in the sound of a word or a combination of words which belief goes back to a very early period in Indian religious history. The early Buddhist sect known as the Mahāsāṅghikas are said to have possessed a separate collection of mantric formulae under the name *Dhāraṇī* or *vidyādhara-piṭaka*. Lama Anagarika Govinda who gives a detailed account of the Indian mantric tradition (*Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, pp. 29-35) observes that this tradition had degenerated into a dogmatic convention of the Brahmanic ritual during the Buddha's time and consequently the Buddha could not recommend such a theologically infected mantric system. This seems to explain why the *mantras* and *dhāraṇis* are not given a prominent place in early Buddhism.

Maṇḍala: Those are the mystic circles or diagrams showing deities in their cosmic or spiritual connections and used as aids of meditation. The practice of selecting a limited area with fixed boundaries (*sīmā*) for ritualistic and religious purposes is of wide observance. This original idea of a limited, sanctified area led to very elaborate theories about the *maṇḍala* in Tantric Buddhism. The generally accepted belief was that drawing circles and other diagrams in a place selected for performing religious duties was a necessary part of the ritual. It was not only for the performance of the ritual that *maṇḍalas* are important. While all the dhyāni-buddhas have their own *maṇḍalas* the plexus (*cakras*) of the human body also have *maṇḍalas* of their own. In certain forms of meditation the body itself is regarded as the *maṇḍala* in which the plexus form smaller *maṇḍalas*. The primary purpose of these *maṇḍalas* being their usefulness as aids to meditation, they bear some resemblance to the *kasiṇas* of early Buddhism.

Mudrā: Mudrā (postures and gestures) primarily mean "the bodily gesture (especially of the hands) which accompanies the ritual act and the mantric word, as well as, the inner attitude, which is emphasised and expressed by this gesture" (Govinda, op.cit. pp.92-3). When explained further *mudrā* is generally taken to be a sign made by the particular position of the hands and the fingers. Just as the *mantras* represent the secret potency of sound, the *mudrās* symbolise the same power of touch in relation to the physiological system. And in this connection we cannot forget the different postures of the hands and fingers of the Buddha, as have been preserved in various paintings and iconographical representations. It is not difficult for one to understand that if the position of the body (*āsana)* is important for success of mental development (*bhāvanā*), the position of hands and fingers too have to be regarded as an important part of the physical posture. Hence the ritualistic importance of *mudrā* in meditational exercises need not be emphasised. However, one has also to remember that in Tantric Buddhism this idea too was elaborated in extreme technical details.

Deities: The existence of deities (*devatā*) and their ability to help human beings is not denied even in early Buddhism. Conceived as inhabitants of higher planes of existence they are very often portrayed as helping the Buddha and his disciples. As helpers of good men (but not as God) in their virtuous undertakings their help is solicited and accepted in Buddhism . But there is no theology developed out of such beliefs in early Buddhism. But with the theological developments of the Mahāyāna, the Tantric Buddhist also came to possess an extensive and a varied pantheon of gods whose aid was invoked for all kinds of purposes. In the fully developed theological concept of Tantric Budhism the deities of the pantheon are all regarded as manifestations of the void or *śūnyatā* the term under which the Absolute is conceived in Tantrism. As regards the origin of a pantheon of deities in Tantric Buddhism, the following quotation from B. Bhattacharyya 's *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, (pp.126-7) summarises the important

points: "The pantheon of the northern Buddhist revolves round the theory of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. The Buddhists believed that the world is composed of five elements or *skandhas: Rūpa*, Vedanā, *Samjñā*, *Samskāra* and *Vijñāna*: and these were deified in Vajrayāna in the form of the five Dhyani Buddhas. In course of time these five Dhyāni Buddhas were regarded as primordial gods, and therefore, Vajrayāna took more or less a polytheistic form." Even these dhyāni-buddhas were again treated as having their origin in the Ādi-Buddha or the original Buddha issuing from the absolute or *Sūnya*. In describing these dhyāni-buddhas Bhattacharyya says "these dhyāni-buddhas are regarded as the progenitors of the different families of Buddhist gods and goddesses. They are assigned a *Śakti* each, through whom the families are brought into existence. The families are *dveśa, moha, rāga, cintāmani* and *samaya*. The members of each family are required to show their origin by holding the figure of their parental dhyāni-buddha on their heads" (op.cit. p.130).

The Tantric theory is that the five *skandhas* (aggregates), into which the Buddha had analysed the individual, are represented in their ultimate state of enlightenment by the five dhyāni-buddhas. Vajrasattva, the 6th dhyāni-buddha, who is a later innovation, is usually regarded as the priest of the other five and is treated as the embodiment of the five *skandhas* collectively. This shows that the dhyāni-buddhas represent the potential state of enlightenment and release of the five *skandhas*. In other words they are the enlightenment-consciousness (*bodhicitta*) of the *skandhas*, which together make the individual. As such, the dhyāni-buddha theory, in its developed form, is a theological representation of the Buddhist analysis of the individual as found in early Buddhism, wherein the enalysis was psychological.

In this regard the following words of Lama Govinda may be quoted: "The relationship of the five *skandhas* to the five qualities of the consciousness of Enlightenment and their corresponding wisdoms, revealed already a fundamental principle, namely, that the highest qualities are potentially contained in the lower ones (like the blossom in the seed).Thus good and bad, the sacred and the profane, the sensual and the spiritual, the worldly and the transcendental, ignorance and Enhightenment,samsāra and nirvāna etc.are not absolute opposites or concepts of entirely different categories, , but two sides of the same reality"(op.cit.pp.107-8).

Each of these dhyāni-buddhas Aksobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi has got a particular consort *(śakti* or *prajñā)*,colour, crest, *mudrā*, *vāhana* (support) etc; each again has a particular bodhisattva, a human Buddha, a *bījamantra* and a location: each has a partiuular *kula* or family.

Vajrasattva: *vajra* (thunderbolt, diamond) was one of the most important concepts of the Tantric Buddhists. They transformed their idea of *śūnyatā* into the idia of *vajra* by identifying the immutable, ultimate nature of things as adamantine (*vajramaya)*. As a further extension of this idea and in keeping with their theistic bent, they conceived this ultimate state as a being and called him Vajrasattva. He was thus a kind of "Mr. Absolute" representing the unity of the universe, as the Supreme Being in monotheism. He, thus conceived sometimes as a personal god (represented by icons), was the anthropomorphised form of the *Dharmakāya* of the Mahayanists and the Nirvāna of the early Buddhists.

Other deities: With Vajrasattva and the five dhyāni-Buddhas as the central figures, the Tantric Buddhists had a very vast pantheon of gods and goddesses, issuing from each of the five families. Thus Vairocana, with his consort Vajradhātvīśvarī, has Samantabhadra, Marīci and Vajravarāhī as the chief members of his *moha* family. Ratnasambhava and Māmakī have Ratnapāni, Jambhala and Vasudharā as the important members of his Cintāmani family. Amitābha and Paṇḍarā have Padmapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara and Kurukullā as the leading members this *rāga* of family. Amoghasiddhi and Āryatārā have Viśvapāni, Khadirāvanī Tārā and Parṇaśavarī as the more important members of his *samaya* family. Akśobhya and Locanā have Vajrapāni, Heruka, Hayagrīva and Yamāri as the prominent members of his *dveśa* family. (Details of these deities are to be found in Bhattacharyya, op.cit. pp.131 *ff.*).

Female deities : The introduction of a large number of female deities into the Buddhist pantheon is also important. In early Buddhism the female principle was not much emphasised. But with these theological developments about the dhyāni-buddhas and their families it was natural that goddesses also found a significant place in the religious belief and practices of the Tantric Buddhists . The natural need of the human mind would not rest satisfied with merely worshipping male divinities. While the Hindus had

this need fulfilled in the concept of female energy as *śakti*, the Tantric Buddhists developed the corresponding theory of *prajñā* as the divine representative of female energy. As the transcendental female divinity she became the consort of the Buddha while Tārā as the saviouress *par excellence*, became the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara. Thus the female members of the five families helped to increase the number of female divinities in Tāntrism generally.

The invocation of deities was in keeping with the purpose of the *sādhanā* undertaken. If the *sādhanā* was for the purpose of getting some wordly wish fulfilled, a particular deity may be invoked and worshiped. But if the purpose was the attainment of *bodhicitta*, the dhyāni- buddhas were to be thought of,meditated upon and worshipped as a part of the entire process of mental development which consisted of meditating on the 4 sublime abodes (*brahmavihāras*), on *śūnyatā* etc. This would lead to the realisation of the nature of all *dharmas* and of the self as essenceless, luminous and immutable. This is the attainment of *bodhicitta* by realising the nature of *citta* as luminous by nature (*prakrti-prabhāsvara*).

It appears that in this kind of *sādhanā* both the ritual and the spiritual aspects have to be equally balanced. The two aspects have to be treated as complementary to each other. Predominance of the ritualistic aspects would lead to pure magic while the spiritual aspects would lead to pure penance. It is the perfect combination of both, by providing the *sādhaka* with a comprehensive course of mental development (*bhāvanā*), that could produce the expected result of self-realisation.

The conception of duality is another important theme. The central point in all Tantric *sādhanas* (except in cases of those performed for purposes of magic) was the principle of the union of the duality involved in all forms of existence. The union was technically termed as *Yuganaddha*. It is the realization of the absence of any difference between the apparent opposites such as Samsāra and Nirvāna, male and female, subject and object etc. This is a state comparable to the state of *sammā-samādhi* (right concentration) of early Buddhism . The true aim of the religious life even in early Buddhism was the attainment of *sammā- samādhi* and in Tantric Buddhism too the purpose of various devotional exercises, when not performed for purposes of magic,is the attainment of this state of *Yuganaddha*.The yogin who realizes this state is described as the released saint comparable to the arahant of early Buddhism. (See Dasgupta, op.cit. pp 113-115).

In this concept of duality and the realisation of unity the dual concept of *prajñā* and *upāya* or (*śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*) has assumed a high degree of importance. *Prajñā* or *śūnyatā* means perfect knowledge while *upāya* or *karuṇā* represents the practical experience and application of that knowledge.It is the duality of knowledge and practice, conceived as *vijjā* and *carana* in early Buddhism. The true state of perfection lies in the combination of both these, in their, harmonious synthesisation.[1] One without the other is incomplete and hence deficient. While knowledge without practice is dry and meaningless, practice without knowledge is harmful and impure.

The *śūnyatā* theory of the Madhyamikas emphasising the non-substantiality and the essencelessness of all things - both the subjective and the objective worlds - was adopted by the Tantric Buddhists as their philosophical basis. It is the attributeless reality, the transcendental state of Nirvāna of early Buddhism. The difficulty of explaining the ultimate reality is admitted in many systems of philosophy. And the Madhyamikas, true to their name, admitted that ultimate reality is neither void or non-void but it is so designated for the purpose of indicating it somehow. It is the state of perfect unity and immutability. It is also the state of non-affirmation as well as of non-negation.. It is non-affirmative in the sense of the denial of the duality and non-denial in the affirmation of the non-dual. With this idea as the basis they elaborated their other ontological theories.

Bodhicitta: At first *bodhicitta* meant the mind bent on attaining perfect enlightenment with the aim of helping all beings. In the developed Vajrayāna the psychological aspect of *śūnyatā* is designated as *bodhicitta*. Hence *bodhicitta* meant the state of the *citta* or mind where a perfect commingling of *śūnyatā* and *karunā* has taken place. This shows that it is the state of perfect Enlightenment from the psychological view-point. The self as the Vajrasattva becomes the *bodhicitta*. The following words of Dasgupta may be quoted here (op.cit. p, 90): "Thus the bodhicitta state of the self is, according to the Tantric buddhists, a transcendental state - it is a state of supreme realisation transcending both *bhava* and *nirvāna*. The self, in this state of Bodhicitta,is the supreme reality -it is the

Vajrasattva". It is the realisation of the original resplendent nature *(prakṛti-prabhāsvara* of the mind.

Mahāsukha: The concept of Nirvāna as great bliss (*mahāsukha*) is another important concept. It is the same as the *parama-sukha* (highest bliss) state of Nibbana as taught in early Buddhism. It is said to be pure consciousness, the nature which is bliss. It is the transcendental bliss of perfect wisdom described as "an absolutely pure emotion of bliss in which all the activities of the mind are absolutely lost"(Dasgupta: op.cit. p.136). It is the Absolute conceived as a state of supreme bliss and is the ultimate goal of the Tantric Buddhist.

Physiology : In Tantric Buddhism are found many yogic elements consisting of various practical processes of *yoga* enjoined by the authorities for the realisation of *Mahāsukha*. One of their most conspicuous features in this regard is the stress laid on the body as the medium of self realization. This is based on the idea that the body is a replica or an epitome of the universe. As the microcosm it embodies the truth of the entire universe. Hence Professor Dasgupta says (op.cit. p.i46). "......... the importance of the Tantras, as a science of religious methodology, consists in its analysis of the body and the discovery of all tattvas in the nervous system and in the plexus and thus making the body, with the whole physiological and biological process, a perfect medium (*yantra)* for realising the ultimate truth."

This physiological analysis begins with the spinal cord which is designated as the *merudaṇḍa*. It is one bone from the bottom of the back (*kaṭīdesa)* to the *medulla oblongata* on the crown of the head. On the basis of the macrocosm-microcosm identity, this *merudaṇḍa* represents the great mountain Sumeru of Indian mythology. The importance of the spinal column in relation to the central nervous system of the human body is fully accepted and emphasised. It is regarded as the "cave of the highest truth where all the world vanishes away" (Dasgupta, op.cit. p.147).

Next in importance is the theory of the *cakras* or (plexus) or lotuses as they are very often designated. The Tantric Buddhists speak of four such plexus, while the Hindu Tantras mention six. In the Buddhist enumeration the first is the lumbar plexus situated in the navel region and is called *nirmāṇa or maṇipura cakra*. The next is the cardiac plexus in the heart designated as the *anāhata-cakra*. The third is the laryngeal pharyngeal (*viuśuddha-cakra)* at the junction of the spinal cord and the *medulla oblongata*. The last and the most important is the celebral plexus called the *uṣṇīṣa-kamala* or the lotus in the head. The Hindu Tantrists speak of two more cakras as the *mūlādhāra - cakra* (sacral plexus) and the *svādhiṣṭhāna-cakra* (plexus hypogastricus).

It is believed that these psychic centres, which are compared to lotus blossoms, are the points in which psychic forces and bodily functions merge into each other or penetrate each other. They are the focal points in which cosmic and psychic energies crystallise into bodily qualities and in which bodily qualities are dissolved or transmuted again into psychic forces...... each psychic centre in which we become conscious of this spiritual penetration,becomes the seat of the soul and that by activating or awakening the activities of the various centres we spiritualise and transform our body" (Govinda: op.cit. p.135). Thus the yogin is able to experience reality by controlling and purifying the psycho-cosmic forces of the human body through yogic practices.

Closely connected with this theory of the plexus is that of the nerves *(nāḍi)*. Excluding the innumerable small *nāḍis* the nerves are generally said to be 72000 in number. Of these there are three nerves regarded as the most important. These are *lalanā, rasanā* and *avadhūti* corresponding to *iḍā , piṅgalā* and *susumnā* of the Hindu system. *Lalanā* is believed to be in the left side of the body and *rasanā* in the right. *Lalanā* starts from the neck and enters the navel region from the left side and from the navel again starts the *rasanā* and enters the neck from the right side. Within these two and passing through the lotus the heart is the *avadhūti* running through the hollow of the spinal column. It is said that the solar and lunar forces that flow through the human body pass through the *lalanā* and *rasanā* channels respectively. (For details see Govinda, op.cit. p.155).

The latent creative forces of the individual are said to be concentrated in the perineum of the human body and is represented in yogic symbolism by the coiled serpent *kuṇḍalinī*. So long as these powers are not awakened this *kuṇḍalinī* remains blocking the entrance to the *avadhūti*. Govinda further observes: "By awakening the *kuṇḍalinī's* dormant forces, which otherwise are absorbed in subconscious and purely bodily functions and by directing them to the higher centres, the energies thus released are transformed

and sublimated until their perfect unfoldment and conscious realisation is achieved in the highest centre. This is the aim and purpose of the *kuṇḍalinī yoga*, of *prāṇayāma* and of all other exercises through which the *cakras* are activated and made into centres of conscious realisation." (op.cit. p.157).

In the highly complex symbolism of Tantric Buddhism the two nerves *lalanā* and *rasanā* (referred to earlier) have been given a large number of names, and these could be found collected in Dasgupta (op.cit p.154, nt.2). In keeping with the idea of duality *(dvaya)* and their commingling in the perfection of yoga (*yuganaddha)* we see that while the two nerves on the side are identified with the numerous symbols of duality given in the Tantric texts, the central nerve is accordingly identified with the *bodhicitta* and all other concepts symbolizing the state of perfect union. It is through the co-mingling of *lalanā* and *rasanā* that the highest bliss (*mahāsukha*) is to be experienced in the state of perfect synthesisation. It is worth observing here that this is yet another representation of that state of perfection called *sammā-samādhi* as the culmination of the practice of the noble Eight- fold Path of early Buddhism.

Bodhi : The attainment of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta)* or great bliss (*mahāsukha)* as the state of freedom and knowledge has to be achieved through yogic practice. For it is said that just as the fire in the log of wood never manifests itself without friction, the latent *bodhi* will never be produced without proper practice[2]. In this practice the guide (*guru)* becomes extremely important. Without his instructions the practiser is always liable to make mistakes, the slightest of which can have serious repercussions. It is also the nature of the Tantric practices that if properly done they would lead to spiritual upliftment leading to complete self-realization and if improperly done would lead to utter degeneration and ruin.

After selecting the proper *guru*, the *sādhaka* has to be initiated (*abhisikta)* into the Tantric practices. In the meditational exercices that follow are found numerous yogic practices, six of which are specifically mentioned (Gst p.163). These are abstraction (*pratyāhāra)*, meditation (*dhyāna)*, restraint of the breath (*prāṇāyama)*, attention (*dhāraṇa)*, rememberence (*anusmṛti)* and final absorption (*samādhi)*.

Pratyāhara : This is the restraint of the senses from their objects through a process of abstraction. The yogin withdraws his senses from their objective attractions and views the objective world from the point of view of essencelessness *(śūnyatā)*. In the language of early Buddhism this would be viewing the world as *anātma*(essenceless) after establishing oneself on the morality consisting of purity of restraint of the senses (*indriyasamvarasīla)*.

Dhyāna: is to view the objective world, the world of sense- attractions, as of the nature of the Buddha by viewing the five-fold sense objects as of the nature of the five dhyāni- Buddhas. It is meditating on all existence as of Buddha –nature in the ultimate sense. This *dhyāna* is again of five kinds as *vitarka* (sudden flash of an idea in the mind), *vicāra*(investigating the nature of objects as Buddha –nature), *prīti* (agreeable state of the mind resulting from such investigating), *sukha* (delight resulting from such meditation) and *ekāgratā* (one- pointedness of mind). In early Buddhism this group of mental states is given as constituents of the trances (*jhāna)*. There seems to be little difference between the early and this late concept of *dhyāna*.

Prānayāma is the *yoga* of controlling the vital wind (*prāṇa- vāyu)*. This vital wind is also to be regarded as of the nature of the five elements from the worldly point of view, and as of the five dhyani-Buddhas from the transcendental aspect. The worldly aspect is regarded as represented by the wind that flows through the left-nostril *(lalanā)* and the transcendental aspect as that flowing through the right -nostril (*rasanā)*. These two courses of *prāna-vāyu* have to be united and made into a subtle body and made to flow through the middle nerve *(avadhūti)* passing through the four lotuses *(cakra)* in the navel, heart, neck and forehead. Next it must be made steady in the lotus between the eye-brows. Controlling the *vāyu* is controlling the mind leading to mental concentration and the realisation of the essencelessness of all phenomena. This theory of *prāṇayāma* is historically connected with the concept of mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasati*) in early Buddhism.

Dhyāna is the state in which all the functions of the senses are suspended and the vital wind held in the lotus (*cakra)* between the eyebrows.

Anusmṛti is the rememberence of the realization of the previous stages. Samādhi is the full mental

concentration with knowledge. In this stage *sādhaka* becomes free from all mental veils, as also conceived under the stage of the noble Eightfold Path of early Buddhism.

In addition to these six methods, certain other methods taught in *Haṭhayoga* are also recommended. Among these are various sitting postures (*āsana*), gestures (*mudrā* and muscle contractions (*bandha*).

Tantric Buddhists went on elaborating these fundamental theories about the production and the regulation of the thought of Enlightenment(bodhicitta). As a result four further stages in the *sādhanā*, corresponding with the four *cakras*, were also distinguished. Accordingly, there are four *mudrās*, four moments and four kinds of bliss. The four *mudrās*, very often described as the four great women of the *sādhaka*, are *karma*, *Dharma*, *maha*, and *samaya*. The four moments are *vicitra*, *vipāka*, *vimarda* and *vilakṣaṇa*. The four kinds of bliss are *ānanda*, *paramānanda*, *viramānanda* and *sahajānanda*.

The *karma- mudrā* representing the lowest of the 4 stages, is the stage of the physical yogic process. In this stage the *bodhicitta* is in the *nirmāna- cakra* and whatever bliss experienced is of the nature of gross sense- pleasure (*ānanda*) that disturbs the mind. It consists of various kinds of emotions and hence as a moment it is called *vicitra*. It equals the first five of the sixteen digits of the moon. The *dharma-mudrā* represents the ultimate nature of all phenomena (*dharmas*) and hence it is non-phenomenal (*nisprapañ ca*), free from thought constructions (*nirvikalpa*), uncreate (*asam-skṛta*) and producing great bliss (*paramānanda*). The realization of the ultimate nature of all phenomena is the result of *paramānanda* maturing into knowledge and hence it corresponds to the second or the vipāka stage. It equals the 5-10 digits of the moon.

When the *bodhicitta* travels further up a transcendental knowledge and realization is produced and is called the *mahāmudrā*. It knows no duality and is likened to the clear autumnal sky. It is the origin of all wealth and the embodiment of *mahāsukha*. As the stage of detachment from wordly pleasures this stage of bliss is called *viramānanda* when nectar is said to be oozing from the moon in the forehead. It corresponds to the 10-15 digits of the moon. Even in this stage the cosciousness is not totally lost in the individual. It is in the stage of *samayamudrā (mudrā* of knowledge) that perfect knowledge and bliss are attained. It is the *mudrā* par excellence. In this stage self- consciousness is totally lost when the subject and the object are lost in the oneness of perfect bliss. It is free from any attachment or detachment.

The Tantric Buddhists maintain that the *sādhakas* should know these various distinctions between the different stages, for otherwise there is the danger of his accepting even gross pleasure as true bliss.

Even in early Buddhism *Nirvana* is described as a positive state of bliss (*nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ*). This idia was greately elaborated by the Tantric Buddhists leading to the identification of Nirvāna with intence bliss (*mahāsukha*) as shown above. It is incessant bliss (*satata- sukhamaya*) and is the abode of both enjoyment and of liberation. It is the state transcending all thought constructions and as such an absolutely pure emotion of bliss in which all the activities of the mind have completely ceased.

Tantric Literature and Art: As regards Tantric Buddhist literature there is a general division of those into four classes as *kriyā, caryā, yoga* and *anuttarayoga*[1]. Bhattacharyya (op.cit.p.169) says the following in this regard; "In the two earlier sections strict celibacy and restriction of food, drink etc.are enjoined. When this course is complete, the neophyite then can be initiated into the mysteries of *yoga-tantra*, in which women become necessary for the purpose of practising yoga." It is under this same principle that in Hindu Tantrism is found the division of right-hand practices (*dakṣinācāra*) and left-hand practices (*vāmācāra*).In the *dakṣinācāra* stict celibacy, restriction of food and such other disciplinary observances are enjoined. It is only after such practice that *vāmācāra* practices are allowed.

It is generally believed that Tantric Buddhism originated in Bengal in about the 6-7[th] centuries and it was from there that it spread into Tibet. It was in Nepal and Tibet that these Tantric ideas and practices found their strongest adherents. Yet its richest developments were found in Tibet and this particular phase is generally designated by the term Lamaism. It was the well- known Buddhist missionary Padmasambhava who introduced Tantric Budhism into Tibet in the 8[th] century A.C. The main characteristics of this Lamaism are those so far discussed. In Japan

the Tantric type of practices are known under the name Shingon (s.v).

Regarding Tantric Buddhism and art it may be observed that the visual appearances of deities, as meticulously described in the *sādhanas*, were very important for the *sādhaka* for purposes of meditation. Consequently the Buddhist artist found Tantric theology a very fertile field to exercise his talents. Buddhist art became extremely rich with the innumerable iconographical representations and paintings of these deities found in India, Tibet, china and Japan. The vast number of female deities and the representations of male gods embracing their female partners (*yab-yum*) are special contributions of the Tantric Buddhists to art.

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References

1. Private (*pratyeka*) buddhas seem to represent those Enlightened beings who are deficient in *upāya*.
2. *Yathagnirdārugarbhastho-no'ttisthat mathanadvinā tathabhyasat vinā bodhir- jāyate ne'ha janmasi.* (quoted by Dasgupta, op.citt.p.158,nt.5).
3. For details about these classes of Tantras see under their individual names.

TAO-AN, was the most outstanding Buddhist scholar of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, one of the prominent disciples of Fo-t'u-ch'êng and the personal instructor of Hui-yüan, T'an-i and Fa-yü. He was born in the 6th year of Yung-chia (312) of Emperor Huai of the Western Tsin and died in the 10th year of T'ai-yüan (384) of Emperor Hsiao-wu of the Eastern Tsin at the age of seventy-four.

His Life and Career. Tao-an was born in a family of good educational background in Fu-liu of Ch'ang-shan (in the modern Chi district of Ho-pei province). Amidst the troubles of the time he lost both parents in his early years, and was brought up by his maternal cousin of the K'ung family. He began to read at seven, and was already fairly well trained in the five classics of Confucianism at fifteen when he turned to the study of Buddhism. At eighteen he became a monk (according to the information in the *Excerpts of the Biographies of Famous Monks*, but other records, e.g. the *Biographies of Eminent monks*, etc. put this event at twelve). His dark complexion and repulsive features did not commend him quite favourably to the master, who assigned him manual labour on the farm, but he showed not the least sign of resentment. After several years he began to ask for some scriptures to read. His marvelous memory immediately changed the master's attitude towards him. He was sent to receive full ordination and permitted to seek for teachers of his own accord. It was probably in his twenty-fourth year (the 1st year of Hsian-k'ang of Emperor Ch'êng of the East Tsin dynasty, i.e. 335) that he met Fo-t'u-ch'êng in Yeh-tu (the modern Lin-chang district of Ho-nan province) of the Chao of Shih. The famous foreign master, strongly impressed by this promising youth at first sight, turned to those who thought light of him owing to his outward looks and said, "This man is endowed with wide-reaching power of intellect. None of you can match him." Since then, he became the disciple of Fo-tuch'êng.

According to the record in *the Biographies of Eminent Monks*, fasc.5, Tao-an did not leave Yeh-tu until Fo-t'u ch'êng was long dead. As to what he had learned from this master during these thirteen or fourteen years, no definite information is available. Yet by examining the Biography of Fo-t'u-ch'êng and other materials, it can still be surmised that what is said of Fo-t'u-ch'êng (in the Biographies of Eminent Monks) as his "wonderful understanding of the profound *Sutra*" might indicate his devotion to the *Prajñāpāramitā* and what is said of his "collateral appreciation of other theories of the time" might indicate his freedom from being one-sided or as it may, his approval to the usage of the "borrowed terms" (kê-i) in interpreting Buddhist ideas. Tao-an's activities throughout his life seemed to have been chiefly an endeavour to reconstruct and enhance this system. Thus *the Biographies of the Eminent Monks* again tells that Tao-an used to act as Fo-t'u-ch'êng's substitute in giving lectures and answering thereof many difficult questions about the theories and eventually established his fame as "A monk as black as lacquer and yet a surprise to all his neighbours".

After the death of Fo-t'u-ch'êng, the Chao State soon fell into confusion. Tao-an left Ho-nan and went

to live in Huo-tsê (in modern Lin-fên district) of Shan-si. Situated quite out-of- the-way, this place provided a good shelter from the tumult of warfare. Consequently, Fa-chi, Chi T'an-chiang, Sêng-fu, Tao-hu, and a number of other monks from afar successively got there despite many risks. Staying with Tao-an, they studied the *Sūtras* on *Dhyāna* translated by An Shih-kao of the Later Han dynasty, such as the *Skandha-dhātvāyatana-sūtra* (Taishō No. 603), the *Yogacāryabhūmi-sūtra* (Taishō No. 607) and the *Greater Sūtra on the Twelve Gates* and produced commentaries on them.

Tao-an's stay at Huo-tsê did not last long before he went with his fellow-learner, Fa-t'ai, to the Fei-lung-shan, now in Huo-lu district of Ho-pei province) to see Sêng-kuang and his colleagues. Sêng-kuang was well versed in *Dhyāna* and an old friend of Tao-an at the time before he received full ordination. With him Tao-an settled down and carried on a series of discussions. At that time Tao-an had already abandoned his partiality to the usage of "borrowed terms" (kê-i). His argument with Sêng-kuang preserved in the Biography of the latter in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* is especially worth noticing. It runs like this: "Tao-an said, 'Formerly I used to resort to the means of kê-i, but found I often committed logical fallacies thereof.' Sêng-kuang said, 'Let's just take up the analysis of Chuang-tzu's philosophy. Why should you venture to criticize the elder scholars? Tao-an said, 'In propagating and promoting the Buddha's teaching, the right presentation of the truth is all important. The Drum of the law may be beaten in various ways. What does it matter whether the drummer is old or young?" Evidently Sêng-kuang, being rather conservative, thought that "kê-i" as an age-old convention handed down from the elder scholars was something only to be followed and not to be questioned as to whether it was right or wrong. On the other hand, Tao-an maintained an entirely different attitude. He thought that in order to propagate the true teaching, first of all one should aim at the correctness of interpretation, while the question whether it has come from an elder scholar or not may be utterly disregarded. This is probably what Fo-t'u-ch'-eng meant by "wide reaching power of intellect" in his appreciative remark on Tao-an. Anyway, this will serve to give us some idea of his spirit and character.

According to the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, after the death of Shih Hu (the 5th year of Yung-ho of Emperor Mu of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, i. e. 349), his successor Shih Tsun had a special envoy sent to Tao-an, inviting him to return to Yah-tu where he was lodged in the Hua-lin Garden, and a number of houses were built for his sake. But his stay certainly could not have lasted long, for Shih Tsun was murdered after a reign of only 183 days. It was probably during this time of disorder that the master led his followers to go to the ch'ien-k'ou Mountain by the north west of Yeh-tu. By and by, Tao-an together with Fa-t'ai was again engaged in missionary work in Shan-si. He built monasteries and stūpas in the T'ai-hang and the Hêng Mountains. It was a time when anarchy was reigning over that region and the people were suffering to the extreme. With wonderful energy and unabated perseverance, Tao-an led on his followers in the cause of propagation of the religion. In his preaching as well as in his personality, people found that spiritual consolation and shelter they needed so much. It is no wonder that half of the inhabitants of the Ho-pei region are said to have put on Buddhist attire under his influence. It was also at this time and under his guidance that Hui-yüan had his head shaven to become a Buddhist monk. The prefect of Wu-i, named Lu Hsin, on hearing of his virtues and teachings, sent a messenger especially to invite him to preach. When he again returned to Yeh-tu and lived in the Shou-tu monastery, he was already aged forty-five.

By that time the Shih-chao had suffered for eight years and the warfare between Jan Min and Mu-yung Chün, too, had ended. The latter, who established the State of Yen with Yeh-tu as its capital, had not gained faith in Buddhism. Moreover, the incessant wars made rehabilitation impossible. Tao-an with his followers was obliged to leave Yeh-tu. They went to the Nü-lin Mountain of the Wang-wu Ranges and, shortly after, crossed the Yellow River and came to the Lu-hun district (now the Sung district) of Ho-nan. When Mu-yung Wei, the ruler of Yen, sent troops under the command of Mu-yung Chio to invade Ho-nan, a letter reached Tao-an from Hsiang-yang sent by the famous Hsi Tso-ch'ih, inviting him to propagate Buddhism in the South. Accordingly he left Ho-nan together with his fellow-learners and disciples and journeyed southward to Hsin-yeh. In order to disseminate Buddhist teachings more widely, he sent part of his company including his pupils T'an-i, T'an-êrh, and

others, altogether more than forty men under the leadership of his fellow-learner Fa-t'ai to go to Yang-chou, and another fellow-learner of his, Fa-ho, to go to Szechuan, while he himself proceeded to Hsiang-yang with his disciples, Hui-yuan and others, altogether over four hundred men. He stayed at first in the White-horse Monastery until he built the T'an-ch'i Monastery.

Hsiang-yang, then still under the control of the Eastern Tsin, was enjoying relative peace. There, for a period of fifteen years, Tao-an had a full opportunity of carrying out his religious propagation.

In Hsiang-yang, besides engaging himself in religious studies and writings, Tao-an also gave lectures on the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā* twice every year. The *Biographies of Eminent Monks* says that students came from all directions to seek his instruction. From this statement, we can imagine the popularity of his teaching work, and consequently it became necessary for him to formulate some regulations for the saṅgha which are related in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*. As follows: Tao-an was recognized as an exemplar of virtues and an erudite of the Tripitaka. He laid down a series of regulations for monks and nuns as well as rules for monastic practices in general under three headings: (1) the rules for the burning of incense., the fixing of seats, the reading of scriptures, the attending of lectures, etc., (2) the rules for the announcement of the time for the routine services, the taking of meals, etc., and (3) the rules for the *poṣadhas*, running errands , making confessions, etc."

The effects produced by these regulations at that time found their evidence in Hsi Tso-ch'ih's letter to Hsien an which runs thus: "I have had an interview with Śramaṇa Tao-an recently. He is certainly a superior man, far from a common monk. Under his direction, hundreds of pupils practise abstinence and hold preaching assemblies tirelessly. He works no miracles that might overawe the ordinary people, nor does he make use of any imperative power to suppress differences of opinions among his subordinates. Yet the master and disciples live together in such perfect concord and mutual respect that I have never seen before" (see *The Biographies of Eminent Monks*, Fasc. 5).

This information given by an eye-witness will suffice to attest the great influence of Tao-an's character upon the Buddhists of that time. No wonder, "his example was readily followed by all monasteries of the whole country". High provincial officials of the Eastern Tsin, such as Huan Lang-tzu, Chu Hsii, Yang Hung-chung, Hsi Ch'ao, etc., all held him in high esteem. Some invited him to give lectures, some offered him bushels of rice by the thousand, some helped him with ten thousand catties of copper for casting images. Wealthy elders, such as Chang Yin and others, assisted him with large contributions for the building of the T'an-ch'i Monastery, which, as is described in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* consisted of "a pagoda of five storeys and four hundred rooms", a construction of a great design indeed. Fu chien of the Earlier Ch'in, though the ruler of enemy or rival state of the Eastern Tsin, also sent messengers to present him with a foreign-made tinseled image in recumbent posture, a gilded image in sitting posture, an image of Maitreya made of strings of pearls, an embroidered image of gold thread, and an image of woven tinsel, probably for the adornment of the T'an-ch'i Monastery. Emperor Hsiao-wu of the Eastern Tsin had an edict issued in praise of Tao-an and ordered the local government to give him a regular salary as would befit a prince or a duke. All these point to the fact that the master was very successful in all spheres during his fifteen years' stay in Hsiang-yang.

In the 4th year of T'ai-yuan (379) of Emperor Hsiao-wu of the Eastern Tsin, Fu Chien's troops under the command of Fu P'ei captured Hsiang-yang. Both Tao-an and Hsi Tso-ch'ih were taken with courtesy to the north. Fu Chien made an observation that the prize he got from this campaign was the acquisition of one man and a half. By the "one man" he meant Tao-an and the 'half" His Tso-ch'ih, because he suffered from foot-disease and was unable to walk. Having secured Tao-an, Fa Chien asked him to live in the Wu-ch'ung Monastery in Chang-an. He was then sixty-seven.

During those seven or eight years in Chang-an, Tao-an as usual conducted great religious ceremonies which were oftern attended by thousands of devotees and gave lectures at regular intervals. But his chief activity was the organization of translation works. Together with Chu Fo-nien, Tao-cheng, Fa-ho and others, he took part in the production of a series of Scriptures in Chinese: e.g. Dharmanandi's translation

of the *Madhyamāgama*, *Ekottarikāgama* and the *Tridharmaka Śāstra*: Saṁghdeva's translation of the *Abhidharma-jñānaprasthāna Śāstra*; Kumārabuddhi's translation of the *Abhidharmahrdaya Śāstra* and the *Explanation of an Abstract of the Four Āgamas*; Dharmapriya's translation of the *Daśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*; Saṁghabūti's translation of the 14-fascicle *Vibhāsāśāstsa*, the *Śāstras Collected by Vasumitra*, the *Sūtra on the practice of the Buddha Compiled by Saṁgharaksa*; Yaśa's translation of the *Vinaya-sūtra*: etc. Sometimes he made revised inaccurate expressions, and sometimes even advised the translator to do the work over again. The "five fallacies and three difficulties" of translation works which he brings forth in the *Preface to the Abstract of the Daśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* is of course a summary of his personal experience in this respect and has served to point out the correct way of translation for the succeeding ages.

According to the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, Śramaṇas of the Wei and Tsin dynasties used different surnames adopted from their teachers. Tao-an thought that of all teachers none is more honoured than Śakyamuni. Therefore he took 'Snih' (the Chinese abbreviation for Śākya) for his surname. Moreover, his extensive knowledge and high attainment in literature made him much sought after by all young men of the intelligentsia of Ch'ang-an. A popular saying of that time, "One who is not educated by Tao-an, can never make a good debater" is illustrative of the high esteem he enjoyed in the eyes of his contemporaries. Therefore, when Fu Chien wished to invade the Eastern Tsin and the ministers failed to dissuade him, they requested Tao-an to seek for an opportunity "to give a piece of advice for the sake of the people". This he did accordingly when one-day he chanced to drive in the same carriage with Fu Chien. But his admonition, too, proved of no avail. Fu Chien insisted on carrying out his expedition which finally brought about his ruin.

In the 2nd month of the 21st year of Chien-yüan, i.e. the 10th year of the T'ai-yüan period of the Eastern Tsin dynasty of the Fu-ch'in Kingdom, Tao-an died in the Wu-ch'ung Monastery in Ch'ang-an. In his death-bed he stuck fast to his original vow and prayed to be born in the Tusita Heaven.

His writings and Doctrines. Of Tao-an's extant works, besides the *commentary on the Sūtra on Avidyā, Tṛṣṇā and Jāti of Man* in 1 fasc. which has been admitted into the Chinese Tripiṭaka, there are 14 prefaces to various *sūtras* and *śāstras* as recorded in the, *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, 7 prefaces recorded in the same *Collection* (whose authorship is not verified but very probably Tao-an's), and the two paragraphs from the original text in the systematized catalogue of Various Scriptures also preserved in the same *Collection*. Apart from these, there still exists a Preface in the introductory part of the *Vinaya Sūtra*. His works which have been lost are very many and their lists appear in different works. Twenty-eight titles appear in the *collection of the Records of translations of the Tripiṭaka*, three in the *Catalogue of Various Sūtras* compiled by Fa-ching of the Sui dynasty, one in the *Commentary on Sêng-chao's Treatises* written by Yüan-k'ang of the T'ang dynasty, one in the *Bibliographic Record of the History of the Sui Dynasty* also in the *Bibliographic Record of the old History of the T'ang Dynasty*, one in the *Notes of the Anthology of Literature* and one in the *Classified Essays onto Happy Land*. To sum up his works, both extant and lost, may be divided into the following eight classes according to their nature:

(1) Works on prajñā and vaipulya: (*a*) Extant— Preface to A Brief *Explanation of the Combined Version of the Fang-kuang (-ching) and Kuang-tsan (ching), Preface to *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, the Sanskrit Terms of the Ten Stages of the *Daśabhūmika -sūtra* and the Preface to it, Preface to the *Astasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, Preface to the *Śālistambha–sūtra*.

(*b*) Lost ——*An Intermediate Explanation of the Pañcaviṁśatika tisāhastikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Kuang-tsan-ching) in 1 fasc., the *Explanation of the Abstract of the Kuang-tsan-ching* in 1fasc. (In the *Catalogue of Various Sūtras* of the Sui dynasty are mentioned A. *Brief explanation of the Kuang-tsan-ching* in 2 fasc. which might be the combined version of the above two works), *A Treatise on Clearing the Doubts in the Pancaviṅśatisāhastikā prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Fang-kuang-ching) in 1 fasc. *An Abridgment of the preceding work* 2 fasc., *An Explanation of the Beginning and the End*, (of the Fang-kuang-ching), in 1 fasc., *A Collection of Variant Notes on the Astasāhastikā-prajñāpāramitā* in 1 fasc., *Discriminated*

Explanations of the Guhyapādavajra-viśesacintābrahma-pariprcchā-sutra in 1 fasc., (*A Brief Explanation of Viśesacintābrahma - pariprcchā* in 1 fasc., and *A Brief Explanation of Guhyapādavajra-sūtra* in 1 fasc.), *An Explanation of the Eighty-four Thousand Unlimited Pāranitās in the Bhadrakalpa-sūtra* in 1 fasc. (*The Catalogue of Various Sūtras* of the Sui dynasty mentions it as *A Brief Explanation of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*, 1 fasc., and the *Record of Triple-gem in the Successive Dynasties* as *An Explanation of Bhadrakalpa Various Unlimited Pāramitās*, 1 fasc.), *A Commentary on the Śālistambha-sūtra* in 1 fasc., *A Commentary on the Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra*, *A Treatise on the Rebirth in the Pure Land* in 6 fascs. (Not being mentioned in any catalogue ancient or modern, it might be spurious.), *On the Meaning of Reality, on the Voidness of Nature* (probably identical with the preceding work), *A Guide Book to the Aṣṭasahasrikā prajñāpāramitā-sutra, and Preface to the Abridgment of the treatise on Clearing the Doubts in the Prajñāpāramitā- sūtra.*

(2) **Works on the Āgamas and Nidāna**:

(*a*) Extant —— *A preface to the Ekottarikāgama, A commentary on the Mahānidāna-sūtra, A Preface to the Mahānidāna-sūtra, A Preface to the Abstract of the Four Āgamas, and A preface to the sutra on the practice of Buddha compiled by Saṁgharakṣa*:

(*b*) Lost—— *A preface to the Madhyamāgama*

(3) Works on Dhyāna:(a) Extant—— *a Preface to the Commentary on the Sūtra on Keeping Thought in the Great Ānāpāna, A Preface to the Skandha - dhātvātana-sūtra, A Preface to the Sūtra of Twelve Gates, A Preface to the Greter Sūtra of the Twelve Gates, and A Preface to the Yogā-cārya-bhūmi-sūtra.* (b) Lost—— *A Commentary of the Greater Sūtra of the Twelve Gates* in 2 fasc., *A Commentary on the Smaller Sūtra of the Twelve Gates* in 1 fasc. (This Might be identical with the *Commentary on the Sūtra of the Twelve-gate Dhyāna* recorded in the *Catalogue of Various Sūtras* of Sui dynasty), *An Explanation of the Sūtra on Keeping Thought in the Great Ānapāna* in 1 fasc., A Commentary on the *Skandha-dhātvāyatana-sūtra* in 2 fasc., and *A Commentary on the Yogacāryābhumi-sūtra* in 1 fasc.

(4) Works on Precepts and Rituals:

(a) Extant—— *A Preface to the Great Precepts of the Bhikku, A Preface to the Origin of the Bhikkuni-prātimokṣa, The Two Liturgies, Twelve Miscellaneous Matters Concerning the Summer Retreat and three Miscellaneous Matters, Recently Produced in the Kuanchung Region*, and *A Preface to the Vinaya- sūtra.*

(b) Lost—— *Three Analyses.*

(5) Works on Abhidharma:

Extant—— *A Preface to the Athidharma, A Preface to the Vibhāṣā- Sāstra in 14 fascicles, A Preface to the Collected Works of Vasumitra.*

(6) Catalogues :

Extant—— *The Record of Doubtful Scriptures and the Record of exegetical works on Scriptures.* These are two sections from the *Systematized Catalogue* preserved in the *Collection of the records of Translations of the Tripitaka.* The rest of the original text, besides those which have been lost, is interpolated severally in the same *Collection.*

(7) Lexicographical Works (a) Extant— *A Preface to the sutra on the Meaning of Ten Dharmapadas* (b) Lost—— *the Sūtra on the Meaning of the Ten Dharmapadas and Miscellaneous Explanations* in 1 fasc. (*The record of Triple-gem in Successive Dynasties puts it as the Ten Dharmas of Various Scriptures and Miscellaneous Explanations, Annotations on Meanings and Tenets* in 1 fasc., *A Brief and General Explanation of the Ninety-eight Bonds* in fasc., *An Explanation of the Thirty-two Features of the Buddha* in 1 fasc., *A Record of the Devas of the triple World* in 1 fasc. , *Answers to Fa-t'ai's Questions* in 2 fasc., and *Answers to Fa-chiang's Questions* in 1 fasc.

(8) Historical and Geographical Works:

Lost—— *A Record of the Western Regions* in 1 fasc., *A Record of the Four Seas and the Sources of Various Rivers* in 1 fasc.

Though Tao-an's extant works are not many, yet it is still possible to deduce from them a rough sketch of his method of study as well as a general outline of his doctrine. For instance, his *Explanation of the Beginning and the End* denotes in fact the same thing as what is now called the method of analytical study. Chi-tsang, in his *Commentary on the Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra*, speaks about "the preparation of a well-rounded analysis" as one of the principles in writing a commentary. Liang-pên has a statement in his *commentary on the prajñāpāramitā- sūtra on a Benevolent King Who Protects his Country*, saying, "In the Tsin dynasty Master Tao-an used to divide a *sūtra* into three parts: the introduction, the *sūtra* proper and the circulation". These are unmistakable allusions to this particular method of Tao-an. By means of this analytical method of dividing the contents of scriptures into chapters and sections under definite topics, Tao-an makes it much easier for the learner to grasp the central ideas. At the sametime by "solution of doubts" and "discrimination of explanations", every term or every sentence is analyzed and carefully discussed, and consequently, "the ideas in the texts began to appear in the correct order", and "the meanings of the scriptures were brought to light".

Equally admirable is Tao-an's effort in searching for different versions and collating them. For instance, in *The Sanskrit Terms of the Ten Stages of the Daśabhūmika-sūtra* and the *Preface* to it, he says: "...It is to be regretted that the first fascicle of the *Dasabhūmika-sūtra* has not been found. I hope it would appear some day by the help of Providence...... Equal efforts should be made in seeking for the first two fascicles of the *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, wherever any clue is present. Along with the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, the *Sūraṁgama-sūtra* and the *Sūrata-paripṛcchā* have both reached me. They are copies produced by a *śramaṇa* of Liang-chou, named Hui-ch'ang in the Nei-yüan Monastery in the year of the Monkey (372 A. C.). He posted it to me in the year of the cock (373) and it reached Hsiang-yang on the 23rd of the foirth month of the year of the mouse (376). All evidence shows that this copy of the *Sūraṁgama* is a much fuller version than the one translated in the past, not only the 1st, 2nd and 9th chapters, but the *sutra* as a whole. The greatest difference is found in this (9th) chapter which contains three to four hundred characters more than the old translation, very useful supplements to the text. The text of the *Sūrata-paripṛcchā* is also a little fuller, and possibly not without good points. I have been told that there is a text of the five hundred precepts. I wonder why we have not had it up to now. This is a matter of my greatest concern...... I can never think of it but with deep regret. If any opportunity be avaible, I will try my best to find it out."

This passage speaks well enough for Tao-an's earnestness and seriousness of purpose in collecting as well as in utilizing his material. This spirit with which Tao-an pursued his cause both in studying and in writing eventually created among the Buddhist scholars a tradition of directness and precision and initiated a sound and genuine study of Buddhism. Thus stood Tao-an amongst his contemporaries like an embankment that bolds the river in its right course, and in the meantime pointed out the middle path that was yet to come. So Yüan-k'ang in his *Commentary on the Treatises of Sêng-chao* says, "Master Tao-an maintains the doctrine of voidness and hence he wrote the Treatise on the *Voidness of Nature*; while Master Kumārajiva maintains the doctrine of reality and hence he wrote the *Treatise on Reality*. This is what is meant by 'nominating the thesis'." Again, Sêng-jui in his *Preface to the Commentary of Vimlakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* says, "Since the 'Wind of Wisdom' was spread eastward and the texts of the Dharma were Widely read, preaching works have been performed everyday. But the use of 'borrowed terms', often leads one astray, and the six schools are all one sided and none to the point. Judging our present understanding we cannot but conclude that the thesis of the voidness of nature is the most exact presentation of the truth". Both writers are warm in Tao-an's praise which he fully deserves.

Tao-an's doctrine may be briefly presented in three respects: *śīla*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*. At that time the translation of *prātimokṣa* was not yet complete. With pegard to the Comprehensive *Vinaya* there was only Chu Fo-mien's translation of the *Vinaya-sūtra* in 10 fascicles. Tao-an thought that since *śīla* is the sharp sword to cut the tie that leads to the three evil destinies, it should be regarded as the foundation for all devotees, irrespective of their being monks of laymen. In the meantime, he maintained that the texts of *vinaya* should be carefully guarded against all slander and harm. For example, in the *Vinaya-sūtra* there are recorded many immoral and detestable acts committed

by the six evil *bhikṣus* before the Buddha laid down the precepts; therefore it should not be shown to those *bhikṣus* who have not been ordained for over five summers or those who do not observe the precepts at all (See the *Preface to the Vinaya-sūtra*). On the other hand, Tao-an held that to observe precepts outwardly only in form is by no means satisfactory. The only way to stop adultery, in his opinion, is to make clear what sex really is, just as the only way to stop theft is to get rid of avarice. For one who truly understands the nature of sex, it is not of utmost necessity "to keep away from bewitching women"; if one's mind is free from avarice, there would be no need to "take constant care of locks and boxes." What is more, "if one is accustomed to a life of plain appearance and course clothing, a life of perfect conformity to rules, never to set eyes upon indecent things nor take untimely meals, and thus make the body like a piece of rotten timber and the mind dead ashes"—— then "there would be no prohibitory rule that cannot be removed and no restriction that cannot be overstepped" (See the *Preface to the Origin of the Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa*). In other words, for the benefit of sentient beings there may be "conditions for breaking the precepts". This opinion is quite compatible with the spirit of the later Bodhisattva prātimokṣa and also agrees with the doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. From this it may be seen that Tao-an, although very strict towards the observance of Vinaya rules, was far from an irrationally stubborn adherent to formalities.

Tao-an's personal master, Fo-t'u-ch'ent, was renowned for miracle-working, which was in fact achieved through the cultivation of *dhyāna*. It must be ascribed to Fo-t'u-ch'eng's influence that Tao-an paid special attention to the practice of contemplation from the very beginning. He thought that if the practicer attains that transcendental state in *dhyāna*, "thunder would not be able to surprise him fom his concentration nor fire effect his thinking" (*A Commentary on the Mahānidāna-sūtra*), whereas the manifestation of miracles would be the natural consequence, but not the ultimate aim of *dhyāna* (*The Preface to the commentary on the Sūtra on Keeping Thought, in the Great Anāpāna*). The real purpose of cultivating *dhyāna*, to use his own words, is to tally with " the Rootless" (i.e. the Original void), to be "non-active" and yet "to enlighten people and accomplish deeds." "To enlighten people" means to make men realize the "egolessness" of all beings, and "to accomplish deeds" means to do nothing and yet have everything at its right place (*The Preface to the Yoga-cārya-bhūmi-sūtra and the Preface to the Commentary on the Sūtra on Keeping Thought, in the great Anāpāna*). In other words, instead of pursuing the spiritual enjoyment or the so-called supernatural powers for himself, the practicer of *dhyāna*, through his achievement of that transcendental experience, is to lead all other people to the realization of the "egolessenss", to the full development of their true nature, and thereby to bring about the safety and happiness of this world. This idea is clearly expressed in his *Preface to the Greater Sūtra of the Twelve Gates*, where he says, "Apart from *dhyāna* there is no way to aspire towards the limitless spiritual realm without staying anywhere; apart from *samādhi* there is no way to range among the myriad things without being obstructed. Hold to the right *dyāna* and *samādhi*, and to what purpose should one care for miracles?" Surely this is plain enough. With this point in view, we shall be able to appreciate the full significance of Hsi Tso-chih's statement in his letter to Hsieh An where he praised Tao-an as a master who "works no .... miracles that might over-awe the ordinary people."

Fo-t'u-ch'eng took *prajñā* as the principal tenet of his doctrine. Tao-an, too, laid stress on the study of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* from the beginning. In his opinion the scriptures on *prajñā* cannot be approached only through the "comparison of texts" or the "examination of sentences". Instead, the learner should put aside the profuse overgrowth of language and directly appreciate their sprit and substance (the Preface to the *Aṣṭasāha-srikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*). Only when he gets such an appreciation in mind, shall he be able to avoid the fallacy of mistaking the void suchness or Original Void for the First Cause that originatates all things (See the Biography of T'an-chi in *The Abstracts from the Biographies of Famous Monks*). Only then shall he be able to express in actions the relation between the *paramārtha-satya* and the *samvrtti-satya*, a relation that is neither unity nor diversity, neither identity nor difference. In *the Preface to A Brief Explanation of the Combined Version of the Pang-kuang-ching and Kuang-tsan-ching*, Tao-an says:

"A man with no wisdom will find himself confronted by obstacles everywhere, every word he speaks will be fallacious; and hence the eightf-four

thousand troubles of the world. On the contrary, a man of wisdom will find himself successful everywhere whatever he says will naturally accord with the truth; hence the eighty-four thousand *pāramitās*. This is what is meant by the saying 'hold to the Great Purity and all actions will be right."

This is the same idea as what we used to say, "Wherever we set our foot upon is a site of enlightenment", or "Every road leads to enlightenment". In view of these ideas we may conclude with certainty that, though Tao-an was living at a time when the theory of *prajñā* was only beginning to be introduced, he had already a fairly correct understanding of the meaning of the voidness of nature.

The three courses of *śīla*, *dhyāna*, and *prajñā* constitute the ladder to Buddhahood, and Tao-an held distinct views about all of them. Indeed, he is not only a prominent scholar, but also one of the perfect figures in the history of Chinese Buddhism. His words and deeda which were held as norms in his time have done a great deal in laying the foundation for the dissemination of Buddhism in succeeding ages. He will be remembered by Chinese Buddhists for ever.

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Chü-tsan

TAO-TS'O. Tao-ts'o (562-645 A.C.) was a great master in transmitting the Pure Land cult established by T'an-luan of the Northern Wei dynasty. He was a native of Wên-shui of the Ping-chou Prefecture (Chia-ts'ai's *Treatise on the Pure Land*, 2nd fascicle, records him as a native of Chin-yang of the same prefecture). His lay family was surnamed Wei. He became a monk at the 14th year of his age, specified in the study of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (Taishō, No.374) which he subsequently preached twenty four times. Later, he sought for instruction in the theory of the *Voidness* from the *Dhyāna*-master Hui-tsan 536-607 A.C.) of the K'ai-hua Monastry of Mêng- shan, T'ai-yüan, and made considerable attainment in *Dhyāna*.

In the 5th year of Ta-yeh (609 A.C), he visited the Hsüan-chung Monastery at the Shih pi-yü of Wên-shui, which was founded by T'an-Luan. There he read the inscriptions on the memorial tables of the famous master and was greatly impressed by the numerous records of auspicious responses related therein about the rebirth to the Pure Land by the faith in Amita. There upon he put aside the preaching work on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*,and took up the practice of the Pure Land teaching, devoting wholeheartedly to the invocation of Amita Buddha, meditating upon him and worshipping him sincerely and incessantly. He lectured on the *Amitāyur-Buddha-bhāvanā sūtra* (Taishō, No.365) for about 200 times. His interpretations were lucid and fluent, and his orations all persuasive, so that each time at the conclusion of his lecture, the assembly would invariably burst into great rejoicing and applause, the voice of their invocations on Amita's name reverberating in every corner of the valley and woods. The Hsüan-chung Monastery in which he lived was situated in Wên-shui, a country of the Hsi-ho district, and consequently Tao-ch'o was henceforward known as the Hsi-ho-ch'an-shih, the Dhyāna-master of Hsi-ho).

Tao-ch'o prescribed for himself a routine practice of calling Amita's name 70.000 times a day. As for the devotees in general, he advised them to keep an account of their invocations by throwing down a bean seed each time. Accordingly they got on, invocation following invocation, and at length they piled up an enormous quantity of bean that measured millions of piculs. Among them, those of the highest rate got as much as 80 or 90 piculs, those of medium rate 50 piculs, and those of the lowest rate would, too, get no less than 20 piculs. Afterwards, he taught people to keep the count by using rosaries made of soap berry seeds. Such rosaries he often made with his own hands and gave them to the devotees of the four classes, encouraging them to hold fast to the practice. He also told people not to spit or pass water towards the west, nor to sit or sleep with one's back turned to that disrection. More often than not, people who did not

believe in the Pure Land doctrine had tried to slander him, but as soon as they came to contact with Tao-ch'o's noble bearings, they would invariably change countenance and pay him respect. Owing to his ardent propagation works, everyone above seven, irrespective of male or female, in the three counties of Chin-yang, T'ai-yüan and Wên-shui, was accustomed to the practice of invoking Amita's name.

On the 8th day of the 4th month of the 2nd year of Chên-kuan (628 A.C) of Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, he convoked at the Hsüan-chung Monastery a great assembly, including both monks and laymen, to celebrate the birth of the Lord Buddha. During the meeting they obtained many sorts of auspicious responses. Once the Emperor T'ai-tsung called upon him in person at the Hsüan-chung Monastery, asking him to conduct a ceremony to pray for the health of Empress Wên-tê who was suffering illness then. This shows the veneration he enjoyed at that time (vid.Lin o's "Laudatory Inscription on the Tablet Erected to celebrate the casting of the Iron Image of Maitreya in the Shih-pi Monastery", collected in the *Chin-shih-ts'ui-pien* or *Collection of Inscriptions on Metals and Stones*, fasc.84). At the advanced age of seventy, his teeth grew anew like a youth, and his juvenile spirits and freshness of complexion seemed to come back again. whenever he preached, as of old his orations would flow endlessly like a stream. In the 19th year of Chên-kuan (645 A.C), when he was aged eighty-four, on the 24th day of the 4th month, he bid farewell to his acquaintances, both religious and secular. Three days later, he passed away at the Hsüan-chung Monastery.

Of Tao-ch'o's written works, only the *An-Lo-chi* in 2 fascicles is extant (according to the *Treatise on the Pure Land;* but the "Biography of Tao-ch'o" in the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks* compiled by Tao-hsüan erroneously records this book as the *Treatise on the Pure Land;* the *I-wên-chih* of the new History of T'ang follows the same mistake in addition to another work attributed to Tao-ch'o entitled the *Hsing-t'u*. The *Catalogue of the Records of Transmitting the Lamp in the East* compiled in Japan mentions another work of Tao-ch'o entitled the *Profound Meaning of the Amitāyur- Buddha-bhāvanā-sūtra* in 1 fascicle; but it is lost.

The Pure Land theory of Tao-ch'o has a distinctive characteristic, i.e. the special regard for evidences from Scriptures. At the opening of the *An-Lo-chi*, Tao-ch'o writes, "The contents of this *An-Lo-chi* comprise 12 main sections, incorporating evidences drawn from *sūtras* and *śāstras* in order to encourage people to have faith in the rebirth". The number of Scriptures,including *sūtras, vinayas, śāstras* and commentaries, that have been quoted by the *An-Lo-chi*, amounts over forty. In addition to the three basic *sūtras* of the pure Land School, viz. the *Amitābha-vyūha* (Taishō No.360), the *Amitāyur-buddha-bhāvanā* and the *Śukhāvati-vyūha* (Taishō No. 366), the most frequently quoted Scriptures include such *sūtras* as the *Mahāsaṁnipāta* (Taishō No. 397), the *Mahāparinirvāna*, the *Avataṁsaka* (Taishiō No.278), the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (Taishiō No. 475), the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* (Taishō No. 262), the *Prajñāpārsmitā* (Taishō No. 223), the *Mahākaruna* (Taishō No .380), the *Ekottarāgama* (Taishō No. 125), the *Buddha- bhāvanā-samādhi- sāgara* (Taishō No.643), the *Dharmapada* (Taishō No.210), the *Makāyanābhisamaya* (Taishō No.673), etc: such *śāstras* as the *Mahāprajñāpāramita* (Taishō No. 1509), the *Awaking of Faith in Mahāyāna*, the *Abhidharma-kośā* (Taishō No.1558), the *Treatise of the Birth to the Pure Land*, etc; and the works by Chinese authors. such as T'an-Luan's *Gāthās in praise of the Amita Buddha*, etc. This list will speak well enough for his unusual erudition and genuine understanding. Nevertheless, because he was solely interested in the propagation of the Pure Land doctrine and did not pay much attention to rhetorical requirements of the form, his writings are sometimes subject to the criticism of being too much over laden with references. Thus Chia-ts'ai in criticizing the *An-Lo-chi* says, "During the modern times there is the *An-Lo-chi* in 1 (2) fascicle written by the Dhyāna-master Tao-ch'o. He has done something to present the doctrine by collecting a large amount of quotations from various Scriptures, but the work appears like a heterogeneous mass of passages and ideas, without well-defined division of chapters or sections. Consequently the reader will generally remain in hesitation and doubts" (vid.Chia-ts'ai's *preface* to the *Treatise on the Pure Land*).

Tao-ch'o held that the method of teaching must be adapted to the circumstance. In the fascicle of the *An-Lo-chi*, he has a statement, basing on the

Candragarbhavaipulya (Taishō No 397: 15), to the effect that, after the Nirvāna of the Buddha, there would be five periods, each covering five hundred years, and that each of these periods would have a distinctive doctrine that is particularly practicable for the time. The early T'ang, in his opinion, was the beginning of the fourth period, the period of the decadence of the Law. He thought it was the time for people to cultivate felicitous deeds in order to extirpate their sins and he recommended the method of invoking Amita's name as the best means to meet this particular circumstance. He classified the teaching of Buddhism into two categories, the Way of Holiness and the Way of the Pure Land. The former is too difficult and therefore impracticable for the people under the period of decadence, because their capacities are dull; whereas the Way of the Pure Land is simple and easy to follow, because everyone will surely achieve the rebirth through the power of Amita's original vows. This is the reason why he devoted his whole life to the propagation of the Pure Land doctrine.

As for the cause of achieving the rebirth to the Pure Land, Tao-ch'o advocates the Bodhi-mind for the Fundamental basis and the *Samādhi* of invoking Amita as the important practice. This position he supports by quoting from Vasubandhu's *Treatise of the Rebirth to the Pure Land* to the effect that the resolve towards the Bodhi-mind means the resolve to attain Buddhahood, and the resolve to attain Buddhahood means precisely the resolve to save sentient beings. Furthermore, a large amount of quotations are made from *sūtras* to prove the inconceivable merits of the *Samādhi* of invoking Amita. Everyone who cultivates the *Samādhi* will certainly see Amita at the moment of his death. Again he says, the *Samādhi* of invoking Amita perfectly embodies in itself the four all-embracing virtues (*saṅgraha-vastu*), as well as the six *pāramitā*, capable of removing all hindrances formed in the past, the future the present. Judging from such expression as "Constantly call my name" which is quoted from the *Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhā-vasthita-samādhi-sūtra* (Taishō No. 417), and such expression as " Meditate upon the excellence of the Buddha's features", which is quoted from the *Buddha bhāvanā-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra*, what Tao-ch'o calls the "*Samādhi* of invoking Amita" seems to involve two ideas, the invocation of Amita's name and the meditation upon his features. This is a thought inherited from T'an-Luan's system.

Concerning Tao-ch'o's doctrinal lineage, as we know, his conversion to the Pure Land School was effected on reading the memorial inscriptions of T'an-Luan, but he did not receive the transmission directly from the master. In the *An-Lo-chi* (2nd fascicle) he describes a succession of the Pure Land masters in China in which he mentions six *bhadantas*, namely, Bodhiruci, Hui-ch'ung, Tao-ch'ang, T'an-Luan, Ta-hai and the Director of Monks of Northern Ch'i (i.e.Fa-shang). Here too, we find no evidence of his direct communication with T'an-Luan. Thus, Chia-ts'ai's assertion in the *Treatise on the Pure Land* that Tao-ch'o was a follower of T'an-Luan three generations removed is a speculation based on the genealogical relation of successors from T'an-Luan to Fa-shang, a theory that is comparatively credible.

Of those who were converted to the Pure Land faith under Tao-ch'o's influence, may be mentioned Tao-fu, Sêng-yen, Bhikṣuṇi Ta-ming-yüeh and Shan-tao, the last being the most prominent figure among them. Tao-Fu was a well-known monk of the Hung-fu Monastery of Ch'ang-an. He visited Tao-ch'o at the Hsüan-chung Monastery on purpose of cultivating the acts for the Pure Land, and later made considerable contribution to the propagation of the Pure Land doctrine. Each time he and Tao-ch'o met, they would invariably reassure each other of meeting again in the Pure Land. Three days after Tao-ch'o's passing away, the news reached Tao-fu. Heaving a sigh, he said, "I always thought I should go ahead of him, but I find that it is I who am left behind. By exertion of one more effort, I can still catch up with him to see Amita". So saying, he kowtowed towards the Amita's image and uttered his confessions. Withdrawing to his seat he passed away on the spot. Sêng-yen (547-642 A.C), a native of Wên-shui of ping-chou, was at first a worshipper of Maitreya, wishing to be born to the Inner Court of the Tuṣita Heaven. It was after the ninetieth year of his age when he chanced to hear Tao-ch'o lecturing on the *Amitāyur-buddha-bhāvanā-sūtra* that he was converted to the cult of the Pure Land. Through the rest of his life, he kept strictly a practice of bowing before the Buddha one thousand times and recite Amita's name ten thousand times every morning. After his death his body gave forth a strange fragrance for seven days. The Bhikṣuṇi Ta-ming-yüeh (Ming-

yüeh the Elder), a native of p'ing-yao of Chieh-chou, too, was converted to the faith of Amita on hearing Tao-ch'o's preaching on the *Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra* at the Hsüan-chung monastery when she was 60 years old (at the beginning of the Chên-kuan period).Ever since, she kept on the practice of recitation in her secluded chamber, and at the same time taught her sister Shao-ming-yueh, (or Ming-yüeh the Younger) to practice the same. Both sisters obtained many auspicious responses at their deaths.

Shan-tao first saw Tao-ch'o at the Hsüan-chung Monastery in the 15th year of Chên-kuan (641 A.C.). The master handed him a copy of the *Amitāyur-buddha-bhāvanā sūtra* and communicated to him the Pure Land doctrine. Afterwards, he came to Ch'ang-an where he propounded the method of invoking Amita on a Large scale obtaining great reverence and faith from the devotees, both monks and laymen. Thus he became the greatest figure in the history of the Pure Land School ever since Tao-ch'o.

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Lin Tzû-ch'ing.

TAPASSU-BHALLUKA- Tapassu and Bhallika (Bhalluka, Bhalliya) were two merchants from the township of Asitañjana in the city of Ukkalā, during the time of the Buddha. They are sometimes referred to as brothers, the sons of a caravan leader of Pokkaravatī (*AA*.1. 382; *Thag.A*.1.50 *J*.1.80) and sometimes as friends (*DPPN.* Vol. 1. p. 991). Buddhist Sanskrit sources call Tapassu, Trapuśa (*Divy.*393, *Mtu.* III. 303). The two merchants engaged in trade activities conjointly.

One day the two merchants ventured on a trading programme leading 500 bullock-drawn carts laden with saleable valuable goods. They left the city of Ukkala and were heading towards Majjhimadesa when all of a sudden the carts got stuck on the road near the Rājāyatana tree, where the Buddha was sitting, in the 8th week after attaining Enlightenment. A deity (*devatā*) who had been the mother of the two merchants in a previous birth, made her appearance before them and urged them to offer a meal to the Buddha, who was without meals for seven weeks after the Attainment of Enlightenment. The two merchants offered the Buddha a meal of rice cakes and honey, in a bowl provided by the Four Regent Gods (*cattāro mahārājano*). After the meal the Buddha preached to them His newly discovered Dhamma. They were greatly impressed and elated and accepted the Buddha and His Dhamma as their Refuge (*Saraṇa*). Thus the two merchants became the first two lay disciples (*dvevācika – upāsakā)* of the Buddha. (*Vin.* I 4; *J*.1.81)

Before the two merchants left the Buddha they requested the Buddha to give them some token to remember and honour him. The Buddha stroking his head with his right hand gave them a handful of his hair, which they took to their township Asitañjana and built a *cetiya* over them. It is said that rays of blue light issued from this *cetiya* on *Uposatha* days (*DPPN*.1.p.991).

There is a popular Sri Lankan tradition which is recorded in the *Pūjāvaliya*, a classical Buddhist Sinhala Text, to the effect that Tapassu and Bhallika subsequently visited the Eastern coast of Sri Lanka, bringing with them in a golden casket some of the Hair Relics they had obtained from the Buddha. They placed the golden casket containing the Hair Relics on a rock and went in search of food and water. When they tried to remove the casket from the place they had placed it, it had got firmly stuck to that rock. The two merchants considered that spot to be sacred and built a *cetiya* over that casket. A temple came into being there called the Girihadu (*Pūjāvaliya*, The Sri Lanka National Library services Board Edition, 1998, p.141). This place is now recognized as the present Tiriyāya temple. (See PLATE XVII)

On a later occasion Tapassu and Bhalluka visited the Buddha at Rajagaha. After listening to the Buddha Tapassu became a stream-entrant (*sotāpanna*) while

Bhalluka entered the Order of monks and attained arahantship (*Theragāthā* v. 7).

In the time of Sikhi Buddha Tapassu and Bhallika were brahamins of Arunavati. Hearing that two caravan leaders, Ujita and Ojita had given the first meal to the Buddha, they too wanted to offer the first meal to a future Buddha and gave alms to the Buddha and his monks and wished for a similar privilege for themselves under a future Buddha. In the time of Kassapa Buddha they were sons of Gopāla-Seṭṭhi and for many years provided the monks with "milk rice".

D. Saddhasena.

TĀRĀNĀTHA. Lāma Tārānātha, the Tibetan scholar-monk who flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries, is best known today for his *History of Buddhism in India*, a very important source book providing a historical account of Buddhist rulers, teachers, scholars and followers of Mahayana Buddhism. The period covered by the work extends from the reign of King Ajātaśatru to the origin of the Mantrayāna in Tibet.

Tārānātha was born in 1575 A.C. in Tibet and his original name was Kundga'-snin-po (=Ānandagarbha). In his twenties he is said to have seen two Indian yogīs in a dream. One of them named Jvālānātha gave him the name Tārānātha, meaning 'Lord of Tārā', which bears no relation to his Tibetan name. He wrote his history of Buddhism in India in 1608, at the age of 34. A German and a Russian translation of the work were made in 1869 by A. Schiefner and V.P. Vasil'ev respectively, from a copy preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). The other complete translation of Tārānātha's History of Buddhism appears in the Japanese language done by Enga Teramoto and published in 1928 from Tokyo.

Until these translations of the *History of Buddhism In India* appeared, Tārānātha was widely known in Tibet for his works on *Tantra* and Philosophy. He himself has not given much importance to his History whereas he refers in his Autobiography to most of his other important works in fair detail. The first English translation of the work from the Tibetan original was done by Lāma Chimpa and Alaka Chattopādhyāya in 1970 and published from Delhi. Tārānātha's works other than his *History of Buddhism in India* include the following:

1. *bka'-babs-bdun-ldan* written in 1600 A.C. and translated
into German by A. Grunwedel
2. his autobiography called *The Secret Biography (gsan-ba'I-rnam-thar)*
3. a history of the Kālaltantra system
4. a history of the Yamāntaka Tantra written in 1631
5. a history of the cult of Tārā.

Tārānātha had gained mastery over Sanskrit and also knew some of the Indian dialects prevalent at that time. He could therefore freely draw from Indian sources. But unfortunately he does not throw any light on the lives and works of the scholars whose works he extensively used to draw material for his treatises. Therefore some believe that he would have done a greater service to Buddhist scholarship if he had translated his source books into Tibetan rather than writing original works based on them.

In his autobiography Tārānātha mentions that, due to many previous lives he had lived in India, he had inherited from childhood a knowledge of various Indian languages and a vivid recollection of the geography and topography of the sub continent. It was probably this knowledge that stood him in good stead in giving authentic and vivid accounts of historical and religious events that had taken place in India, that have been incorporated in his works, without having ever visited the country. During Tārānātha's time Buddhism had almost disappeared from India and few Buddhist scholars were left in the country. Most of the travellers who visited Tibet at the time were not Buddhists. Tārānātha records that two Indian scholars named Pūrṇānanda and Paramānanda visited Tibet and stayed with him for about ten days, during which time he learnt the episodes of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* from them. Obviously they were Hindus for they seem to have tried unsuccessfully to convert him to Hinduism. The only Buddhist visitor from India was one Chaṅgaśrī from Telangānā (in Āndhra Pradesh) who stayed with him only two days. Tārānātha took him to be a Mahayana Buddhist scholar.

Although Tārānātha did not visit India during his lifetime, his fame had spread far and wide in India and

he seems to have had contacts with a number of Indian scholars and rulers.

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E.W. Marasinghe

TA-T'ANG-HSI-YŪ-CHI: *A Record of the Western Regions of the Great T'ang Dynasty*, or the *Record of the Western Regions* for short, and also known as *A Record of Travels to the Western Regions*, was compiled and translated by Hsüan-tsang in the 20th year of Chên-kuan, (646 A.C.,) during the reign of Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, and it was committed to writing by Pien-chi. It is a historical and geographical work, describing the customs, conditions and things of Buddhist interest in the countries situated to the west of China during the T'ang dynasty. The Ven. Hsüan-tsang left Kao-ch'ang and continued his westward journey to search for the *Dharma* in the autumn of the 3rd year of Chên-kuan (629 A.C.). After travelling through various places in the Western Regions he returned to China at the beginning of the 19th year of Chên-kuan (645 A.C.). When he first met Emperor T'ai-tsung upon his arrival at Lo-yang, the emperor requested him to write a record of the Western Regions giving his experiences in his travels to the west. Accordingly, Hsüan-tsang recollected what he had seen and heard, and dictated them to his disciple Pien-chi for the compilation of this work, which was completed in the 7th month of the following year. As much of the materials was adopted from the ancient writings of the countries through which he traveled, it was classified in catalogues under the heading of translations. In his letter in the presentation of this work to the emperor, Hsüan-tsang mentioned that his accounts included 138 countries, which he had either visited personally or heard of from others.

Although this work is of the nature of a topography, it was compiled, roughly speaking, according to the progress of his journey (which, however, does not wholly agree with that described in *The Biography of Hsüan-tsang, the Tripiṭaka-Master of the Great Tz'u-en Monastery.* The whole work may be divided into three sections. The first comprises the first fascicle, in which are recorded the 34 kingdoms of the West Regions along the Northern Route to the West of Kao-ch'ang, along which he traveled towards the West. The second section includes from the 2nd to the 11th fascicle, in which are described the 82 kingdoms in the Five Indias following the progress of his journey in India. The 12th fascicle forms the third section, in which he relates his return journey from India and describes the 22 kingdoms along the Southern Route in the Western Regions. At the beginning of the work there are two prefaces, one written by Ching-po in the Korean edition of the *Tripiṭaka*, and the other by Yu-Chih-ning, (also attributed to Chang Yuen, in the Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasty editions of the *Tripiṭaka*). At the end there is a postscript written by Pien-chi. The contents of the fascicles may be briefly summarized as follows:

At the beginning of the first fascicle there is a short preface by Hsüan-tsang himself, followed by a description of the four continents and the geographical features of Jambudvīpa as well as the characteristics of the lands in the four quarters according to the cosmology of ancient India. Then a general description is given about the conditions of the various countries in the Western Regions situated to the east of the Black Range. After that begins the main text of the account of 34 countries, including Agni, Kuchi, Bālukā, etc., in the Western Regions and Kapisa in the south of the Snow Mountain. In the second fascicle a general description of India is given, 'including a discussion about its name, geographical features, systems of measurement, division of seasons, cities and towns, clothing and food, language and literature, education, religion, castes and clans, military organizations, laws, rites and ceremonies, medicine, funeral service, political administration, tax and revenue, native products, trading and money, etc. Then an account is given about the three countries of Lampā, Nagara and Gandhāra in North India. In the third fascicle eight countries of North India including Udyāna and so forth are described. In the fourth fascicle 15 countries are described i.e., Takka, etc., five countries of North India, and Pāryātra, etc., and ten countries of Central India. In the fifth fascicle 6 countries, namely, Kanyākubja and others of Central India are described. In the sixth fascicle an account is given about Śrāvastī, etc., and 4 countries of Central India. In the seventh

fascicle Vārāṇasi, etc., and 5 countries of Central India are described. In the eighth and ninth fascicles the kingdom of Magadha in Central India is described. In the tenth fascicle 17 countries are described, namely, Iranaparvata, etc., 4 countries in Central India, Kāmarūpa, etc., 7 countries in East India, and Kosala etc., and 6 countries in South India. In the eleventh fascicle an account is given of altogether 23 countries, namely, the kingdom of Siṁhala which was outside the domain of India and which Hsüan-tsang did not visit in person, but had only heard of while he was traveling in India, Konkanapura, etc., 7 countries in South India, Ānandapura, etc., 3 countries in West India; Ujjayani and Jijhoti in South India, Maheśvarapura in Central India, Sindhu and Mūlasthānipura in West India, Parvata in North India, and Audumbaṭira, etc., 5 countries in West India, as well as Pārsa which was also beyond India and only heard of by Hsüan-tsang. In the twelfth fascicle are described 22 countries. Jāguda and so forth in the Western Regions. Another 16 countries are also mentioned in the various fascicles, namely, Tukhāra (*vide* fascs. i & xii), Lahul, etc., 3 countries (*vide* fasc. iv), Śriṣatra, etc., 6 countries (*vide* fasc. x), Nārikiladvīpa, etc., 4 countries (*vide* fasc. xi), Chalmadana, and the ancient kingdom of Navapa (*vide*. fasc. xii).

The main purpose of this work is the description of the conditions of the various countries in the Western Regions and India during the time of Hsüan-tsang's travels (i.e., the forties and fifties of the 7th century A.C.), but the political vicissitudes, histories and legends of the various countries, as he had heard about them, are also recorded, and thus many ancient historical materials are preserved in this work. As far as Buddhism is concerned, the propagation of Buddhism and its past history in the various countries are recorded in particular detail. The important events after the Buddha's demise (such as the three Conventions, or Saṅgīti), and the important events in the life of the Buddha while he was living in this world (such as his renunciation, enlightenment and preaching the Dharma), and the stories of the past Buddhas, are all described in this work. The scope of its descriptions covered a period of more than one thousand years, and most of them provide valuable material in the history of Buddhism in India.

In describing a country, the author generally begins by speaking about its boundaries, mountains and rivers, the size of its territory; the capital, climate, local products, customs and habits, language and literature, clothing, food and housing, as well as the important towns, and then passes on to give an account of Buddhism. Concerning the countries of the Western Regions, special attention is paid to the description of the tribes and clans, the royal lineages, the legends about the establishment of the countries, the similarities and dissimilarities of the language, the relation of mutual-connection or subordination among them, etc. Some information, e.g. the customs of the Suli people who inhabited the territory between the kingdom of Bāluka and the kingdom of Kaśanna, the political divisions of ancient Tukhāra, etc., provide historical information regarding oriental peoples, untold of in other records.

The particularly detailed description of the propagation of Buddhism during that time is the most striking characteristic of this work. Of the fifty-six countries in the Western Regions outside the Five Indias, more than twenty countries had embraced Buddhism, and most of them followed the Sarvāstivāda school of Śrāvakayāna Buddhism, with the exception of the kingdom of Bamiyan where the Lokottaravāda school was prevalent. The Mahāsaṁghika School had only three monasteries with a few monks in the kingdom of Andarava. Mahāyāna Buddhism was prevalent in the kingdoms of Jāguda, Kustana and Kapiśa, and in each of them there were more than one hundred monasteries and the monks amounted to as many as ten thousand. In the Kingdom of Huo both Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna of Buddhism were studied. In India itself, it was the time when the sovereignty of King Śilabhadra of Kanyākubja was extended over the whole Gangetic valley. His domain of administration reached North, East and South India, and the political center had been shifted from Magadha to Kanyākubja in the North. The general description of India in the second fascicle of this work is chiefly about what Hsüan -tsan had seen and heard in this area. Among the 32 kingdoms in the Five Indias, Buddhism was prevalent in 73 kingdoms, of which about 45 followed Śrāvakayāna, 17 professed Mahāyāna, and 11 studied both. Of Śrāvakayāna Buddhism the Sammitiya school was the most prevalent, particularly in Mālava of South India, and next to Mālava, in Sindhu and other countries of West India. The Theravāda sect ranked second in importance. It was prevalent in Dravida of South India (and it was

also prevalent in the kingdom of Siṁhala which was outside India). Of the other Śrāvakayāna schools only the Sarvāstivāda School was prevalent, while the others had sunk into oblivion. Mahāyāna Buddhism was prevalent in Udyāna in North India, Kosala in Central India, and Udra in East India. Magadha and Kanyakubja were the centers where both vehicles were studied. These records give one an impression that Buddhism in India, though still prevalent in particular places, was on the whole already beginning to decline.

All Buddhist historical sites that Hsüan-tsang saw or heard of were mentioned in this work, and those in Magadha were described particularly in minute detail. All the sites that had some connection with the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, preaching of the Dharma, entering Nirvāna, as well as the sharing of his relics, the construction of stupas and the making of his images, and the legends concerning the date of his Nirvāna, the stories about his chief disciples, the various conventions held after his Nirvāna, the split into schools, the erection of stone pillars and the construction of stūpas by Aśoka and Kaniṣka, famous monasteries and other places of renown, are all put down under the topics mentioned regarding the places where they were found. What is worth our special attention is the record about the great Buddhist thinkers of different times, such as Kātyāyana, Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, Bhāvaviveka, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Dharmapāla, Pārśva, Kumāralabdha, Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Manoratha, Saṁghabhadra, Guṇaprabha, up to Śīlabhadra and Jayasena, the last two being Hsüan-tsang's contemporaries. Their knowledge and deeds and the causes by which their important works were written are all related in full detail, providing very important data for the history of the development of Buddhism in India. Although some of the dates seem to have been accepted on hearsay without verification, they do not impair the historical value of the book at large. Valuable too are the accounts on the history, conditions and educational systems of the Nālanda Monastery which once played a very important role in the intellectual life of Buddhists; and equally valuable are the descriptions of the magnificent sculptures of Ācāra's Cave Temple. They were the monumental achievements made by Buddhism in the history of Indian Culture and art. For ages they have been forgotten, and it is from this book of Hsüan-tsang that we learn of their existence.

Besides, non-Buddhist topics, such as the spread of the doctrine of the Nirgranthas, and the worship of Maheśvara, Nārāyaṇa, Sūrya and Śuna, as well as famous deva temples, have also been touched upon in the Record.

Although this work is a record of the author's travels, a large proportion of the material was drawn from ancient writings of the Western Regions and India or from information given by old people, while references were also made to works written by earlier Chinese monks, such as Fa-hsien's *Record of the Buddhist Countries* etc. There are also some corrections in the contents in old writings, such as the cause for the establishment of the five storeyed Saṁghārāma in the kingdom of Kośala (fasc. x), the legend of the founding of the kingdom of Siṁhala (fasc. xi)., etc. The profuse and colourful descriptions of the customs and products of various countries were things hitherto not found in Chinese historical records. Therefore, when this work was published the scholars of the time were amazed by it and quoted it extensively in their writings, such as Tao-hsüan's *Record of the Country of Śākyamuni*, Tao-shih's *Pearl Grove of the Garden of the Law* (in the "Section of Holy Sites") and Hui-li's *Biography of Hsüan-tsang*. All of them took this work as their basic source. Official compilations, such as the *New History of T'ang*, also made use of this work. This work is a topographic writing as well as a record of travels, in which the distances and directions of different countries are recorded in full detail. In some cases, the computations might appear inconsistent, but the approximate locality can often be traced by careful comparison. The excavation of the Nālanda Monastery and the discovery of Ācāra's cave temple in India were carried out with much help from the records of this work, and this proves the reliability of Hsüan-tsang's descriptions. Another special feature of this work is the accuracy of transliteration in which all mis-renderings or omissions of sounds are avoided. The names of some places have been restored to their original Sanskrit forms, and from the etymology of these names it is even possible to conjecture the features of the natural surroundings and the cultural life of the inhabitants. In short, this work is a comprehensive and accurate record and has become a principal reference book for modern scholars in their studies of ancient history of India and the Western Regions, as well as in their topographical and archaeological researches.

In the process of introducing a country, Hsüan-tsang has not explicitly stated whether it was visited by him or was only told of by others. He indicates these circumstances by using different expressions to describe the location of the country. In the former case he uses the expression "Rsing-chih", (meaning "proceed to"), while in the latter case he would simply use "chih"(meaning "one reaches") such and such a country (*vide*. Pien-chi's *Postcript*). But sometimes, the character "hsing" might have been left out by carelessness (e.g. in fasc. I, in describing his passage to Termed along the river Vakṣu, and again from Termed to Bokhara via the kingdom of Hue, the character "hsing" was left out in both cases). On the other hand, sometimes a surplus "hsing" was inserted by mistake (e.g. the description of the kingdom of Malakuta in fasc. x). All these can be found out by collating it with the *Biography of Hsüan-tsang*. According to Ching-po's *Preface*, out of the 138 countries recorded in this work, 28 were heard of the Hsüan-tsang. After making proper revision in accordance with the above mentioned expressions, it has been found now that these 28countries should be: Ferghana, Memagh, Kaputana, Kusannik, Khakan, Bukhāra, Fa-ti, Khorismika, Gagayana, Kolom, Śuman, Kuvayana, Osh, Kotol, Kumidha, Baglan, Hrosminkan, Khulm, Talakan (the above are in fasc. I). Bolora (in fasc. iii), Nipāla (in fasc. vii), Malakuṭa (in fasc. x), Simhala, Pārsa (these two in fasc. xiii). Alini, Raghu, Prtha Shighni (the above are in fasc. xii). The other 110 countries were visited by Hsüan-tsang in person.

At the beginning of the Ch'ion-lung period (1736) of the Ch'ing dynasty, this work was translated into the Tibetan language by Mgon-po-skyabs (of which a manuscript copy is preserved in the library of the Otani University in Japan). During the last one hundred years it has been translated into French by Stanislas Julien, entitled *Memoires sur les contr'ees occidentales Par Hiouen Tnsang*, 2 tomes, (Paris, 1857), and into English by Samueal Beal, entitled *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vol., (London, 1884), and another version by Thomas Watters: *On Yuwan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 Vol., (London, 1904-5). There is also a Japanese translation by Genmyo Ono. The study of this work was initiated by the comprehensive researches made by Thomas Watters included in his translation. Based on this translation the Japanese scholar Kendoku Hori made supplements and wrote *An Explanation on the Si-yu-ki*. After that Kiroku Adachi composed *A Study of the Record of the Western Regions of the Great T'ang Dynasty* in 2 vol., (Tokyo, 1942-3). Other works which are good for reference for the study of this work include: Vincent A. Smith's *The Itinerary of Yüan Chwang*, (London, 1905). Alex. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, (London, 1871), L. Vivien de Saint-Martin's *Memoire analytique sur la carte de l'Asia centrale et de* l'inde, (Paris, 1858), and Komayoshi Takakuwa's *A Study on the Various kingdoms of East and South India as contained in the Record of the Western Regions of the Great T'ang Dynasty*, (Tokyo, 1926).

Yu Hsia.

TATHĀGATA (1). Tathāgata is the epithet that according to the discourses the Buddha regularly used to refer to himself thereby representing what in early Buddhism was considered to be the most fitting expression of the Buddha's realization. This invests the term *tathāgata* with a considerable degree of importance and this term has remained of central importance throughout the history of Buddhism. In order to comprehensively treat the epithet *tathāgata*, it will be discussed in two separate articles. The present article will treat it from the perspective of the Pāli discourses, while another article will do so from the perspective of the *Mahāyāna* traditions.

From an etymological perspective, the word *tathāgata* can be derived from the adverb tathā, *'thus'* (in the sense of 'in this way', 'not otherwise', *anaññathā),* and the past participle *gata*, 'gone'. On this derivation, *tathāgata* can be translated as 'thus gone'. This way of under-standing the term *tathāgata* would then be similar to another epithet of the Buddha, *sugata*, 'well gone'[1]. Alternatively the second part of the compound could be the past participle *āgata*, 'come' or 'arrived', on which derivation the term *tathāgata* can be translated as 'thus come' (*tathā+āgata*)[2].

The Pāli discourses indicate that the term *tathāgata* was in common use in ancient India. A similar term can in fact be found in the Jaina scriptures, which refer to a liberated one as *tahāgaya*[3]. The expression *tathāgata* occurs also in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.[4]

The non-Buddhist usage of the term *tathāgata* can be seen in the Pāli discourses in a set of four ways of predicating the destiny of a *tathāgata* after death. This fourfold predication, or tetralemma, concerned with the destiny of a *tathāgata* after death, appears to have been a topic of considerable interest among ancient Indian recluses and wanderers. The problem it proposes is whether a *tathāgata* exists after death, or does not exist, or else neither exists nor does not exist. Since the Buddha consistently refused to take up any of these four positions, the formulation of the tetralemma on the *tathāgata* must stem from non-Buddhist circles.

The reason for the Buddha's refusal of these four propositions has a close bearing on the Buddhist understanding of the term *tathāgata* and therefore deserves closer inspection. The precise implications of the Buddhist use of the term *tathāgata* were apparently not always clear to Buddhist monks themselves, since on the occasion *Anurādha*, when questioned by outside wanderers regarding the tetralemma on the *tathāgata* after death, proposed that there was another way of making a statement on this matter (*S.* III, I 116 = *S.* IV, 380).

The outside wanderers took him to be a fool, since the tetralemma exhausts the possible ways of predication according to ancient Indian logic, so that a fifth proposition is simply impossible. *Anurādha* reported what had happened to the Buddha, who with a question and answer catechism led *Anurādha* to the realization that even here and now a *tathāgata* cannot be identified as any of the five aggregates, or as being in them, or as apart from them, though he evidently was not without form, feeling, perception, formation and consciousness. Since here and now a *tathāgata* cannot be found in truth and fact,[5] the Buddha concluded, how could any predication about his future destiny be made? This reply by the Buddha clarifies why he did not take up any of the four positions proposed by the tetralemma. It also gives some indications on the implications of the term *tathāgata* from the Buddhist perspective.

As the Buddha explained on another occasion, only those who take any of the six senses to be mine or 'I' or 'myself' will take up any of these four propositions on the future destiny of a *tathāgata* (*S.* IV, 393). Since, however, a *tathāgata* cannot be fathomed by way of any of the five aggregates, it is simply impossible to make predications about him in line with the tetralemma (*M.*I, 487). The tetralemma on the *tathāgata* is merely an expression of personality view (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*).[6] Such personality view stands at the back of the tetralemma on the future existence of the *tathāgata* as it stands at the back of all other speculative views (*S.* IV, 287). Hence for one who has realized the falsity of personality view, any such views and proposals are simply meaningless.

According to the Pāli commentaries, occurrences of the term *tathāgata* in the context of the tetralemma should be understood to refer to *satta*, a 'being', or to an *arahant*[7]. The gloss *satta*, a 'being', has led some scholars to conclude that the tetralemma on the *tathāgata* may be concerned with living beings in general[8]. Judging from the Pāli discourses, however, the tetralemma on the *tathāgata* is clearly concerned with one who has reached emancipation, not with living beings in general[9]. This is the case both from the perspective of outside wanderers as well as from the Buddhist perspective. Hence the commentarial gloss may rather be intended to highlight that those who posed the tetralemma did so by mistaking a *tathāgata* to be a real and substantial type of being.

During their encounter with *Anurādha*, the outside wanderers used a string of synonyms when formulating the tetralemma, speaking of the *tathāgata* as the 'highest person' (*uttamapurisa*), the 'supreme person' (*paramapurisa*) and the one who has 'achieved the supreme' (*paramapattipatto*). These synonyms indicate that, from their perspective, the term *tathāgata* stood representative of one who had reached liberation and was not used as a reference for beings in general.

For the Buddhist use of the term *tathāgata* a relevant instance is a discourse in which the monk *Yamaka* declared that a monk who has destroyed the influxes (*khīṇāsava*) will be annihilated at death (*S.* III, 111). *Sāriputta* took him to task for this proclamation, and with the help of a question and answer catechism led *Yamaka* to the same conclusion arrived at by the Buddha and Anurādha, namely that a *tathāgata* here and now cannot be found in truth and fact. In this discourse, the expression *tathāgata* occurs interchangeably with the expression *khīṇāsava bhikkhu*, a 'monk [with] influxes destroyed'. This

usage of the term *tathāgata* thereby parallels its usage by the outside wanderers in the *Anurādha Sutta* and shows that the term *tathāgata* stood for a liberated person, both from the perspective of Buddhist monks and from the perspective of outside wanderers.

The use of *tathāgata* as representative of *arahants* in general recurs in several other Pāli discourses, where the term refers to an *arahant* whose mind is totally free,[10] and who is forever beyond the five hindrances (*S.* V, 327). A whole discourse in the *Sutta Nipāta* describes why a *tathāgata* is worthy of offerings, a description which similarly seems to use the term in a way including *arahants* in general (*Sn*, 467-477).

Other instances of the term *tathāgata* in the Pāli discourses refer more specifically to the Buddha, highlighting qualities that *arahants* have in common with him. These instances indicate that a *tathāgata* is endowed with purity of body, speech and mind, so that there is no need for him to hide any of his activities (*D.* III, 217). Elsewhere the discourses highlight that *tathāgatas* never speak what is untrue (*M.* II, 108).

A *tathāgata* has eradicated all conceit (*M.* I, 486), does not fall prey to conceivings in relation to phenomena (*M.* I, 5) and is beyond conceptual proliferation (*Dhp.* 254: *nippapañca*). Rebirth is extinct for a *tathāgata*, and gods and men will not be able to see him after death (*D.* I, 46). The mind of a *tathāgata* inclines towards thoughts of peace and seclusion (*It* 31). When others praise or disparage him, a *tathāgata* remains unaffected (*M.* I, 140). In short, a *tathāgata* is one who is endowed with all wholesome things and has overcome all unwholesomeness (*M.* II, 115). A *tathāgata* is like a lotus arisen above water, since though living in the world, he is not sullied by it. (*S.* III, 140).

Other qualities of a *tathāgata* are more uniquely the domain of the Buddha, who is the one who discovers and teaches the path. Such path finding *tathāgatas* arise rarely in the world (*D.* II, 149). Their arising is for the benefit of gods and men (*A.* I, 22). When they arise, the gods experience growth, while the demons suffer diminution (*D.* II, 271).

The role of a *tathāgata* in the spiritual realm is similar to a wheel-turning king (*cakkavatti rāja*), who is the worldly counterpart to a *tathāgata*. Both are supreme in their respective sphere. Their passing away leads to similar sorrow among men (*A.* I, 77) and their funeral should be undertaken in similar manners (*D.* II, 141).

A characteristic of a wheel-turning king is that he possesses seven treasures: a wheel, an elephant, a horse, a jewel, a woman, a steward and a counselor, each endowed with magical qualities. The counterparts to these seven treasures are the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*), whose manifestation similarly forms a characteristic of a *tathāgata* (*S.* V, 99). The arising of a *tathāgata* not only leads to the manifestation of the seven factors of awakening (*S.* V, 77), but also to the manifestation of the teaching on the noble eightfold path (*S.* V, 14) and the five faculties (*S.* V, 235), and therewith to the realization of the four levels of awakening (*A.* I, 22).

Even though a *tathagata's* arising is required for the teachings to manifest, the truth he teaches exists independently of the arising of a *tathāgata* (*A.* I, 286). To teach this truth, a *tathāgata* arises. The need for this truth to be taught is in fact the very reason why a *tathāgata* arises, since it is due to the existence of birth, old age and death that *tathāgatas* arise and teach the path leading to their transcendence (*A.* V, 144). Such teaching activity of *tathāgata* is wonderful and amazing, since he is able to lead beings in a direction that runs contrary to their attachment, conceit and ignorance (*A.* II, 131).

A *tathāgata* is able to successfully teach what goes against the habitual tendencies of beings due to his skill in teaching, as he not only knows what is beneficial and true, but also is well aware of measure and proper time, and has a clear understanding of the different type of assemblies (and therewith of the proper way to speak to them)[11]. A *tathāgata* leads beings with the *Dhamma* as his tool (*S.* I, 127), and his words are always true and beneficial, since he is full of compassion for living beings (*M.* I, 395). Yet a *tathāgata* does not create any dependency on his role as a teacher, and whether he teaches disciples or no, a *tathāgata* always remains 'such' (*M.* II, 331).

A *tathāgata* is a being whose manifestation is difficult to find in this world (*A.* I, 22). Nevertheless, it is certainly worthwhile any effort to visit him, since to go to see a *tathāgata* or his disciples is the supreme type of 'sight-seeing' (*A.* III, 326).

Tathāgatas do not need to avail themselves of magic (*S.* IV, 342). Their teaching and practice *(dhammavinaya)* are open and accessible, like the sun and the moon, not a secret affair (*A.* I, 283). For the same reason, a *tathāgata* does not keep a teacher's secrets (*D.* II. 100).

A *tathāgata* teaches a path he practises himself, so that the *jhānas* and the three higher knowledges *(tevijjā)* can be reckoned as 'footprints' of a *tathāgata* (*M.* I, 181). While his teaching often displays a refined sense of humour, a *tathāgata* nevertheless does not smile without a reason (*M.* II, 45).

Conversations with a *tathāgata* appear to follow a certain law, so that when asked for a third time, a *tathāgata* will give an answer or grant a reasonable request (*D.* II, 117). The reverse side of this lawful pattern is that one who does not answer a reasonable question put by a *tathāgata* for a third time, runs the risk of his head being split into pieces (*D.* I, 95). A similar risk awaits anyone who were to demand being worshipped by a *tathāgata* (*A.* IV, 173).

A *tathāgata* is in fact a mighty being, and even for the king of the gods it is not an easy matter to approach him (*D.* II, *265)*. Due to his might, a great light pervades the whole earth on the four occasions when a *tathāgata* descends into his mother's womb, when he is born, when he awakens and when he sets in motion the wheel of *Dhamma* (*A.* II, 130). Anyone attempting to harm a *tathāgata* will incur grave retribution for such an act (*M.* I, 332), and it is impossible to kill a *tathāgata* (*Vin.* II, 194). His physical power even extends to such mundane matters as digestion, since there are certain types of food that can only be digested by a *tathāgata*, not by anyone else (*D.* II, 127). Due to having developed the four roads to power *(iddhipāda)*, a *tathāgata* is able to live for a whole aeon (*D.* II, *103)*. Of all beings, a *tathāgata* is infact supreme (*S.* V, 41) and there is no one who could equal him (*A.* I, 22). Thus *tathāgatas* are indeed wonderful and amazing beings (*S.* V. 283).

The protective power of a *tathāgata* is such that on one occasion the sun god and the moon god, by going for refuge to the *tathāgata*, were able to frighten Rāhu away, who had just captured them (*S.*I, *50)*. Recollecting the *tathāgata* not only frightens away demons, but also ensures mental peace, since during such recollection lust, anger and delusion cannot obsess the mind (*A.* III, 285).

An important characteristic of a *tathāgata* is his possession of ten powers *(bala[11])*. These 'ten powers of a *tathāgata*' are:

1. knowledge of what is possible and what is impossible
2. knowledge of karma and its result
3. knowledge of the ways to all (rebirth) destinations
4. knowledge of the various elements that make up the world
5. knowledge of the different inclinations of living beings
6. knowledge of the faculties of beings
7. knowledge of the attainment of concentration and realization in all its aspects
8. knowledge of his past lives
9. knowledge of the arising and passing away of beings in accordance with their deeds
10. destruction of the influxes.

In addition to these ten powers, a *tathāgata* is also in possession of four intrepidities ((*M.* I, 71). These four intrepidities *(vesārajja)* are:

1. he is fully awakened
2. he has successfully eradicated all influxes
3. he knows what are obstructions to the development of the path
4. he is able to lead to freedom from *dukkha*.

Endowed with these ten powers and four intrepidities, a *tathāgata* can well claim the role of a leader and roar his lion's roar in assemblies (ibid). The *tathāgata's* qualities highlighted by the four intrepidities recur in an alternative presentation, which speaks of the threefold blamelessness *(anupavajja)* of a *tathāgata* : his *Dhamma* is well proclaimed, he has clearly shown the path to *Nibbāna* and hundreds of his *followers* have carried this path to its successful culmination (*A.* IV, 83).

In addition to describing all these various qualities of a *tathāgata*, the Pāli discourses offer also several synonymous terms for the *tathāgata*. Thus the *tathāgata* can be spoken of as *'Dhamma*-body' or as *'Brahmā*-body', in the sense that he has 'become the

Dhamma' and 'become Brahmā[17].' Not only has he become *Dhamma* and *Brahmā* (in the sense of becoming 'holy'), he also has 'become the eye' and 'become knowledge', since he is the giver of the deathless' and the 'lord of the *Dhamma*')[18]. The *tathāgata* is the 'king of the *Dhamma*) (*A.* I, 110: *dhammarāja*), and thus comparable to a 'lion' indeed (*A.* III, 122). A *tathāgata* in his teaching role is like a 'physician' (*M.* II, 260 *bhisakka*), he is the 'knower of the path' (*S.* III, 108: *maggakusala*) and 'one with vision who stands on the shore' (*It.* 115), being a true 'brahmin' and 'sage' (*A.* IV. 340).

Besides offering these synonyms, the Pāli discourses also give a set of five reasons why a *tathāgata* deserves to be so called. These five reasons, found in the *Loka Sutta* (*A.* II, 23 and *It.* 121), explain that the Buddha deserves to be called a *tathāgata* because:

1. he has fully comprehended the world, its arising and cessation,and is free from it
2. he has penetrative insight into whatever is seen, heard, experienced, cognized etc.
3. he speaks only what is true from the time of his awakening to his final *Nibbāna*
4. he acts in accordance with what he says and speaks in accordance with his action
5. he is supreme in the world.

The Pāli commentaries have built on these explanations of the term *tathāgata*, found in the *Loka Sutta*. In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (*DA.* 1, 59), *Buddhaghosa* offers altogether eight perspectives on the term *tathāgata*. The final four of his explanations correspond to the final four explanations given in the *Loka Sutta*, recurring moreover also in the *Pāsādika Sutta* (*D.*III, 135):

1. *Tathā āgato*, 'thus come', in the sense that the *tathāgata* has come the same way as previous Buddhas, by fulfilling the perfections (*pārami*) and developing the qualities leading to awakening (*bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*).

2. *Tathāgato*, 'thus gone', in the sense that the *tathāgata* went like previous Buddhas (by taking seven steps right after his birth and proclaiming to be chief in the world). Based on the same derivation the commentary also interprets *tathāgato* as 'gone truly' (*tataṃ gamanaṃ*), in the sense that his going was not false (*avitatha*), since he overcame the hindrances, developed the four *jhānas*, practised the insight contemplations and reached liberation.

3. *Tathālakkhaṇaṃ āgato*, 'arrived at the real characteristics [of phenomena]', representing his penetrative knowledge of the true nature of phenomena, such as the elements, the aggregates, the qualities leading to awakening (*bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*), the links of dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*) etc.

4. *Tathadhamme yāthāvato abhisambuddho*. 'fully awakened in accordance with the truth', a reference to the four noble truths, which the Buddha himself (at *S.* V. 430) qualified to be true (*tatha*) not false (*avithata*) and not otherwise (*anaññatha*).

5. *Tathadassitāya*. 'sees the truth', he knows and sees all aspects of experience in accordance with reality, (corresponding to the second quality in the *Loka Sutta, A.* II, 23).

6. *Tathavāditāya*. 'speeks the truth', corresponding to the third quality in the *Loka Sutta, A.* II, 24).

7. *Tathākāritāya*, 'acts [in accordance with] truth' (corresponding to the fourth quality in the *Loka Sutta, A.* II, 24).

8. *Abhibhavanaṭṭhena*, 'all conquering', in the sense of being supreme in the world (corresponding to the fifth quality in the *Loka Sutta, A.* II, 24).

In addition to incorporating the explanations provided in the *Loka Sutta*, *Buddhaghosa's* presentation highlights that the path and conduct of a *tathāgata* take place in full accordance with the path and conduct of previous *tathāgatas*. *Buddhaghosa's* explanations of the term *tathāgata* in particular bring out the nuance of truth (tatha). In fact *Buddhaghosa* continues after these eight explanations by taking up the same nuance again and explaining that the *tathāgata's* 'arrival at truth' *tathāya gato*, stands for his fourfold penetrative insight into the world by way of full understanding (*tīraṇapariññā*, abandoning its arising (*pahānapariññā*), realizing (*sacchikiriya*), its

cessation and developing the path. This additional gloss thereby takes up the first quality mentioned in the *Loka Sutta* (*A*. II, 23) and rounds off *Buddhaghosa's* presentation of the term.

To these explanations offered by *Buddhaghosa*, the commentator *Dhammapāla* adds another set of eight explanations (*UdA*. 133):

1. *Tathāya āgato*, 'arrived [in accordance with] a true [vow]', having made the vow to become a Buddha under Dīpaṅkara Buddha and renewed this vow under each of the subsequent Buddhas during the aeons of his development of the *Pāramis* as a *bodhisatta*.
2. *Tathāya gato*, 'gone [by way of] true' compassion for suffering beings.
3. *Tathāni āgato*, 'arrived at the truth' of the four noble paths on his own.
4. *Tathā gato*, 'gone in such a way', namely by taking birth, realizing awakening, declaring the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, and attaining the *Nibbāna* element without residue.
5. *Tathāvidho*, 'such like', like former Buddhas in regard to virtue, concentration, wisdom, liberation etc.
6. *Tathā pavattito*, 'proceeding thus' unimpeded, due to being endowed with supernormal power and knowledge.
7. *Tathehi agato*, 'not gone' to future rebirths through 'true' knowledge.
8. *Tathā gatabhāvena*, 'through the state of gone thus', highlighting the function of the *Dhamma* as the central means for *tathāgatas* and their disciples, related to the use of *tathāgata* as an adjective qualifying the *dhammā* at *Sn*. 237, a quite unique way of employing the term *tathāgata*.

Though the commentaries give considerable room to the idea of 'truth', the idea of 'thus gone' or 'thus come' in the term *tathāgata* continues to be the most prominent meaning of this epithet in later Buddhist traditions. The Chinese translators opted for the rendering 'thus come', *ru² lai²* in order to translate *tathāgata*, while the Tibetan rendering of the same term as *de bzhin gshegs pa* combines the two meanings 'thus come' and 'thus gone'.

In this way the epithet *tathāgata*, used by the Buddha to refer to himself from the beginning of his teaching career (*M*. I, 171) until his final *parinibbāna* (*D*. II. 155), eludes our attempts to assign to it a single and unambiguous meaning. This elusiveness of the term, however, possibly makes it an even more fitting epithet for the *tathāgata*, the fully liberated one, whose sublime nature defies worldly understanding. See also BUDDHA.

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Analayo

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1 Norman p. 154, comments that if... we assume that - *gata* is used in the same way as in *sugata* and *duggata*, then we can see that it [i.e *tathāgata*] means "(one who is) in that sort of (very good) way".

2 Chalmers p. 113 suggests still another derivation, explaining: tathāgata, in my opinion, is derived from the adjective *tathā* and *āgata*, and means "one who has come at the real truth"

3 Thomas p. 782 quotes *Sūyagada* I. 15. 20: *tathāgaya appaḍinnā cakkhū logass' anuttarā*, which he translates as the tathāgatas, who are free from undertakings, eyes of the world, supreme'

4 Hopkins p. 207 notes several instances where *tathāgata* means 'in such a state or condition', at times even referring to the condition of someone who is dead. He quotes from *Rāmāyaṇa* (R V, *13*, 28): *Rāmaṃ tathāgataṃ dṛṣṭvā*, 'if he sees Rāma dead', and the *Mahabhārata (MBh.* I, 125. 14): *yatra rājā tathāgatāḥ*, 'where the king (lay') dead'. Endo p. *363* n 7, following Nakamura, indicates that 'the term *tathāgata* is employed in the *Mahābhārata* XII, 146, 26 to mean "to have achieved a superb or wonderful state"'.

5 *S.* III 118: *ettha ca te Anurādha diṭṭhevadhamma saccato thetato tathāgato anupalabbhyamāno*.

6 Harvey p. 48 concludes: 'views on a Tathāgata after death .... are set aside because they contain misapprehensions as to what a Tathagata is (he is taken as an *atta* related to the *khandhas*)'.

7 E.g. *DA.* I. 118: *satto 'tathāgato'ti adhippeto, and NdA.* I, 193: *tathāgato' ti satto, 'arahan'ti eke*.

8 Cf. e.g. Endo pp 197-199 or Walleser pp 23-33

9 Chalmers p. 109 n 1 clarifies that the commentarial gloss does not affirm that 'all creatures are tathāgatas. Rather the position is that the Tathāgata is regarded, for the time being, from the general point of view of a creature.

10 *M.* I, 140, Trenckner, p. 542 comments that the term *Tathāgata* in this passage 'retains the original sense of "such a one" ... the other significations of *tathāgata* may have proceeded from texts like these'.

11 *A.* III, 148: *tathāgato ..... atthaññū dhammaññū mattaññū kālaññū parisaññū*.

12 *M.* I, 69, for a variation on this topic with only six out of the set of ten powers cf. *A.* III, 417.

13 *D.* III, 84: *tathāgatassa ... adhivacanaṃ dhammakayo iti pi, dhammabhūto itis pi, brahmabhūto iti pi*. Anesaki p. 203 explains that since 'the revealer of the Way must be at home in it..... therefore he is the Way itself'.

14 *M.* I, 111" *cakkubhūto ñāṇabhūto .... Amatassa dātā dhammasāmi tathāgato*

TATHĀGATA (2). The Mahāyāna Concept. From the Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit sources it can be gleaned that the Mahāyāna concept of *tathāgata* on the one hand is inspired by a notion of ancient Buddhism and, on the other, it represents a significant departure from what the designation *tathāgata* was originally taken to mean. Although various shades of proto- Mahāyāna teachings had already spread in the early *Śrāvakayāna* schools and the Mahāsāṅghikas cannot be considered as exclusively having ushered in the Great Vehicle, it was, nevertheless, the *Lokottaravādins*, forming a subschool of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*, who promulgated a Buddhology which can be regarded as linking the *Śrāvakayāna* concept of *tathāgata* with that of Mahāyāna proper. In the following, (a) a Buddhological *Śrāvakayāna* precondition for subsequent Buddhologies will be named, (b) the *Lokottaravādin* Buddhology and (c) the salient features of the fully-fledged Mahāyāna concept of *tathāgata* will be given.

(*a*) At *A.*II, p.38*f.*, the Buddha denies his becoming either a divine, human or any other being. His interlocutor is told to regard him as the Buddha who has overcome the world and is unaffected by it. See the close parallel at *S.*III, p. 140...*Tathāgato loke saṃvaḍḍho lokaṃ abhibhuyya viharati anupalitto lokenāti*, cited at *Kvu.* 18, 1. as an example of what an 'unorthodox school wrongly interpreted' and on account of which a kind of Buddhist docetism saw the light of day.

(*b*) From such canonical passages as cited by the *Kathāvatthu* it was concluded that the Buddha, born in the world, but not tainted by it, must be 'supramundane' or 'transcendent' (*lokottara*). Recently the *Lokānuvartanasūtra* has been made accessible (Harrison 1982), ascribed by Candrakīrti to the Pūrvaśailas, like the Lokottaravādins forming a subschool of the

Mahāsāṅghikas. It has been shown that the *Lokānuvartanasūtra* must be one of the sources for the *Mahāvastu* (Harrision 1982: 224); moreover, apart from its buddological section on the supramundane Buddhabody (for details see *BUDDHA KĀYA*), in its 'anti- ontology' section it clearly sets forth *śūnyavāda* in the making by insisting on the emptiness of all *dharmas* (Harrison 1982: 212). As the *sūtra* title partly indicates, 'The Discourse on [Being] in Conformity with the World' can be seen as implicitly teaching two levels of truth, viz. that of conventional *(vyavahāra)* and absolute *(paramārtha)* truth: *lokānuvartanā Buddhā anuvartanti laukikīm/ prajñaptim anuvartanti yathā lokottarām api //. (ibid.,* p.215). In view of the topics of this discourses, it is very likely that, in course of time, they developed into one of the hallmarks of the Mahāyāna concept of *tathāgata*, namely that of a Buddha's two/three kinds of bodies (for details See BUDDHA, BUDDHA-KĀYA, BUDDHOLOGY and TRIKĀYA).

(c) As for a significant departure from the *tathāgata* concept of ancient Buddhism, the passage at S.II, p.25, *vis-à-vis AsP* ., p. 512, seems a clear illustration: *uppādā vā tathāgatānaṃ anuppādā vā tathāgatānaṃ, ṭhitā va sā dhātu dhammaṭṭhitatā dhammaniyāmatā idappaccayatā* (for full details about this passage, including Sanskrit parallels, see Schmithausen 1969: 146*f.*): Irrespective of whether *tathāgatas* appear in the world or not, there obtains the cosmic law, the principle of causality. Whilst in this Pali passage *tathāgatas* as quasi- historical persons (and among them the historical Buddha) are unequivocally distinguished from the cosmic law, in Mahāyāna they are identified with it. Thus in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñā-pāramitā* (*loc. Cit.*) the *tathāgata* is identified with immovable suchness' or 'truth' (*tathatā*), with non- origination (*anutpāda*), the 'supreme truth' (*bhūtakoṭi*), emptiness (*śūnyatā*), reality in accordance with fact (*yathāvattā*)... and with the element of empty space (*ākāśadhātu*). As for *bhūtakoṭi*, Haribhadra (ed *U.* Wogihara, *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka of Haribhadra*, Tokyo, 1932-35) comments on this compound at *AsP*, p.215, by defining it as *dharmadhātu*, 'cosmic law' (see also Schmithausen 1969: 147). The identification of *tathāgata* with the element of empty space may appear inapposite, and the available commentaries just underline this identification. In this context, it seems, *ākāśadhātu* should be taken as a simile, meant to illustrates the fact that the space element pervades all corporeality and is, nonetheless, in its existence not dependent on *rūpa* (Schmithausen 1969 : 108). In other *prajñāpāramitā* works subsequent to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* empty space is indeed often employed as an *upamā*. Just as in the above-mentioned *ākāśa* simile unconditioned empty space (originally one of the *Sarvāstivādins' asaṃskṛtas*) can be considered symbolic of absolute truth and its pervading all corporeality as standing for conventional truth, similary the following two space similes may illustrate their being related to the notion of *satyadvaya*, a red thread running through the whole texture of Buddhist thought: (1) 'The perfection of wisdom is like space and is perfectly pure because of the nonproduction, nonstopping, nondefilement and nonpurification...' (Conze 1979: 307). (2)

'As in space, so in this vehicle (Great Vehicle) there is room for countless beings *(ibid.,* p. 182).' With reference to the intended purpose of these similes, a sriking definition of *tathāgata* should be quoted, found in Dignāga's opening verse of his *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha: Prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayaṃ sā tathāgataḥ* (ed. G.Tucci, *JRAS.*, 1947, p. 56).Here the space- like *tathāgata* is identified with the perfection of wisdom (in other texts perfection of wisdom is called the Mother of all *tathāgatas*) which is non-dual insight- knowledge gone beyond dichotomous mental proliferation concerning the two levels of truth.

In the development of early Mahāyāna and its concept of *tathāgata*, in agreement with the as yet implicit notion of *satyadvaya*, two main branches evolved, viz. the *Prajñāpāramitā* wisdom School, seminal both for Madhyamaka and Cittamātra thought, and the Buddhist *bhakti* movements with their cults of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. A good example of an attempted harmonization of the two strands of Mahāyāna is to be found in the

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, revered by many devotees as the acme of all Mahāyāna discourses. There are numerous passages in it suggesting the *tathāgata's* deification. The Buddha declares himself the 'father of the world', self-existent', the 'saviour and protector of all sentient beings' ('*haṃ lokapitā svayambhūḥ vicikitsakaḥ sarvaprajāya nātho* (*Sdmp*.,pp. 160,179). In reality, it says, he eternally abides on the Vulture Peak, teaching the *Dharma* for ever (*dharmañ ca deśemy ahu nityakālam* (*ibid*., pp. 159,177). His teaching method consists of his employing unsurpassed skill in means (*upāyakauśalya*, one of the key terms in Mahāyāna). Thus, in order to bring countless sentient beings to spiritual maturity, repeatedly he is born in the world, displaying his career until his Buddhahood and final *nirvāṇa* and thereby rekindling his contemporaries zeal for the *Dharma* (*nirvāṇabhūmim upadarśayāmi vinayārtha satvāna vadāmy upāyaṃ/ na cāpi nirvāmy ahu tasmi kāle*... (*ibid*., pp.159,178). The same discourse also contains passages, albeit comparatively few and far between, in the vein of the *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings such as, for instance: ' The *tathāgata* sees the triple world in accordance with fact: neither does it originate nor cease.... It is neither perpetuated nor extinguished, it is not real, not unreal, neither existent nor non-existent...' (*dṛṣṭaṃ hi tathāgatena traidhātukaṃ yathābhūtaṃ na jāyate na mriyate.. na saṃsarati na parinirvāti na bhūtaṃ nābhūtaṃ na santaṃ nāsantaṃ*... (*ibid*., pp.157,175).In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* the *tathāgata* is not expressly identified with ultimate truth or the perfection of wisdom; his deification as the ' eternal *tathāgata*' notwithstanding, may just provisionally represent a quasi- theistic development of popular Buddhism. As the latter quotation suggests, the concept of the 'eternal *tathāgata*' is a salvatory means and as such symbolizes, after all, the aforementioned cosmic order and ultimate reality.

With the systematization of early Mahāyāna thought the teaching of *satyadvaya* is explicitly set forth with the Mādhyamikas, and Nāgārjuna makes it clear that a proper understanding of the said two levels of truth and the correct practice and insight in accordance with them are prerequisite for the realization of *nirvāṇa* (*Mdhvṛ* XXIV, 9-10). In his main work Nāgārjuna examines the concept of *tathāgata* by means of his therapeutic dialectics and also with reference to the questions which the historical Buddha refused to answer (See AVYĀKATA).The concluding verses of Nāgārjuna's examination are a pointer to absolute truth: ' All those who discursively speak of the Buddha, imperishable and beyond all discursive words, who are led astray by such words, do not see the *tathāgata*. The *tathāgata's* own nature is also that of this world. The *tathāgata* is without a nature of his own, and so is this world (*Mdhvṛ* XXII, 15-16). In conformity with what Nāgārjuna says about *satyadvaya*, he does by no means neglect that indispensable aspect of the concept of *tathāgata*, pertaining to the level of conventional truth, which is already epitomized in the Pali canon by the appellation *mahā- kāruṇika nātha*, ' Saviour of Great Compassion'. Faithful to the dictum of ancient Buddhism, namely that devotion and wisdom should be in equilibrium, Nāgārjuna addresses hymns of praise to the *tathāgata*, for example in the *Lokātītastava*: *lokātīta names tubhyaṃ viviktajñānavedine/ yastvaṃ jagaddhitāyaiva khinnaḥ karuṇayā ciram//* ' O You who are beyond the world! Obeisance to you versed in the cognition of the void. Solely for the benefit of the world you have for long been exhausted by compassion' (Lindtner 1982: 128).

The second School of important systematisers of Mahāyāna is that of Cittamātra or Yogācāra. In the *nirvāṇa* section of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, forming part of the Yogācārabhūmi, there are passages containing the teaching that the *tathāgata*, inspite of his remaining in final *nirvāṇa*, simultaneously remains active in the world of sentient beings ((Schmithausen 1969: 37), or that he again rises from the state of final *nirvāṇa* for the welfare of sentient beings. For this kind of a *tathāgata's parinirvāṇa* the term *apratiṣṭhitaṃ nirvāṇam* was coined (*ibid*.,p.7). This teaching of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* resembles that of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* as sketched out above. Another Yogācāra concept that is related to the present topic is that of *tathāgatagarbha*, according to which the 'Buddha- nature' is inherent in every sentient being. Though originating in early Mahāyāna thought, the Yogācārins set great store by it, and in course of time the 'Buddha nature' teaching was to become one of the most influential in Buddhist history (for details See BUDDHA - NATURE AND TATHĀGATAGARBHA).

Finally, one more aspect of the concept of *tathāgata* should be mentioned which was particularly prevalent

among Buddhist Scholars, logicians and epistemologists, viz. the notion of the *tathāgata* as *pramāṇabhūta*, as 'the means of knowledge incarnate'. The meaning of this expression is that he whose concern is the welfare of the world, can only succeed in his teaching the means of realizing final emancipation if he himself has successfully put those means to the test and realized the ultimate goal. As the *tathāgata*, out of his infinite compassion, has achieved this, he is revered in the opening verse of *Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya* as *pramāṇabhūta* (See Vetter 1984: 39). In his explanation of the term, Dharmakīrti additionally says that the *tathāgata* is the ultimate authority also because his teaching is solely motivated by altruism and absolute selflessness (*ibid*., pp.52, 171*f*).

These are, in brief, the salient features of the Mahāyāna concept of *tathāgata*. All later Buddhological developments and ramifications both in exoteric and esoteric Buddhism (See, for instance, ĀDI-BUDDHA) are directly or indirectly based on them .

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Bhikkhu Pasādika.

TATHĀGATAGARBHA, "Embryo (figuratively as something in its very early stages) of the Tathāgata" denotes one of the most important Mahāyāna Buddhist teachings according to which the *tathāgatagarbha* as Buddha-nature is inherent in all sentient beings without exception.[1] In the *Tathāgatagarbha* literature all sentient beings are thus regarded as potential Buddhas and, irrespective of the level of existence at which they live, by means of appropriate spiritual practice, so it is taught, they will be able to realize Full and Complete Enlightenment and attain Buddhahood, i.e. become Tathāgatas. Now this *tathāgatagarbha* is characterized as permanent (*nitya*), unchangeable (*dhruva*), blissful (*sukha*), eternal (*śāśvata*) and in some places even as *ātman*.[2] As for Buddha-nature in the Theravadin context and the *tathāgatagarbha* of the Mahāyānists, with references to and quotations from seminal works on the "Embryo of the Tathāgata" and with special mention of the leading role of this doctrine in shaping East Asian Buddhist traditions including that of Chan or Zen, See BUDDHA-NATURE. Additionally, sketching out the development of the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine and adumbrating a hermeneutical problem pertaining to it may round off the treatment of the topic. In conclusion, from the standpoint of religious history / phaenomenology some remarks will be made on the "soteriological uniqueness" of the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine.

Through the occurrence of expressions like *prakṛtiprabhāsvaram cittan*, "mind being luminous by nature", or *tac cāgantukair upakleśair upakliśyate*, "it is defiled just by adventitious defile-ments",[3] in texts affiliated with the *Tathā-gatagarbha* literature the original source contributing to the formation of the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine can be named, viz. *A. I*, p. 10; here it is stated that the luminous mind is both defiled and cleansed of adventitious defilements. According to the Theravāda exegesis the "luminous mind or consciousness" refers to *bhavaṅga*,[4] i.e. the subconscious mind which, in passivity, is free from thought-processes; this *bhavaṅgacitta*, whenever interrupted in the course of sensory perception, in rapid succession is both "defiled and cleansed" of defilements. A later Theravādin exegete says that, strictly speaking and not in a literal sense, *bhavangacitta* is not defiled since the "luminous subconscious mind" and the adventitious defilements do not occur simultaneously but successively. In view

of the "consciousness continuity" (*eka-santati*), however, the figurative expression of "defilement" is employed.[5] Members of certain Śrāvakayāna schools such as the Andhakas believing in an originally and naturally luminous mind or consciousness maintained – not just figuratively – that this mind, being defiled by adventitious defilements, is cleansed of them. Furthermore, unlike the Sthaviravādins, so it can be concluded, the Andhakas in all likelihood did not teach that *prakṛtiprabhāsvaraṃ cittam* should be understood as a "karma-resultant state of consciousness", i.e. as something dependently arisen and as such guarding against mistaking the "luminous mind" for a kind of eternal *ātman* as posited in Brahmanism. At *Kvu.*, p. 238ff., it is pointed out that a mind, [still] defiled and being released, is a contradiction in terms since this would imply a release of both the defilements and mind (*sarāga cittaṃ vimuccati; rāgo ca cittaṃ ca ubho vimuccantiti? na h'evaṃ vattabbe*). One of several corollaries would be that a mind in need of being released cannot be an originally luminous, i.e. pure (*parisuddha*) mind other than *bhavaṅgacitta*. The Mahāsāṅghikas, of whom the Andhakas are said to be an offshoot, put forward the thesis that *prabhāsvaracitta* is eternally pure, and in addition they held that there is a "substratum or root-consciousness (*mūlavijñāna*),[6] evidently being the forerunner of the term *ālayavijñāna* (store consciousness) (See ĀLAYAVIJÑĀNA).

In one of the foremost Yogācāra treatises, the *Vijñāptimātratsiddhi*, first the Mahāsāṅghikas' *mūlavijñāna* is referred to and then the Theravādins' *bhavaṅga-viññāna* in order to serve Yogācāra purposes, viz. to demonstrate the existence of *ālayavijñāna*: "By *bhava* is meant the triple mode of existence (in the three Dhatus), by *aṅga* is meant cause (*hetu*). Only Ālaya, being eternal and universal..., can be 'the cause of the triple existence'." [7]

Among the scriptures that are authoritative for the "Embryo of the Tathāgata" doctrine the Mahayanist *Mahāparinirvānasūtra* should be mentioned, the *Śrimālāsūtra* and its associated *śāstra*, viz. the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. Wayman considers the *Śrimālasūtra* a composition of the Mahāsaṅghikas[8] and observes that both this discourse and the *Ratnagotravibhāga* are silent about the term *ālayavijñāna*. Notwithstanding this fact, a passage in the *Śrimālasūtra* substantially says what is conveyed by the *Vijñāptimātratāsiddhi* with reference to the Sthaviravādins' *bhavaṅgaviññāna*: "Lord, *saṃsāra* is based on the Tathāgatagarbha. It was with reference to the Tathāgatagarbha that the Lord pointed out and explained, '[It is] without limit in the past.' Since there is the Tathāgatagarbha, there is a reason for speaking of 'cyclical flow' (*saṃsāra*). Lord, as to 'cyclical flow', no sooner do the sense organs for perception pass away than it [the Tathāgatagarbha] takes hold of sense organs for perception, and that is 'cyclical flow'. Lord, the two natures, 'passing away' and 'rebirth', are conventional terminology for the Tathāgatagarbha. Lord, 'perished' and 'born' are conventional terminology for the world (*loka*). 'Perished' is the loss of the senses. 'Born' is the renewal of the senses. But, Lord, the Tathāgatagarbha is not born, does not die, does not pass away to be become reborn... The Tathāgatagarbha is permanent, steadfast, eternal. Therefore the Tathāgatagarbha is the support, the holder, the base of constructed [Buddha natures] that are nondiscrete, not dissociated..."[9]

It is in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* that the *tathāgatagarbha* is clearly identified with the *ālayavijñāna*: "Mahāmati, if you say that there is no Tathāgatagarbha known as Ālayavijñāna, there will be neither the rising nor the disappearance [of an external world of multiplicities] in the absence of the Tathāgata-garbha known as Ālayavijñāna. But, Mahāmati, there is the rising and disappearing of the ignorant as well as the holy ones..."[10]

In spite of the different wording and its being an excerpt from a text belonging to a different Buddhist school, the above quotation from the *Śrimālāsūtra* contains utterances more or less tallying with the Theravādins' definition of *bhavaṅgacitta*, being death-consciousness, consciousness functioning at rebirth, as the cause of existence and as the naturally luminous subconscious undercurrent continuing throughout life. In the *Śrimālāsūtra*, nevertheless, the ontologically positive term *tathāgata-garbha* is also referred to as "conventional terminology", reminiscent of the Theravadins' insisting on the the "defilement" of *pabhassaracitta* as being a "figurative expression" and on its basic luminosity as being something dependently arisen and thus conditioned. As for this sketch of the development of the "Embryo of the Tathāgata" doctrine, the conclusion can be drawn that the term *tathāgatagarbha* does not only convey the meaning

that all sentient beings are potential Tathāgatas; the term also stands for the substratum consciousness in all sentient beings, connoting a philosophical-cum-soteriological connection between immanence, "the Tathāgata when not free from the store of defilement" as *tathāgatagarbha*, and transcendence, viz. the "Tathāgata's *dharmakāya*",[11] figuratively designating absolute truth. This connection, in other words, constitutes the compatibility of the *tathāgatagarbha* with Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) (See ŚŪNYATĀ regarding the teaching of two levels of truth).

Concerning the "soteriological and metaphysical status of the *tathāgata-garbha* as a problem in exegesis and hermeneutics", a full-length study is due to Seyfort Ruegg.[12] As he shows, not only modern scholars have spoken of a patent parallelism between the "Embryo of the Tathāgata" and the Brahmanical *ātman*. Already in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* attention is drawn to the danger of equating the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine with the non-Buddhists' *ātmavāda*. The discourse leaves no doubt about the difference between the "Embryo of the Tathāgata" doctrine and that of the non-Buddhists' postulating a permanent and substantial universal Self[13] even though the same text also employs the term *ātman*[14] in the very context in which the above-mentioned expression *tathāgatagarbha-ālayavijñāna* occurs (See n. 10). Similarly, in the *Śrimālāsūtra* it is stated that the "Dharmakāya of the Tathāgata has the perfection... of self"[15] and, furthermore, in this discourse it also says, "Lord, the Tathāgatagarbha is neither self nor sentient being, nor soul, nor personality. The Tathāgatagarbha is not the domain of beings who fall into the belief in a real personality..."[16] It seems evident that when both Buddhists and Brahmanical authors use the term *ātman*, they do not mean the same thing. The Mahāyānist ontologically positive term is an epithet of expressions like *tathāgatagarbha* whereas the Brahmanical *ātman* as an unchangeable substantial entity is not subscribed to by the Buddhists. In this connection Seyfort Ruegg, drawing on the Tibetan version of the Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* translated from the Chinese, quotes from the text as follows: "What is called 'self' is the *tathāgata*... the *tathāgata* is permanent, blissful, self, very pure, empty and without marks... I have not said that no self exists in all living beings. If I have always said that the Buddha-nature (*saṅs rgyas kyi raṅ bźin*) exits in all living beings, is this very Buddha-nature then not self? Thus I do not teach a nihilistic theory..."[17] The same discourse, nonetheless, continues: "This Buddha-nature is not in reality *ātman*, and it is for the sake of sentient beings that a self is spoken of... it is to be known that the Buddha-nature is the Middle Way... altogether free from the two extremes... Non-duality is reality: by nature self and non-self are without duality (*gñis su med pa*). The Lord Buddha has thus affirmed that the meaning of the *tathāgatagarbha* is unfathomable."[18]

Faced with the obvious parallels between the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine and the Brahmanical *ātmavāda*, the Buddhists availed themselves of two hermeneutical possibilities, as Seyfort Ruegg explains,[19] permitting them to remain faithful to their basic principles of non-substantiality (*nairātmya*) of the individual (*pudgala*). The first possibility to solve the said hermeneutical problem offered itself in the teaching that part of the scriptural utterances have "meanings that are not clearly established and require explication and interpretation" (*neyārtha*). Regarding the "Embryo of the Tathāgata", there are examples in Mahāyāna texts illustrating the purpose of the term *neyārtha* where it is declared, for instance, that the *ātman*-like spiritual principle is set forth as a salvatory means (*upāya*) in order to help indolent persons or non-Buddhists to fascilitate their understanding and appreciating the central Buddhist teachings. In the *Laṅkvatāra*, for example, the Buddha answers the question as to how the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine differs from the Brahmanical *ātmavāda* as follows: "The dogma of a Self, Mahāmati, posited by the philosophers is not the same as my teaching of the Essence of the Tathāgata; for the Tathāgatas teach this Essence in the sense, Mahāmati, that it is emptiness, ultimate reality, Nirvāna, non-origination, signlessness, wishlessness, etc. The Tathāgatas... teach, by means of the Essence of the Tathāgata, the state of being free from false discrimination and appearances so as to [make] the ignorant cast aside their fear [when they hear] about non-self... the Tathāgatas teach this doctrine of the *tathāgatagarbha* with a view to attracting those philosophers who are given to the dogma of a Self..."[20] As for the second hermeneutical possibility to cope with the problem raised by the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, such passages in *sūtras* and *śāstras* should be referred to in which ontologically positive terms, as mentioned, are in fact to be understood as terms of "definite, well-established

meaning (*nītārtha*) in the sense of an assimilation of the *tathāgatagarbha* with *śūnyatā* or of the former being a restatement of the latter.[31] In this context positive terms such as "permanent", "blissful" or "self" are not to be regarded as pertaining to some kind of "permanent substantial entity", but rather as pointing to *paramārtha*, to the level of absolute truth so as to distinguish this level from that of *saṃvṛti* of the conventional, properly characterized as impermanent, full of suffering, etc.

Finally, a brief answer may be attempted as to why the "Embryo of the Tathāgata" doctrine became such an outstanding and soteriologically unique teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Throughout the history of Buddhism there have always been tendencies towards division in terms of development of so many schools, systems of thought, etc. Complementary to such tendencies there has been the concomitant quest for unity for instance by means of creating a corpus of juridical texts regulating the communal life of the Buddhist orders. Similarly, in due course the Mahāyānist theory of three distinct Vehicles of the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and Bodhisattvas was reconciled with that of the *ekayāna*, of the One or Unique Vehicle. The *ekayāna* theory, according to which all vehicles eventually unite in a single course leading to Buddhahood, perfectly matches up with that of the *tathāgatagarbha*. So like the *ekayāna* theory the promulgation of the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine could also be seen as a quest for unity and harmony, thus serving as a possible explanation of the great store set by that teaching. Moreover, in the above citation from the *Laṅkvatāra* in which the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine is made use of as a "salvatory means", can be found applied educational psychology for the sake of propagating Buddhist teachings. And one more aspect of this doctrine is a pedagogical device of great moment. Unlike many gradualist Bodhisattvayāna texts teaching that only after an incalculably long time of Bodhisattva practice a Bodhisattva can realize Buddhahood in the remotest future, the teaching of the "Embryo of the Tathāgata" that all living beings are potential Buddhas, proves an immense encouragement to study and practise the Dharma with great optimism. An additional subtle aspect of applied educational psychology is the teaching that those who have faith in the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine as one of the supreme teachings of Mahāyāna, should be regarded as being possessed of highly developed or of the sharpest spiritual faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*). From this it follows that those who are *tīkṣnendriyo*, have all potentialities, thanks to their inherent Buddha-nature, to become fully and completely awakened spontaneously "here and now".[32]

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References

1. See E.H. Johnston (ed.), *The Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, Patna, 1950, p. 25f.: *sarvasattvās tathāgatagarbha iti* (lit.:'all sentient beings are possessed of the tathāgata') (quotation from the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*). See also Michael Zimmermann, *A Buddha Within: The Tathāgatagarbhastra*.
The Earliest Exposition of the Buddha-Nature Teaching in India (annotated English translation, edition of Tibetan and Chinese recensions). Soka University Publication. Tokyo, 2002, pp. 39, 43, 105f., 115.
2. See, for example, Alex and Hideko Wayman (transl.), *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā*. A Buddhist Scripture on the Tathāgatagarbha Theory. New York and London, 1974, p. 102; see also below, n. 11.
3. See, for instance, Matsunami Yoshihiro *et al.* (eds.), *Jñānalokālaṃkāra*. Transliterated Sanskrit Text
Collated with Tibetan and Chinese Translations (from the Sanskrit MS newly found at the Potala Palace, Lhasa). Tokyo, 2004, p. 86.
4. See *AA. I*, p. 60; *DhsA.*, p. 140; *KvuA.*, p. 193; for details see BHAVAṄGA. For further passages in the Pali canon in which the luminous mind is related to the development of a concentrated state of mind 'free from defilements and ready for realization' see Anālayo, *Satipaṭṭhāna. The Direct Path to Realization*. Birmingham, 2003, p. 191f., n. 19.
5. See Nyanatiloka (transl.), *Die Lehrreden des Buddha aus der Angereihten Sammlung (A. I)*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 51f., n. 21.
6. See André Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, Paris, 1955, pp. 68, 72.

7. See Wei Tat (ed., transl.), *Ch'eng Wei-shih Lun. The Doctrine of Mere-Consciousness* (edition of Hsüan Tsang's Chinese rendering and English transl.). Hong Kong, 1973, p. 199.
8. See Wayman 1974, p. XI and *passim*.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 104f.
10. See Daisetz T. Suzuki (transl.), *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, London, 1932, p. 192; Bunyiu Nanjio (ed.), *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, Kyoto, 1923, p. 222: *yadi hi Mahāmate ālayavijñānasaṃśabditas tathāgatagarbho 'tra na syād ity asati... tathāgatagarbha ālayavijñānasaṃśabdite na pravṛttir nivṛttiḥ syāt/ bhavati ca...*
11. See Wayman 1974, p. 98, n. 83, citing the Sanskrit original preserved in the *Ratnagoravibhāga* (Johnston 1950, p. 12) as a quotation from the *Śrimālāsūtra* : *ayam eva ca bhagavaṃs tath āgatadharmakāyo 'vinirmuktakleśako śas tathagatagarbhah sucyate*.
12. See David Seyfort Ruegg, *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective.*
On the Transmission and Reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet. London, 1989, p. 19ff.
13. See Nanjio 1923, p. 77-9.
14. *Ibid.* , p. 220.
15. See above, n. 2.
16. See Wayman 1974, p. 106.
17. See Seyfort Ruegg 1989, p. 22f.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 23f.
19. *Ibid.* , p. 26ff.
20. See Nanjio 1923, p. 78f.: *na hi Mahāmate tirthakarātmavādatulyo mama tathāgatagarbhopadeaḥ... tirthakarāṇaṃ ākarṣaṇārthaṃ tathāgatagarbhopade śena nirdiśanti.* English transl. in Bh. Pāsādika, "The Concept of Education in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism", in: *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* Vol. 4 (2003), p. 72.
21. See, e.g., the above *Śrimālāsūtra* passages quoted from Wayman 1974, pp. 102, 106 (n. 15, 16 above).
22. See Pāsādika 2003, *ibid.*

TATHĀGATAGUHYAKA ("Tathāgata-mystery") is another title of the *Guhyasamājatantra* whose oldest parts perhaps date back to the 5th century of the common era. This text is regarded as one of the earliest Tantric works and also ranks among the foremost of that genre. The Sanskrit original has been preserved and its Tibetan translation – together with many commentaries on this discourse – is listed in *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, Peking Edition, Catalogue and Index (Otani University, Kyoto), vols. 59, 60 (Rgyud-hgrel), nos. 2648, 2649. In the Taisho edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon the *Guhyasamja-tantra* or *Tathāgataguhyaka* figures in the Tantra Section, Vol. XVIII, no. 885 (See TATHĀGATA-MAṆḌALA).

The Tantric *Tathāgataguhya-ka* should not be confused with the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* which is listed in the Taisho edition (Vol. XI, no. 312) and in the Otani catalogue of the Peking edition (Vol. 22, no. 760 (3)). This latter discourse, also known as *Ārya-tathāgata-acintya-guhya-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyna-sūtra*, belongs to the Ratnakūṭha Section of the Mahāyāna / Bodhisattvayāna corpus its Sanskrit original has not come down to us apart from a number of quotations in Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* and in Śāntideva's *Śiks.ȯsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāratra*.

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TATHĀGATAMAṆḌALA, lit. "circular array of Tathāgatas", is one of the key features of Tāntric Buddhism. A *maṇḍala* ("circle, circumference, territory, totality")[1] comprizes geometrically constructed psycho-cosmic arrangements which represent in Tāntric Buddhism or Vajrayāna "spheres of existence" of what in popular thought are invokable and placatable deities and, soteriologically speaking, manifestations of the Tathāgatas' wisdom-cum-compassion. *Maṇḍalas* are psycho-cosmograms used by meditators in quest of supramundane experience and realization.

There are five Tathāgatas in number who, in particular, figure in the *Guhyasamājatantra*[2] and in the *Bar do'i thos grol*, the so-called "Tibetan Book of the Dead".[3] At the beginning of the 19th century in Nepal, as recorded in Western Buddhological works, the five Tathāgatas, Jinas or Buddhas are designated *Dhyānibuddhas* ("Meditation Buddhas") (a name not

to be found in the original texts, though) in contradistinction to the "human Buddhas" which according to the same Nepalese tradition are called *Mānuṣībuddhas*.

The five Tathāgatas, endowed with their *sambhogakāya* ("body of delight") as objects of devotion and meditation and together with their cosmic location, are: Vairocana (the Resplendent One) at the zenith, Akṣobhya (the Unshakable One) in the east, Ratnasambhava (Mine of Jewels)/ Ratnaketu in the south, Amitābha (Infinite Light) / Lokeśvara in the west and Amoghasiddhi (Infallible Accomplish-ment) / Amoghavajra in the north. In terms of microcosmic phenomena they also, respectively, correspond to the five aggregates (*skandha*) and elements (*dhātu*): Vairocana to material form and space, Akṣobhya to consciousness and wind, Ratnasambhava to feeling and fire, Amitābha to perception and water, Amoghasiddhi to mental formations and earth. However, the attribution of the cardinal points and elements to them is not always uniform. According to the Vajrayāna, the five Tathāgatas are emanations of primordial consciousness, embodied by Mahāvairocana, by Vajradhara, Vajrasattva or by Akṣobhya. Another embodiment of primordial consciousness dating back to the 9th century is the Ādi-Buddha (s.v. ĀDI-BUDDHA), the mystical "creator" of the five Tathāgatas and personification of the *dharmakāya* ("body of the law, of absolute truth"), standing for the principle of Buddhahood and the origin of all that exists.[4] Since the philosophical basis of the Diamond Vehicle are the Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda (Yogācāra), it seems reasonable that Akṣobhya, psycho-cosmically corresponding to consciousness, often takes the place of the Ādi-Buddha, being consciousness as the root cause of all facts or phenomena in accordance with Vijñānavāda doctrine and to the effect that all that exists in the world is "consciousness only".

Furthermore, to each of the five Tathāgatas correspond the "human Buddhas" (*nirmāṇakāya*), viz. Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa, Śākyamuni and Maitreya respectively, and again to each of them colours, positions of the fingers (*mudrā*), mystical syllables as essential parts of *mantras* (*bīja*) and mounts (*vāhana*) are ascribed. Apart from being localized in their cosmic areas, for the adept meditator the five Tathāgatas also "inhabit" five parts of the body, of the microcosmos matching up with the macrocosmos. The parts respectively are the head, heart, navel, mouth and the legs. The outside world, so to speak, is projected into the world within: The five Tathāgatas are no longer *sambhogakāya* divinities residing in far-away cosmic regions or Buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*); they manifest themselves in the meditator who, as it were, becomes the *maṇḍala* itself; now it is the meditator who is the cosmos and in whom the Buddhas abide. According to Tāntric Buddhism in man the cosmic light of blissful non-dual gnosis is mysteriously present even though it is obscured by defilements.[5] As mentioned, for the adept the five Tathāgatas are present in him or her in the form of the aggregates and elements. It is not at all the case that such statements are just examples of Vajrayāna speculation as hinted at by some authors; for, interestingly, the five Tathāgatas are also associated with five mental defilements, viz. Vairocana with delusion (*moha*), Akṣobhya with wrath (*krodha*), Ratnasambhava with conceit (*abhimāna*), Amitābha with greed (*lobha*) and Amoghasiddhi with jealousy (*irṣyā*). In spite of the extremely complex exegetical Vajrayāna literature displaying very little textual unity, as regards Tantric practice a fourfold classification can be given, viz. ritual action (*kriyā*), behavioural practice (*caryā*), meditation (*yoga*) and unsurpassed meditation (*anuttarayogatantra*). Tantric practice (*sādhana*, lit. "performance, act of mastering"), briefly, consists of ritual veneration of the Tathgatas / deities and of eventually ritually merging into the deities by means of highly developed techniques of visualization and auto-suggestion, comprehensively and radically applied. From these practices salvatory powers are expected and, finally, the realization of the true diamond-like nature of absolute truth, of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), as the bright light of blissful non-dual gnosis. For the meditator's reaching this ultimate goal five Bodhisattvas are assigned to the five Tāthāgatas – Samantabhadra to Vairocana, Vajrapāni to Akṣobhya, Ratnapāni to Ratnasambhava, Avalokiteśvara to Amitābha and Viśvapāni to Amoghasiddhi – who have vowed to assist all sentient beings in their efforts to overcome suffering and delusion. Moreover, as symbolic expression of man's being in the grip of dichotomizing conceptualization, each of the five Tathāgatas is iconographically represented as being accompanied by a female partner, the best-known among whom is Tārā. The iconographic technical term for these partners as goddesses sexually united with

the five Tathāgatas is the Tibetan expression *yab yum*,[6] literally "father-mother", symbolizing the cessation of all dualistic polarity, the merging of the opposites of "means" (*upāya*) and "wisdom" (*prajñā*). The male deity stands for the aspect of "means" whilst the embodiment of "wisdom" is his female partner. *Yab yum* representations symbolize the final goal of Vajrayāna soteriology: the restoration of primeval unity, the realization of primordial consciousness together with *mahāsukha*, "great bliss".

Lastly, the five Tathāgatas associated with five mental defilements, as said, should be reverted to in connection with *anuttarayogatantra*, "unsurpassed meditation", also referred to as *rdzogs chen* (*mahāsampanna*), "great accomplish-ment", or *mahāmudrā*, "great seal", in a somewhat different context. The ascription of five mental defilements to each of the five Tathāgatas, themselves considered heads and emanators of whole families of deities related to them in terms of common character traits, points to the method of natural emancipation or auto-liberation taught, for instance, by *rdzogs chen* masters. According to them ritual action, visualizations, auto-suggestion etc. are superseded by what they call *ran grol* (*svamukti*), "auto-liberation".[7] According to the yogic methodology of *rdzogs chen*, all dichotomizing thoughts, emotions – mental defilements which are affiliated to the five Tathāgatas and who, on their part, are emanations of the Ādi-Buddha, the embodiment of primordial wisdom, dissolve in the light of perfect awareness (*rig pa, samvid*) when the meditator contemplates them as meditation objects. Here we have a remarkable resemblance to aspects of *Satipaṭṭhāna-Vipassanā* meditation as promulgated by modern Theravādin masters who teach meditators continuously to be mindful, fully aware of or to "notice" bodily, emotional, mental and *dharmically* perceptive phenomena.[8]

"Perceptive" here refers to the ability to see or understand things or the being connected with seeing or understanding; "*dharmic*" signifies "belonging to categories of the Buddha's teachings". As for certain striking similarities between *Satipaṭṭhāna-Vipassanā* meditation and *anuttarayogatantra* with quotations from both the canonical Pali literature and Indic Tantric works, See Bh. Pasadika, "Zur Entfaltung vollkommener Bewusstheit (*smṛtyupasthāna*) in Theravāda und Vajrayāna", in: Christian Scharfetter & Christian Rätsch (eds.), *Welten des Bewusstseins, Religion – Mystik – Schamanismus* (Worlds of Consciousness, Vol. 9), European College for the Study of Consciousness, Berlin, 1998, pp. 45-60.

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References

1. As for the meanings of "territory (sphere)" and "totality", the Sanskrit *kṛtsnāyatana* suggests itself, *kasināyatana* in Pali. In Pali literature in many places *kasinas* as objects of meditation are listed, e.g. at *A.* V, pp. 46 f., 60. In the *PTS* Pali-English Dictionary, s.v. *kasina*, stone *maṇḍalas* are mentioned that have been found at Anuradhapura and in whose divisions samples of *kasinas* were put.
2. See S. Bagchi (ed.), *Sri-Guhyasamājatantram*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 9, Darbhanga, 1965, p. 8ff., and Alex Wayman's in-depth study *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, Delhi, 1977. See also Peter Gäng (transl.), *Das Tantra der Verborgenen Vereinigung* (complete transl. of the *Guhyasamājatantra*), Munich, 1988.
Two further publications relevant to the present subject should be mentioned: a) Giuseppe Tucci, *Theorie et pratique du Maṇḍala*, Paris, 1974, p. 56ff. (Symbolisme du maṇḍala et ses parties constituantes); b) Louis Renou, Jean Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, Tome II, Paris, 1953, reimpr. 2000, p. 586ff. (Les doctrines du Mahāyāna tardif et des Tantra).
3. See Kalsang Lhundup (ed.), *Bar do'i thos grol*, Varanasi, 1969, p. 17 ff., and for an English transl. see W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, Oxford, New York, 1960, p. 105ff.
4. For a Yogācāra interpretation of the Theravādin *bhavanga* in the present context See TATHĀGATAGARBHA.
5. For similar teachings regarding the "Embryo of the Tathāgata" see TATHĀGATAGARBHA.
6. Rendering the Sanskrit *pitṛmātṛ* or *yuganaddha*, "coupled, coupling". Cf. *yuganaddha* in Pali with reference to *samatha-vipassanā*, "tranquillity and insight" at *A.* II, p. 157.
7. See Philippe Cornu (transl.), *Longchenpa, La liberte naturelle de l'esprit* (French transl. of Longchen Rabjampa's *Ran grol skor gsum*), Paris, 1994, pp. 141, 175ff.

TATHATĀ, "suchness", "thusness" or "reality", is a soteriological term employed in all the three main Buddhist traditions, viz. in early Buddhism, Mahāyāna and in the Diamond Vehicle. In Pali literature, avowedly *tathatā* rarely occurs in comparison with its frequency in Mahāyāna scriptures. The context, however, in which "suchness" is found in the Pali texts, shows that, also in this literature it is a term of great importance. Thus at *S.* II, p. 26, it says: "So, bhikkhus, that herein which is reality, not unreality, not otherness specific conditionality: that is called dependent origination",[1] and in *SA* *tathatā* is explained thus: "Because particular states are produced by particular conditions, neither less nor more, it is called 'reality' (suchness).[2]

The importance of the term *tathatā* in early Buddhism is also underlined in a Sanskrit passage that has come down to us in the *Saṃyuktāgama*, being a parallel to the above *S.* quotation discovered in Central Asia. The corresponding *Āgama* text, though, has *dharmayathātathā* (perhaps for *dharmayathātathatā*), "*dharma*-suchness", preceded by *dharmatā*, in this context "cosmic law", *dharmasthititā*, "continuity of cosmic law", *dharmaniyāmatā*, "invariability of cosmic law", all describing dependent origination.[3]

The soteriological import of "suchness" in early Buddhism can be summarized as follows: *tathatā* as a synonym for dependent origination being the cosmic law, continuous and invariable, underpins the core teaching of non-self/non-substantiality (*anatta*/*nairātmya*), the gist and acme of Buddhist soteriology upon which all subsequent Buddhist philosophical and soteriological systems are based.

As the central notion of the Great Vehicle- and also of the Vajrayāna which is grounded in the philosophical systems of the former- "suchness" refers to the absolute, the true nature of all phenomena or facts. In Mahāyāna literature *tathatā* is usually explained as being beyond the scope of diversification (*prapañca*) or thought-constructions (*vikalpa*), inconceivable (*acintya*)[4] and ineffable (*anabhilāpya*). "Suchness" is unmade, empty of a self nature, viz. non-substantial (*niḥsvabhāva*), to be realized through non-dual gnosis (*advayajñāna*). As for "suchness" being the first of a set of notions including non-origination, supreme truth, emptiness,..... which the *tathāgata* is identified with, See TATHĀGATA (2).

Regarding undifferentiated *tathatā* being equated with Buddha-nature / *tathāgatagarbha* as "the immutable and invisible state hidden in things" and fittingly compared to the diamond in Tantric Buddhism, and as for "Suchness" being synonymous with ontologically positive terms such as *buddhatā*, *dharmadhātu*, *dharmakāya* or *buddhasvabhāva*, See BUDDHA-NATURE. In the context of the *trikāya* teaching regarding *tathatā* as *dharmakāya* and as for an additional differentiation between *tathatā* as the absolute and *tathāgata* as the personalized aspect of the absolute and on *tathatā* as *prajñākāya* "taken as the matrix from which the Tathāgatas spring", See BUDDHOLOGY.

Bhikkhu Pasādika

References

1. *Iti kho bhikkhave yā tatra tathatā avitathatā anaññathatā idappaccayatā /ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave paṭiccasamuppādo/* Buddhaghosa cites and comments on this passage in the *Paññābhūminiddesa*, chapter 17, of *Vism.* See Bh. Rewatadhamma (ed.) *Visuddhimaggo with Paramatthamanjusāṭikā*, Vol. III, Varanasi, 1972, p. 1174 ff. For the English transl. see Bh. Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, Colombo, 1956, p. 593.

2. See Nāṇamoli 1956, ibid.; Rewatadhamma 1972, *ibid.; so panāyamtehi tehi paccayehi anūnādhikeheva tassa tassa dhamassa sambhavatotathatā ti/* The wording of this passage in *Vism.* is identical with that of *SA.*; See *Sāratthappakāsini* II (Dhammagiri-Pali Ganthamālā), Igatpuri, 1994, p. 36f.

3. See Chandrabhai Tripathi (ed.) *Funfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta*. Sanskrit texte *aus den Turfanfundent* VIII. Berlin, 1962, p. 149 (14.6): *(i)t (i) yatra dharmatā dharmayathātathā... ayaṃ ucyate pratityasamutpadāh* / The same *Āgama* passage is also quoted in an abridged form in *AbhKbh*. Unfortunately Vasubandhu omits *dharmayathātathā* or rather *dharmayathātathatā*. See Prahlad Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakoṣabhaśyaṃ*, Patna, 1975, p. 137, 9-10.

4 See David Seyfort Ruegg, *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective. On the* Transmission and Reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet. London, 1989, p. 162 where it says with reference to *Ratgot*, p. 21f. (I, 25):".... The fact that stained Thusness (*samala tathatā*) is simultaneously and at once (*yugapad ekakalam-cig car dus gcig*) both [naturally] pure (*visuddha*) and [adventitiously]Affected (*samklista*), is to be regarded as an inconceivable matter (*acintyasthana*), as is declared in the *Srimāladevisiṃhanādasūtra*. And the further fact that stainless Thusness (*nirmalatathatā*) is un-Affected by previous stains (*purvamalasamklista*), even though it is later purified (*pascād visuddha*), is also an inconceivable matter. Hence it is declared in the *Dharanisvararājasutra* that Mind (*citta*) is by nature luminous (*prakṛtiprabhāsvara*), and is knowledge 'just so' (*tathaiva jñānam = de kho na bzin ses so*). As a consequence, it is also stated that Perfect Awakening (*samyaksambodhi*) is awakened to (*abhisambuddha*) in virtue of that understanding which is endowed with the characteristic of being a single -moment one (*ekakṣanalakṣanasamāyukta prajñā*)...." With respect to Mind's natural luminosity See also TATHĀGATAGARBHA.

TEA CEREMONY (1) (*Cha-no-yu, Sadō, or Chadō*) A structured method of preparing tea, often pursued in sober earnest. Although the custom of drinking tea originated in T'ang dynasty (618-907) China probably as medicine or as a stimulant during a long spell of meditation practice in Dh'an (Zen) Buddhism, the present form of tea ceremony was innovated in Japan. Tea ceremony is the culmination of artistic creativity, sensitivity to an appreciation of nature, religious thought, and social interchange. Like Zen, it aims at simplification.

With the direct cultural and political interaction with China officially initiated by Prince Shōtoku (574-622), Japan came under heavy influence of Chinese culture. Along with several schools of Buddhist Thought from China, tea was introduced to Japan during the Nara period (710-794). The wider propagation of tea however is usually ascribed to Eisai (1141-1211), the founder of the Rinzai Zen School of Buddhism in Japan, who brought tea seeds from China for cultivation in a monastery. Despite the fact that Eisai was quite aware of some medicinal qualities of tea and its usefulness for a variety of diseases and in fact wrote a book on tea which he presented to a *samurai* lord, he does not seem to have emphasized the aesthetic value of tea ceremony, the practice of which had been there in China for a long time in monasteries as a form of entertaining visitors. The Zen monk who brought the ritual of drinking tea to Japan was Dai-ō (1236-1308), and after him several monks became masters of the art. The name usually associated with the lineage of the art of tea is Ikkyū (1394-1481), the noted abbot of Daitokuji temple and the teacher of Murata Shukō (1422-1502) whose artistic genius developed the art to the Japanese taste. Shukō is thus regarded as the originator of the Japanese form of tea ceremony. Subsequently Zen masters like Takeno Jō-ō (1504-55) and especially Sen no Rikyū (1521-1591), a descendant of a merchant family of Sakai, Osaka, further enriched the qualities of tea ceremony to meet the Japanese taste. Sen no Rikyū, who brought the art of tea ceremony comparable with its present form, became a model for future generations to emulate.

As the ritual of drinking tea was instituted by monks of Ch'an Buddhism in China, the tea ceremony from its inception became intimately connected with Zen Buddhism in Japan as well. Zen masters like Eisai, Dōgen (1200-1253) (the founder of the Sōtō Zen School) who took with him the potter Tōshirō to China to learn Sung dynasty (960-1279) ceramics, and Eizon whose mission made tea drinking a widespread custom in Japan –all of them helped bring about a success of Zen Buddhism in Japan. Since the Muromachi period (1333-1568) witnessed further popularization of tea. Since the days of Sen no Rikyū in Japan, the tearoom has been more or less fixed having a sunken hearth, an alcove (*tokonoma*), a vase of flowers, a scroll of Zen calligraphy, etc. in a small *tatami* matted room- all set in an austere garden surrounding it. All these objects adorning the tearoom became themselves the subjects of artistic pursuit. For instance, the art of arranging flowers (*ikebana*) is an expansion of "a vase of flowers", the Zen calligraphy, the landscaping around the tearoom which is commonly known as Zen garden, etc.

D.T. Suzuki, a pioneer and powerful exponent of Zen Buddhism in the West, summarizes what the tea ceremony tries to achieve as follows:1). harmony (*wa*); 2). reverence (*kei*); 3). purity (*sei*); and 4). tranquility (*jaku*). Harmony signifies gentleness of mind, the mind that gently responds to every bit of the surroundings under which the making of tea is conducted, objects adorning the tearoom, gentle breeze brushing one's face – all conducive to a meditative mood. '*Wa*' (harmony), generally speaking, occupies an important place in Japanese culture. Internally it is harmony within oneself, and externally it is harmony with nature. Conflict arises from the non-recognition of others in society. In order to overcome this egocentric interpretation of the world, the teahouse is equipped with an entrance not so tall so that the guests have to bend to enter it. This signifies that one must be humble and that in the art of drinking tea one's social background or status has no role to play; all are equal with each other. 'Reverence' is originally a religious feeling. It is sincerity or simplicity of heart. 'Purity' signifies the purity of six senses; purity from all sorts of mental defilement or contamination. 'Tranquility' is a contemplative mood. Rikyū is reported to have once said that the art of *cha-no-yu* consists in nothing else but in boiling water, making tea, and sipping it.

Sen no-Rikyū's tradition was passed to his grandson Sōtan (1578-1658), and his three sons finally began schools of their own: Sōshitsu (1622-97) founded Ura Senke, Sōsa (1619-72) Omote Senke, and Sōshu (1593-1675) Nushanokōji Senke. The first two are the leading schools in Japan today. Ura Senke represents the commoners' tea while Omote Senke the aristocrat's tea. They are popular with million of followers today.

Toshiichi Endo

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2. Palmer, Allan" "Tea Ceremony", *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol. 7, Kodansha, Tokyo, 1983, pp. 360-365.

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TEA CEREMONY (2) (*Cha-no-yu*: 'The way of tea'), is a method of preparing and serving tea in a ceremonial and aesthetic way. It has its origins in China, where it developed into a ritual under the influence of *chan* Buddhist practices. It was subsequently introduced into Japan and with the rising popularity of Zen Buddhism it evolved as a highly structured process of serving powdered tea (*matcha*) in a ceremonial and artistic way. According to Zen Buddhism, tea ceremony contributes to develop a sense of inner tranquility and the ideal frame of mind towards nature and man. Its culmination point is epitomized as inner harmony, reverence, purity and tranquility of mind. "Thus, the traditional Japanese art of serving tea is aimed at attaining enlightenment through mental composure as well as acquiring elegant manners and etiquette" (ed. Momoo Yamaguchi and Setsuko Kojima, *A Cultural Dictionary of Japan*, 1985, s.v. Cha-no-yu).

History: The origin of tea is traced back to China, where it was regarded as an exceedingly beneficial medicine. The oldest source book on tea is called *Chajing*, written by Li Yu during the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.C.) . It describes drinking tea as a ritual practised in Chinese Buddhist monasteries during that period. Bodhidharma, who introduced Chan (Zen) Buddhism to China in 500 A.C., is credited to have propagated the tea drinking habit as it promotes alertness during meditation. In the Tang Buddhist temples a tea ritual was performed using a set of bronze utensils, including a brazier, with a wood fire, a kettle , a water jug, etc. These objects were arranged in such a manner to represent earth (*jiita*) and heaven (*ten'ita*).

Tea Ceremony in Japan: The early written records describe that tea was introduced to Japan by Japanese Buddhist monks who visited China. During the Nara period (710- 94 A.C.), the Chinese culture exerted a great influence over Japan and it paved the way for introducing tea alongside Buddhism into that country. It is recorded that tea had been served to one hundred monks by the Emperor Shōmu (724-40 A.C.) at the dedication of the Todaiji temple at Nara. "But it was in the Heian period (794-1185 A.C.) .. that tea became part of the general culture of Japan, distinct from the austere tea rites of the temple. Eleventh century records lot of tea utensils among temple objects, an indication that tea preparation remained widespread among priests (*Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol. 7 p. 360).

The inception of tea cultivation in Japan, which records a much later date, also has its roots in Buddhism. Several monks are said to have introduced tea seeds from China into Japan. Yet, the widely accepted view is that during the Kamakura period (1185-1333 A.C.), the famous Japanese monk Eisai, on his return from China in 1199 A.C. had brought with him some tea seeds and planted those on temple lands. Later he promoted tea cultivation in other areas too. Moreover, he had written a treatise titled *Kissa Yōjo Ki*, extolling the virtue of drinking tea.

Tea ceremony, as it grew in popularity and started spreading over the country, turned out to be an elaborated ritual. Thus a series of utensils, which are considered essential to accomplish the ceremony have been introduced. Later, during the 13[th] century the renowned monk Dōgen brought a potter Tōshirō to China to study Sung dynasty (960-1279 A.C.) ceramics. On his return, he started a kiln near Seto and it continues to be a major center of ceramic production even to this day. It is also recorded that about the same time, a priest named Eizon travelled allover Japan preaching Zen and praising the curative power of tea. His endeavors helped to popularize the custom of tea drinking. Later, during the Muromachi period (1333-1568 A.C.) tea tournaments called *tocha* have come into vogue.

Despite the Ōnin war in the 15[th] century and the subsequent civil war that devastated Japan, the ceremony continued to be celebrated unhindered at the temples. Murata Shuko (or Juko 1422-1502 A.C.) a pupil of Ikkyō is mentioned as the renowned tea master during this period. He emphasized the spiritual aspects of tea and one innovation he introduced was the display of a scroll of Zen calligraphy in the tea room. The tea ceremony was perfected by a monk named Sen no Rikyo towards the end of the 16[th] century (*ibid*).

Tea ceremony is conducted in a serene and solemn atmosphere, using a set of utensils which are identified by a distinctive terminology. *Chaseki* is the tea room, where the ceremony is conducted. *Chasen* is the tea whisk made out of finely split bamboo. It is used to mix powdered tea in hot water in the art of ceremonial tea making. *Chasaku* is a spoon-like instrument used for scooping tea powder from a tea caddy to a tea bowl. *Chasitsu* is a small specially designed room for serving ceremonial tea. Located in it is a recess for a hanging scroll and a flower arrangement. *Chatei* is a small Japanese landscape garden, that surrounds the tea room. It is designed to provide an atmosphere conducive to the serene state of mind necessary for full appreciation of the tea ceremony. *Chawan* is the ceramic tea bowl used in the tea ceremony. It should be an object displaying artistic beauty and refined elegance.

Thus, everything connected with the tea ceremony, though rustic and simple, is delicately and aesthetically designed with meticulous care to enhance its grandeur as well to achieve its ultimate purpose, namely the composure of mind.

C.S. Ranasinghe

TENDAI. Tendai (Chinese *Tien-T'ai*), a major Japanese Buddhist sect introduced by Saichō (767-822 A.C) from China in 806 A.C.

During the Heian period (794-1185 A.C.) Tendai, together with Shingon, played a dominant role in the history of Buddhism in Japan. Tendai school, in particular, was closely associated with the court nobility and exerted a considerable influence over the political affairs of the country.

Tien-t'ai sect, the precursor of the Tendai sect in China derives its name from a mountain called Tien-t'ai[1] located in South China. It became famous when Chih-i (zhiyi: 531-597 A.C), the great exponent of the Tendai doctrine made it his abode.

The origins of the Tien-ta'i doctrine is traced back to the *śūnyatā* (doctrine or void) teachings expounded by Nāgārjuna (s.v). Thus, its philosophy is based on the fundamental Mahāyāna teaching of void that all things being impermanent- are devoid of self-entity. Since the main scripture of this sect is the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Chinese : *Fa-hua - ching*), Tien-ta'i is sometimes called *Fa-hua* (Japanese: *Hokke)* or the Lotus School.

A great-scholar named- Hui-wen (505 A.C-577 A.C), who stressed the importance of strict meditation practice to achieve Enlightenment, was the founder of this sect. It is claimed that he at once awoke to the truth "when he discovered a verse on the Middle Path

in the *Mādyamika Śāstra* and an annotation concerning the word 'insight' in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra*, both by Nāgārjuna".(Juniro Takakusu, *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, Bombay,1978, p.134).His thesis was that *Pratītyasamutpāda* (causal origination) is a synonym for *śūnyatā* and a temporary name for the Middle Path.The Triple-truth (*chikuan)* on which the whole Tien-t'ai philosophy rests can be epitomized as follows : (1) all things (*dharmas*) lack ontological reality; (2) they nevertheless have a temporary existence; (c) they are simultaneously unreal and temporarily existing. The three truths are considered to be mutually inclusive and each contained within the others. Because existence is ever changing, the phenomenal world is regarded as identical with the world as it really is. (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol.ix, U.S.A, 1982, p.1002.)

Although this doctrine of triple truth first promulgated by Hui-wen,it was Chih-I (531-597 A.C) the third patriarch, who is regarded as the de facto founder of the School. Since he stood above all other Chinese Buddhist scholars in respect of his sublime personal character and erudity of his learning, he came to be known as the 'Great Master of Tien-ta'i'.His thesis was that the Buddha Śakyamuni unfolded his doctrine gradually, depending on the mental capacity of his listeners.

According to Tien-ta'i,- *Saddharmapuṇḍarika sūtra* embodies the .Buddha's teachings in toto. Therefore it was taken as a unifying framework to synthesize all divergent teachings of the Buddha as found in the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna scriptures.It was Chih-i's teachings that was held as canonical for all later Tien-ta'i tradition. His three great works were transcribed by his scholarly pupil Kuan-ting (561-632 A.C), and those were treated as authoritative dictums by his followers.

During the Tang dynasty (618- 907 A.C), Tien-ta'i school had to face certain attacks as it lost the imperial patronage which it enjoyed in the past. To add to its woes, it had to face new challenges posed by the Huayan and Chan schools, which were becoming prominent. As a result, Tien-ta'i school was loosing its ground. However, its sixth patriarch Chan-jan (717-782 A.C), being himself a great scholar, was able to resurrect and consolidate the sect by reorganizing its doctrine. Besides providing lengthy commentaries on Chih-i's treatises, he himself authored several works to infuse new life into the Tien-ta'i philosophy. He was succeeded by his pupil Tao-sui as its seventh patriarch, and it was under him the Saichō (posthumously known as Dengyō Daishi), the founder of the Tendai school in Japan was initiated into the Tien-ta'i doctrine.

II Tendai sect:

Although Tien-ta'i texts had been already introduced into Japan earlier by the Chinese *vinaya* monk Jianzhen (687-763 A.C), it did not make much headway till Saichō transmitted it in the 790 s.Having become disgusted with the way Buddhism was practised in the great temples of Nara in 785, Saichō retired to Mt.Hiei, where he began to practise meditation and prayer. At this new centre, he organized a small group of followers including the reigning emperor Kammu.Eventually Saichō was attracted to Tian-ta'i doctrine as an alternative to Narā Buddhism. Thus, in 804 he proceeded to China and for nine months studied Tien-ta'i doctrine and bodhisattva ordination under Tao-sui at its Headquaters.Towards the end of his sojourn, he dedicated his time to learn esoteric Budhism (*mantra)* from Shun-chiao and Zen meditation from Hsiu-jan.

On his return, he established the Tendai sect on Mt.Hiei near Kyōto, and he was well-supported by the emperor Kammu, his former patron. This new school posed a great challenge to Nara traditions.However, the Tien-ta'i doctrine introduced by Saichō was not the selfsame doctrine practised in China. Incorporated in it were Chan (Zen) meditation, *vinaya* (discipline) and esoteric cults- all within the framework of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra*.Tendai is somewhat a deviation from the Tien-ta'i as it did not include esoteric practices in its doctrine. Moreover,Tendai encouraged an amalgamation of some elements of Shintoism and it eventually led to a development of another sub-school called Tendai Shintō (*no Ikhi-jitsu Shintō)*.

The essence of the Tendai doctrine is to propel all people to attain Enlightenment by observing the three precepts (*kai)*, namely abstinence from evil (*shōritsugikai*), do good (*shōzentō-kai)* and to be kind to all kings *(shōshujō-kai)*.

According to Tendai teaching, the Buddha's doctrine is classified into five periods and eight

doctrines. The first period was the time of wreath (*Kegon*). The Doctrine Buddha preached in this period was confined to what he had conceived in his Enlightenment, but his disciples could not comprehend it at all. The second period was the time Buddha sojourned at the deer park. There he preached *āgamas* to suit the people of inferior mental capacity. The time of development was the third period, in which Buddha by preaching the *Vaipulya* texts converted adherents of Hinayānism to Mahāyānism. The fourth was the time of wisdom (*prajñā*) or the time of exploring and amalgamation of the *dharmas*. The Buddha preached the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* to explain the doctrine of Śūnyatā, which explains that ultimately everything ends up in void. The fifth period was the time of *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* (lotus) *Sūtra* and the *Nirvāna Sūtra*. This period represents the exploring and the unification of various doctrines preached by the Buddha. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra* is singled out by them as the supreme and the ultimate doctrine among all other teachings of the Buddha, while the *Nirvāna Sūtra* is hailed as the epitome of what the Buddha had taught.

Of the Eight Doctrines, the first four relate to the method of Buddha's teachings:

1. *Abrupt Doctrine* contains what the Buddha had conceived at the time of Enlightenment.

2. *Gradual Doctrine* signifies the doctrine by which the Buddha led people step by step into deeper thinking.

3. *Mystic Doctrine* means an indefinite and mystical doctrine. By virtue of Buddha's supernatural power, each listner thinks that- the Buddha is addressing him alone.

4. *Indeterminate Doctrine* denotes a non-mystical indeterminate doctrine. Though all listeners hear the same doctrine that the Buddha preaches, they hear it differently and comprehend it differently depending on the nature of the individual.

Those four doctrines are again classified into four categories according to the nature of the teaching.

1. *The Doctrine contained in scriptures*: It includes *āgamas* and all Hīnayāna doctrines found in the *Vaibhāṣika* literature.

2. *The doctrine common to everyone*: A doctrine common to the other three vehicles. Here an inferior bodhisattva follows the practices pertaining to the three vehicles while the superior bodhisattva goes further in search of the following two steps.

3. *The Distinct Doctrine*: A Mahāyāna doctrine followed strictly by the bodhisattvas. It is distinct because it goes beyond the first two doctrines and teaches the middle path.

4. *The Perfect or the Round doctrine*: It edifies the Middle Path of perfect permeation and mutual identification. It recognizes Middle Path as noumenon, and perfectly harmonious, both theoretically and practically. It exemplifies the principle that "one is all and all is one".

Thus, it is evident that Tendai doctrine, as it evolved in Japan absorbing into it various indigenous elements, has deviated from the basic tenets of the Tien-ta'i School in many respects. In the course of time it was further divided and sub-divided into various factions which were sometimes based on minor doctrinal interpretations.

Saichō had to confront several challenges in his attempt to propagate the new school. The major challenge came from Kūkai (774-835 A.C), the founder of the Shingon sect (s.v.). Like Saichō, Kūkai too had undergone a training in esoteric practices in China and he was far superior to Saichō in performing esoteric rites. However, it was Saichō who had the official mandate from the imperial court to perform esoteric Buddhist rites. He first regarded Kūkai as a friend and a teacher. But later on that relationship was strained when Kūkai proclaimed that esoteric Buddhism was superior to all other forms of Buddhism and later refused to return to Saichō one of his disciples.

The next formidable challenge to Saichō came from Narā, where all novice monks were required to go for their higher ordination. Some of the novices from Mt.Hiei who went to Narā refused to come back and decided to stay there. This annoyed him greatly and he proceeded to seek the approval of the imperial court to perform higher ordination rites at Mt.Hiei, observing Mahāyāna bodhisattva precepts, instead of the traditional Hīnayāna precepts. He made a yet another request that Tendai monks be allowed to serve

the nation as teachers of Buddhism, after undergoing training al-Mt.Hiei for 12 years. Confronted with vehement protests from the Narā monks, the imperial court had to withhold his appeal.However, his requests were granted posthumously in 822.At same time, the court recognized the Tendai centre on Mt.Hiei and renamed it Enryakuji.Later on it grew to be "the greatest centre of Buddhist learning of its time in Japan"(*The New Encyclopaedia Britanica*, op.cit.p 884).

After Saicho's demise, Kūkai's fame spread tremendously as he was recognized as the peerless master of esoteric Buddhism. It ws a great setback for the progress of the Tendai sect.Thus, in 839 Enin, one of Saicho's disciples went to China, primarily to master esoteric Buddhism. Once he returned to Japan, he impressed the court with his mastery of esoteric Buddhist rituals and was able to regain the lost prestige of the Tendai sect. The form of Tendai he introduced came to be known as Sammon.

In 853, another leading Tendai monk named Enchin went to China to follow esoteric Buddhism. On his return in 858, he too was honoured by the imperial court as a master of esoteric Buddhist rituals. However, a rift occurred later between Enin's faction and Enchin's faction. As a result Enchin with his followers left Enryakuji temple and settled themselves at Onjōji, another temple located at Mt.Hiei and founded the Jimon sect.Afterwards, there arose constant clashes between the two factions.

Since the 9th century Tendai monks showed less interest in esoteric Buddhism and there appeared new distinctive developments such as *hongaku* (original Enlightenment) and which attributed Buddhahood even to inanimate objectives.*Hongaku* asserts "the reality of the world as-it-is, and the sentient beings as-they-are as identical to enlightened beings (*hotoke)* and went so far as to deny any moral distinctions" (*Kodansha, Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol.8, Japan, 1983, p.5). This Philosophy exerted a considerable influence on the sects that branched off from the Tendai School subsequently.

The Pure Land Buddhism was another significant development that stemmed from the Tendai sect after the 10th century. Its early exponents were Kūya (903-72), Ryōgen (912-985), Genshin (942-1017) and Ryōnin (1073-1132). Among the other independent Pure Land sects developed in the Kamakura period were: Hōnen (1133-1212), Shinran (1173-1263), Nichiren (1222-1282) and Dōgen (1200-1253), all of which were named after their founders who were initially trained as Tendai monks.

In the 10th and the 11th centuries Tendai enjoyed a great patronage from the families of the imperial court and the aristocracy, who built many private Tendai temples, but their abbotships were confined to their family members. As a result of immense wealth and royal patronage, Enryakuji temple grew to be a extremely powerful centre towards the 11th century. With that emerged an order of bellicose monks who came to be known as 'warrior monks'. They adapted violent means to defend the temple, when its interests were at stake. They even interfered with the affairs of the imperial court and got involved with military and political disputes. This situation led to a prolonged friction between the priests of Enryakuji and the authorities. Ultimately the whole temple complex was burnt down in 1571 by Oda Nobunga.Though it recovered somewhat in the Edo period (1600-1868), it never achieved its pristine prosperity and glory.

The Tendai School, however, is still a force to reckon with in Japan and the figures indicate that in 1980 there were 4,245 Tendai temples with 17, 115 resident monks and 5,297,055 adherants.

III *Ch'ont'ae sect* is the Tien-ta'i sect's couterpart in Korea. It is said that Hui-wen and Chih-i, the two prominent precursors of the Tien-ta'i sect, had some Korean followers among their disciples. Although the unofficial introduction of Tien-ta'i Buddhism is attributed to them, it was not until 1097 that a Tien – ta'i sect was formally established in Korea. A monk named Uichon (1055-1101) is credited to have set up this school there with a view to reconcile the long standing conflict in Korea between the *Kyō (dharma)* and the *Sōn (dhyāna)* factions of Buddhism. Ch'ont'ae, together with *Sōn* school subsequently became two mainstays of Buddhism in that country. In the 15th century Ch'ont'ae, lost its identity as it was incorporated into the *Sōn* school itself.

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Reference

1 Tien-ta'i which means literally 'Heavenly Terrace', was considered a sacred mountain from

early times. It associated first with Taoism and then with Buddhism. Although the Buddhist monks occupied it as early as 238 A C, it became renowned after Chih-i settled there in 576.

TEVIJJA: The term *tevijja* rendered in English by Mrs. Rhys Davids as 'the thrice – wise' denotes a person endowed with the threefold (higher) knowledge (*tisso vijjā* in Pali), which is also sometimes rendered threefold wisdom or threefold lore. In the Pali text the term, in the first place, refers to a Brahmin who has learnt the three *Vedas* known in Brahminical Sanskrit works as *trayī vidyā*. Winternitz[1] in his discussion on the subject states, "wherever in the older works there is a reference to sacred knowledge, ie. mention is first made always of the *trayī vidyā*, "of the threefold knowledge" *Rgveda*, *Yajurveda*, and *Sāmaveda*: The *Atharvaveda* follows always only after the *trayī vidyā* and is also often ignored"

It is clear from this as to the source of the Buddhist concept of the 'threefold knowledge' and that of the 'thrice- wise'. They have acquired these from Brahmanical sources and adapted them to convey their own views. In fact this is also amply illustrated by a number of discourses of the Buddha where the difference between the two traditions are discussed. Commenting on the term *tevijjo* in the *Theragāthā*, Mrs. Rhys Davids says, "tevijjo, lit. 'thrice- wise'. This brahminist phrase, referring to one who has learnt the three Vedas, was adopted by the Buddha, and transferred to one who had the three kinds of *paññā*, *vijjā* or *abhiññā* (intuition, insight), entitled reminiscences of former lives, the heavenly eye and the destruction of the *āsava's* or intoxicants – sensuality, lust of life, opinions, ignorance"[2] Thus it is clear that Buddhists have adapted here a Brahmanical concept for their own purpose.

The three knowledges *(tisso vijjā)*, endowed with which one is designated a 'thrice- wise' *(tevijja)*, are the last three of what are called the six super knowledges (*chaḷabhiññā*) often referred to in Buddhist discourses dealing with the path to Emancipation. They are also included in the eight knowledges (*aṭṭha vijjā*), which adds two extra knowledges to the above six super knowledges and, sometimes, also included in the path to Emancipation (eg. *D.* I. 100). Sometimes they are also named as 'fruits of recluseship' (*sāmañ ñaphala*, *ibid.* 76 *ff.*) or wisdom (*paññā*, *ibid.* 124). However, out of these super knowledges or simply knowledges, three are often singled out as directly concerned with the attainment of full Emancipation. They are the knowledge of recalling to memory of one's previous births (*pubbenivāsā - nussati- ñāṇa)*, the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings (*sattānaṃ cutūpapāta- ñāṇa)* and the knowledge of the destruction of cankers or intoxicants *(āsavakkhaya-ñāṇa)*. By directly connecting these three knowledges with the realization of Emancipation they have been raised to a place of special importance in the path of Enlightment. Thus in such discourses as the *Bhayabherava* (*M.* I. 22 *f*) and the *Mahāsaccaka* (*ibid.* 247 *ff*) the Buddha himself has related these three knowledges with his own realization of Emancipation. In the *Theragāthā* and the *Therigāthā*, where the reminiscences of the experiencing of spiritual emancipation by numerous male and female disciples of the Buddha are revealed, these three knowledges are given a significant place. Thus for instance one could find the words "The threefold knowledge has been realized, the bidding of the Buddha is accomplished" (*tisso vijjā anuppattā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanaṃ*) (eg. *Thag.* 220,224, 227, *Thig.* 20, 26,150), or the same ideas expressed differently, repeated often and on in the psalms of the monks and nuns. However, Ven Nyanatiloka (*BD.*p.4) quite strangely says that the *abhiññās* 4 to 6 appearing frequently under the name of the 'threefold (higher) knowledge (*te-vijjā*)' are not a necessary condition for the attainment of sainthood (*arahatta*) ie. of the sixth *abhiññā*. There seems to be something wrong with this statement of this highly erudite great Elder, for the realization of the sixth *abhiññā* itself can be equated with the attainment of arahantship. While it may be correct to say that the fourth and fifth *abhiññā* are not necessary for the attainment of arahantship one cannot in any manner say that the realization of the destruction of the cankers (*āsavakkhaya*) is not a necessary condition for it. It tantamounts to the possibility of arahantship with the cankers still active.

Brahmanic and Buddhist Concepts Compared

The Buddha once asked the Brahamin named Tikanna, who was engaged in a discussion with him, to explain to him what the brahamins know as a 'brahamin endowed with the threefold lore'. He answered, "In this case, Master Gotama, a brahamin is......... a past master of the three *Vedas* (*tinnaṃ vedānaṃ pāragū*), the indexes together with the rituals, the treatise on phonology (as fourth) and the legendary

sayings (as fifth); he is a man learned in the idioms and the grammar, one versed in the science of world-speculation and the signs of the great being. That, Master Gotama, is how the brahamins describe a brahamin who has the threefold lore".[3]

Listening to Tikanna's explanation the Buddha tells him that the description of a person who possesses the threefold lore in the discipline of the Ariyan is not the same as that in the Brahmanic tradition. He goes on to show how a monk who has gradually developed the four *jhānas* directs his mind to the acquisition of this threefold knowledge. First he applies his mind to the acquiring of the knowledge of the memory of his former births.

"In divers ways he recalls his former births, one birth, two births......... a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand births......Thus he recalls to mind in all their specific details, in all their characteristics, in many various ways, his previous states of existence". This is called the knowledge of recalling to memory of one's previous births (*pubbe nivāsānussatiñāṇa).*

Then he directs his mind to the acquisition of the knowledge of 'the fall and rise of beings from one existence to another' *(cutūpapātañāṇa).* Thus " with the *deva*-sight, purified and surpassing that of men, he beholds beings deceasing and rising up again, beings both mean and excellent, fair and foul, gone to a happy state, gone to a woeful state according to their deeds......" This is the second knowledge he acquires. Thirdly and lastly the mind is directed to the acquisition of the knowledge of the destruction of cankers (*āsavakkhayañāṇa).* "He recognizes, as it really is, the truth that This is Ill. This is the arising of Ill. This is the ending of Ill. This is the practice that leads to the ending of Ill. These are *āsavas* .... He recognizes, as it really is, this is the practice that leads to the destruction of the *āsavas.* In him, thus knowing, thus seeing, his mind is released from the *āsava* of sensuality..... *āsava* of becoming .... *āsava* of nescience. By release comes the knowledge that he is released, so that he understands: Destroyed is rebirth, lived is the righteous life, done is what I have to do, there is no more for me of this state of things". With the acquisition of each of these knowledges he realizes, "Ignorance has vanished, knowledge arises. Gone is the darkness, arisen is the light, as it does for one who abides earnest, ardent, and composed in the self". "By these three knowledges", says the Buddha, "a brahamin becomes 'thrice-wise', but not one so- called by men in empty words".[4] As referred to above, the Buddha's Enlightenment is also connected to the arising of these three knowledges in the night of his Awakening to Buddhahood. There the three knowledges are said to have arisen, in order, in the three watches of the night driving out the darkness of ignorance and bringing out the light of the complete wisdom of a perfect Buddha.

A difference in the verbal forms employed in relation to the knowledge gained could be observed between the above *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (1.64 *f.*) and the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1.22 *f*) accounts of the realization of the three knowledges. In the *Aṅguttara* the verbal forms employed are 'remembers' *(anussarati)* for the first knowledge and 'understands', (*pajānāti*) for the second and third knowledges. But in the *Majjhima* discourse the verbal form used for the third knowledge has changed into 'thoroughly understands' (*abhijānāti*). The use of three verbal forms in the *Majjhima* account may indicate the level and the nature of the knowledge acquired. Another interesting difference in the mode or the instrument of acquiring these three knowledges is given in another discourse (*A.* II.183). "Former births, O monks," says the Buddha, "have to be realized through memory (*satiyā sacchikaraṇīyo)*; The passing away and rebirth of beings, O monks, has to be realized with the eye (*cakkhunā sacchikaraṇīyo)* and; the destruction of cankers, O monks, has to be realized through wisdom (*paññāya sacchikaraṇīyo)."*

Perhaps these three modes of acquiring the three knowledges also may be indicative of their field and the limits of operation. Thus the first knowledge of recalling to memory of past births would relate to the past lives of only the person who gains the knowledge. But it can go back in time even into a hundred thousand births spreading through many evolving and dissolving aeons (*anekehi saṃvaṭṭakappe.......vivaṭṭakappe..... saṃvaṭṭa- vivaṭṭakappe*) and, that too in all detail as name, caste, clan, the experiences and the extent of the span of life in each birth and, also the passing away from there and being reborn in another place etc. Of course, naturally, it would operate within one's own experiences and would not extend to that of others unless they come within one's own experience.

The instrument of gaining the second knowledge is the eye (*cakkhu*). This should refer to the natural eye of a person, sometimes also called the physical (*lit.flesh*) eye (*maṃsa- cakkhu*) developed through mental culture into a divine eye (*dibba-cakkhu*). Actually the word *dibba-cakkhu* is used as an alternative term of expression for the same knowledge. The use of the physical eye in gaining this information is perhaps indicated in a simile used in several discourses (eg.*D*.1.83). A person using his well developed physical eye for this purpose is compared to a person, who sits on the upper floor of a house built at the junction of four roads observing people walking on the road below and entering or leaving a house. This shows that the field of operation of the eye here should be limited to contemporary events and does not extend to the past or the future.

Some information revealed by the Buddha regarding his own knowledge of the past and the future may be relevant to this discussion on the threefold knowledge. Here (*D*.III. 134) the Buddha says that wandering ascetics holding other religious views may say that the recluse Gotama reveals an infinite knowledge and insight (*atīrakaṃ ñāṇadassanaṃ*) concerning the past but not so concerning the future. These wandering ascetics, like unskilled fools as they are, should think that a type of knowledge that should be used to reveal one kind of thing could be used to reveal another kind of thing. "Regarding the past, Cunda, Tathāgata has cognition reminiscent of existences (*satānusāri viññ āṇam hoti*). He can remember as far back as he desires" (*so yāvatakaṃ ākaṅkhati tāvatakaṃ anussarati*). Undoubtedly this is a reference to the range of the Buddha's knowledge of his past births. "And concerning the future", says the Buddha, "there arises in him knowledge born of Enlightenment (*bodhijaṃ ñ āṇaṃ uppajjati*) to this effect: This is the last birth: now is there no more coming to be". This, definitely, is a reference to the third of the triple knowledge, related to the destruction of the cankers, which finally brings him Awakening (*bodhi*). From this it becomes very clear that the range of operation and the purpose for which these three knowledges are used are limited. In other words they are not all purpose capabilities gained by a Buddha or an Arahant.

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2 Tr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, *P.T.S.*, 1980, II Psalms of the Brethren p. 29, n.1

3 . Gradual Sayings *P.T.S.*, vol.I p. 146.

4 *Ibid* .p. 147 *ff*.

TEVIJJA-VACCHAGOTTASUTTA, the "discourse to Vacchagotta on the three [higher] knowledges", is the seventy-first discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M*. I, 481). What makes this discourse particularly significant is that it records how the Buddha, in reply to a question posed by the wanderer Vacchagotta, explicitly denied to have ever claimed to be omniscient. This stands in contrast to later Buddhist traditions, which attribute omniscience to the Buddha. According to the *Tevijja-vacchagotta Sutta*, however, those who attribute such a claim to the Buddha misrepresent him with what is untrue and contrary to the fact, *abbhācikkhanti ... asatā abhūtena* (*M*. I, 482).

The commentary tries to reconcile the presentation in the *Tevijja-vacchagotta Sutta* with the view that the Buddha was omniscient by explaining that his refusal referred only to being endowed with omniscience in a continuous manner, in the sense that the Buddha would have omniscient knowledge only when he would turn his mind to the exercise of such knowledge (*MA*. III, 195). This explanation could perhaps have in mind a statement in the *Kaṇṇakatthala Sutta*, according to which the Buddha pointed out that a certain type of omniscient knowledge is not possible (*M*. II, 127). Yet, the type of omniscient knowledge that is impossible according to the *Kaṇṇakatthala Sutta* is to know all "at once", in the sense of knowing all and everything at the same time, not omniscience that is present continuously. Moreover, if in the *Tevijja-vacchagotta Sutta* the Buddha had only been intending to refute being endowed with continuous omniscient knowledge, one would expect him to reply to Vacchagotta by clarifying in what other way he was omniscient. Instead of such an explanation, however, according to the *Tevijja-vacchagotta Sutta* the Buddha pointed out that he only laid claim to the three higher

knowledges. This reply indicates that he substituted a claim to omniscience with a claim to the three higher knowledges, not with a claim to a discontinuous type of omniscience.

The impression that the *Tevijja-vacchagotta Sutta* indeed records an explicit disclaimer of the attribution of omniscience to the Buddha finds further support in other discourses (See also OMNISCIENCE). Omniscient abilities are conspicuously absent from listings of special attributes of the Buddha, such as the ten powers of a *Tathāgata* or his four intrepidities (*M.* I, 69), nor is such an ability mentioned among the altogether hundred epithets of the Buddha given in the *Upāli Sutta* (*M.* I, 386).

The *Kāḷakārāma Sutta* records the Buddha proclaiming that he knew what is seen, heard and experienced by men and gods in this world (*A.* II, 25). Though the commentary understands this to be a declaration of omniscience (*AA.* III, 38), a closer examination of the discourse shows that this statement does not refer to factual knowledge, but rather to penetrative insight into the nature of what is seen, heard and experienced, highlighting that the Buddha did not take any stance upon it.

A discourse in the *Itivuttaka* can be taken up in order to better appreciate this difference in perspective. According to this discourse, it is not possible to reach awakening without knowing all (*It.* 3). Taking this passage literally, one would have to conclude that omniscience is required for anyone to reach awakening. This, however, is obviously not the case in early Buddhism. From this it would follow that to take such passages as this *Itivuttaka* discourse or the *Kāḷakārāma Sutta* to refer to insight quite probably does more justice to their original intention.

Another discourse of relevance to the attribution of omniscience to the Buddha is the *Sandaka Sutta*, which records Ānanda criticizing a religious teacher's claim to omniscience. In this discourse, Ānanda described a teacher who makes such a claim but nevertheless receives no food when he goes begging, or else meets with other kinds of misfortune. When asked how this could happen, such a teacher will have to resort to evasive arguments, maintaining that he had to get no alms food, he had to meet with a misfortune (*M.* I, 519).

If the *Sandaka Sutta's* criteria for evaluating someone's claim to omniscience are applied to the Buddha, a similar kind of evasive argumentation would be required in order to justify why on one occasion the Buddha went begging and did not receive food (*S.* I, 114). Another dilemma would be the mass suicide of a group of newly ordained monks after a recommendation given by the Buddha in favour of developing detachment towards the body (*S.* V, 320). The only way to uphold the Buddha's omniscience in the face of such events would be to adopt the kind of argument criticized in the *Sandaka Sutta*, assuming that the Buddha just had to act in this way.

The presentation in the *Sandaka Sutta* also indicates that omniscience comprises foresight of future events, an indication confirmed in the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga* (*Ps.* I, 131). To know all about the future, however, is possible only if the future is predetermined. Though a few particular events can be foretold with certainty, much of the future is still undetermined at present and will take place according to a continuously changing and evolving set of causes and conditions. Hence to assume that the future can be foreseen in its entirety is an idea compatible only with a deterministic world-view, but not with the early Buddhist conception of dependent origination, *paṭicca samuppāda*. According to the *Pāsādika Sutta*, on one occasion the Buddha in fact explained that to expect him to predict the future is a sign of confusing a possible type of knowledge, such as knowledge about the past, with quite a different type of knowledge (*D.* III, 134).

In view of the information gathered from various other discourses, it seems safe to conclude that the *Tevijja-vacchagotta Sutta* does indeed record an explicit disclaimer of the notion that the Buddha was omniscient.

Anālayo

THATON: Thaton (Sudhammavati or Sudhammapura) was the capital of Rāmañña in Lower Burma and one of the early Theravāda centres in the region.(q.v. Burma and Rāmaññadesa). Since Rāmañña was the home of a group of people called "Talaing" or "Mon", it was also called Talaing country or Mon country. The term Talaing is derived from Teligana, a Pallava country of

South India and it suggest their Indian connection. Often the kingdom is named after its capital i.e. Kingdom of Sudhammavati or Kingdom of Sudhammapura. A Burmese legend attaches a mythical beginning to the city of Thaton. Accordingly Thaton was founded by a son of a wizard and a Nāgi.

Burmese try to identify Rāmañña in Lower Burma as the Suvannabhūmi referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* and claim that Buddhism was introduced to Rāmañña in the third century B.C. as a result of the Buddhist Missionary programme launched under the patronage of Emperor Asoka. The *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter xii verse 6) says that Elders Sona and Uttara proceeded to Suvaṇṇabhūmi to propagate Buddhism. But identification of Rāmañña with Suvaṇṇabhūmi is disputed. Some say Suvaṇṇabhūmi is in Thailand. The others hold the view that the term refers to the whole of Indo-China. The identification of Rāmañña as Suvaṇṇabhūmi is found only in the Kalyāni inscriptions of the15th century and the *Sāsanavamsa* of the 19th century. The *Sāsanavamsa* particularly identify Suvannabhūmi with Thaton or Sudhammavati. Thus identification of Rāmañña with Suvannabhūmi and the consequent theory that Rmañña received Theravāda Buddhism in the third century B.C. is yet to be proved.

There is an interesting Burmese legend contained in a Mon Pagoda inscription near Pegu (Hamsavati) that claim that Thaton received Buddhism during the life time of the Buddha.[1] As found in the inscription, the Buddha in the eighth year of his enlightenment, proceeded by air to Thaton on an invitation of King Sirimāsoka of Thaton which was conveyed to the Buddha by Ven. Gavampati, the patron saint of Thaton. The Buddha is supposed to have preached the dhamma at Thaton for seven days. The inscription further says that at the time of departure the king begged for something to remember the Buddha. The Buddha is reported to have rejected the request saying that he has already given some hair relics to Trapusa and Bhalluka (Pali Tapassu Bhallika). But promised to send one of his tooth relics through Gavampati after he attained *Parinibbāna* 37 years later. The scholars conclude that Rāmañña receiving Buddhism from Sri Lanka is out of question, since Rāmañña had not yet come in contact with Sri Lanka. Those scholars who examine whence Lower Burma got Theravāda Buddhism ultimately turned their attention towards the eastern coast of India, where the Theravāda form of Buddhism had spread by the first century A.C. Amarāwati, Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, Kāncipura Kāveripaṭṭana, in the Andhra region of Deccan were flourishing Theravāda centers by the early centuries of the Christian era, as evident from the extensive ruins found there. Due to the existence of easy land routes and short sea routes, it is seen that there has been trade contacts between the eastern coast of India and the maritime provinces of South Eastern countries such as Rāmañña, Siam, Cambodia etc., since memorable times. The Indian traders who ventured eastwards established their colonies in the maritime regions of the South eastern countries referred to above and have implanted their religion, culture, language etc. there. Talaing or Mon country or Rāmañña is supposed to be one of such Indian colonies to begin with. An inscription discovered at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa refer to Buddhist enterprises among people called "Cilātas"[2]. The Kirāta, the country of "Cilātas" has been suggested as Arakan and Lower Burma, which shows that there has been religious contacts between Nāgarjunakoṇḍa etc. and the maritime regions of Burma. Therefore, the scholars surmise that the Indian traders and missionaries from the east coast of India brought Theravāda Buddhism to the maritime region of Burma generally known as Rāmañña, perhaps during the early centuries of the Christian era. Buddhism thus brought to Rāmañña appears to have flourished in the new land as evident from archaeological findings. The archaeological remains of the old kingdom of Pyus known as Sirikṣetra with it's capital name Prome, presently found at the village called Hmawza, testify to the flourishing state of Buddhism in the region. Another important historical fact revealed as a result of archaeological excavations is the prevalence of Mahāyana, Mūla Sarvāstikavāda, and Hinduism, side by side with Theravāda, in Lower Burma. Earlier, Prome the capital of Pyus, was the most important centre of Buddhism in the region, but about the ninth century A.C. Thaton, the capital of Talaing, surpassed Prome and became the most important centre of Theravāda Buddhism, which nourished the religion in the entire region.

But when Thaton in the Talaing country flourished as the centre of Theravāda Buddhism enjoying an advanced culture and civilization, the conditions in the Marammaraṭṭha or upper Burma was far backward as far as their religion was concerned. Their religion was a debased form of a Tāntric Buddhism which was in the hands of corrupt monks called

"Samanakuttikas". They preached that even if one commits a grave crime, he could escape from retribution by reciting an appropriate "paritta" or get someone to recite it. They were tyrants and even demanded that young girls should be handed over to them, before giving them in marriage. The Buddhists of Lower Burma would have scorned if it was called a religion. Such were the conditions at upper Burma when Aniruddha or Anuruddha (1044-77 A.C.) came to the throne of Pagan in Upper Burma. A young Talaing monk from Thaton called Shin Arahan or Dharmadarshi was appointed as the king's spiritual advisor. The king learnt Theravāda Buddhism from Shin Arahan and was converted to Theravāda. The king with the help of his spiritual advisor and some Talaing monks successfully crushed the tyranny of "Samanakuttikas" and relieved the people from them. However the king was constrained due to lack of a holy canon. The king learnt from Shin Arahan that sacred books were found in abundance at Thaton in Lower Burma and dispatched an ambassador to King Manohari (Manuha) requesting him for canonical books and relics. But Manuha did not accede to the request and refused to release books and relics. Aniruddha was outraged and furious and felt insulted. He descended the river Irrawady with his armies and laid siege on Thaton the capital of Rāmañña and the city fell to the besiegers within a short time. The relics, the sacred canon and the learned monks were forcibly taken from Thaton to Pagan. Even the Talaing king Manohari was taken prisoner to Pagan and the kingdom of Rāmañña was annexed to Upper Burma. Thus the Theravāda form of Buddhism was introduced to Upper Burma from Rāmañña. The victorious Marammas did not hesitate to adopt the religion, literature, culture and scholasticism of the defeated Rāmañña. An unprecedented development in religion, literature, arts and architecture etc. was witnessed in Upper Burma within a short period, surpassing even Rāmañña. Thus Thaton gets the credit of giving religion, literature, culture, in short everything to Pagan (Upper Burma).

Though the centre of Buddhism was shifted to Pagan, Thaton was never neglected and continued to be an active Buddhist Centre in the region. Sīhala Saṅgha was established in Upper Burma by Ven. Chapaṭa (Saddhammajotipāla) under the patronage of King Narapatisithu (1167-1202 A.C.). It is important that steps have been taken to establish Sīhala saṅgha in Rāmañña, too. The king summoned a Talaing monk named Sāriputta, also called Dhammavilāsa, for the mission. He accepted the king's invitation and came to Pagan while yet being a Sāmaṇera (novice) and the Sihala *Upasampadā* was conferred on him. The king afterwards honoured him and sent him to Rāmañña with the instructions to purify the sāsana. Sāriputta stayed at Dala and took necessary steps to establish Sihala Saṅgha at Rāmañña. The establishment of Sīhala Saṅgha at Rāmañña is calculated from this date. Sāriputta alias Dhammavilāsa is regarded as the first literary personage from Ramañña. Therefore we see the revival of the *sāsana* at Pagan was extended to Thaton, too, by the king of Pagan.

Burmese claim that the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa was a native of Thaton. Accordingly he was supposed to have been born at a town named Gola, suburb of Thaton and was ordained at Kelāsapabbata Vihāra. He is said to have come from Thaton to Sri Lanka and returned to Thaton, after translating Sihala commentaries to Pali. All Burmese Buddhists look upon Buddhaghosa with the same degree of grateful devotion which Sri Lankan Buddhists offer to Mahāmahinda Thero. Burmese also believe a new era of their religion (Buddhism) dawned after Buddhaghosa returned to Thaton from Sri Lanka. Polwatte Buddhadatta quoting from an unpublished Burmese chronicle *Sāsana Jina Cakka* says that King Dhammapāla Silinjya ascended the throne at Sudhammapura in 888 B.C. and in his 42nd regnal year or 930 B.C. Buddhaghosa returned from Sri Lanka to Thaton.[3] But Buddhaghosa's works contains no hint on his suspected Burmese connection.

Another Burmese tradition attempts to link Suvannabhūmi and its capital Sudhammapura with the Buddha immediately after his enlightenment. The *Mahāvagga* (*Vin* I. p. 3) describes how two traders Tapassu and Bhalluka offered alms to the Buddha on the eighth week after the enlightenment[4]. The *Manorathapūrani* (*AA*. 382 f.) gives more details of the incident, when it says that the Buddha gave the traders some hair relics which they took on their return journey and put up a *cetiya* at their native town Asitānjana nagara. Burmese say that the two traders were from Suvannabhūmi and they put up the *cetiya* at Sudhammavati.

According to the *Jinakālamali*, the sixteenth century Thai chronicle, when King Kambala reigned, an epidemic of cholera ragged the city of Haripunjaya

for six years. And the citizens not being able to survive fled to the city of Sudhammanagara (Thaton). But being harassed by the king of Punnagāma, Haripunjaya citizens living in the city of Sudhammanagara (Thaton) left for the city of Hansāvati[5].

The *Lokapaññattipakarana* a Pāli treatise on cosmology written during the eleventh or twelfth centuries is attributed to Ven. Sri Dhammaghosa of Thaton.

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5. *Jinakalamali* Ed. A.P. Buddhadatta *PTS* 1962 p. 76.

THERAGĀTHĀ See **THERA-THERĪGĀTHĀ**

THERA-THERĪ-GĀTHĀ. *Thera-Therī-Gāthā* or Elders' Verses [Utterances of Venerable Monks and Nuns] are the collected metrical compositions in Pali, relating to the lives of Buddhist disciples, both men and women (most of them being of the Buddha's day) describing their day to day lives, their triumphant spiritual attainments and at times, the bitter experiences they have been through in life. These two collections are Buddhist religious poetry of inestimable value, looking almost like a gallery of exquisitely carved marbles. They are believed to cover, according to several reliable Buddhist scholars, roughly a period of nearly three hundred years from the time of the Buddha. This we say with certainty that these biographies in the *Thera* and *Therī–Gāthā* collections make models of what Buddhist monks and nuns should be for all times. There is hardly ever in them a blurred image.

In the history of Pali Buddhist literature, the *Thera-Therī–Gāthā* are contained in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* which is the fifth group in the major division of Pali Buddhist literature known under the name of *Dhamma*, and includes all teachings of doctrinal importance. This is how it came to be classified at the joint recital of the First Buddhist Council or *Puañcasatī Saṅgīti: Eten'eva upāyena pañca nikāye pucchi.* (See *Vin.* II. 287). The other major division of Buddhist teachings pertaining to Buddhist monastic discipline was rehearsed at this same recital under the name of *Vinaya: Etenevaupāyenaubhato Vinaye pucchi.* (loc. cit.). For further details, See *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* of Buddhaghoṡa (i.e. *Digha Nikāya* Commentary) where he accepts this unassailable Canonical evidence as recorded in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Vinayapiṭake tantiṃ ārūḷhā DA.* I. p. 2).

These two, i.e. *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, obviously indicate the major contents of the Buddha's teachings known to 'the early Buddhist disciples like Thera Mahā Kassapa at the time of the First Recital. Buddhaghoṡa himself says the following: *Vuttaṃ etaṃ Bhagawatā 'Yo vo Ānanda mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mumaccayena satthā'ti.* (loc. cit. p. 3) 'This has been said by the Buddha: Whatever *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* has been preached and laid down by me that shall be your Master after my demise'. These two divisions are latterly referred to as *Sutta* and *Vinaya Piṭakas* respectively by the time Buddhist literature came to be classified under three heads, including a third division under the name of *Abhidhamma*. It is also to be noted that as the very name *Khuddaka* (miniature) suggests, this Fifth *nikāya*(of *Sutta Piṭaka* contents) contains many of the independent poetical compositions of Buddhist' literature like the *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada* and *Thera* and *Therī-Gāthā*.

The *Thera-gāthā* consists of 1279 verses in the *PTS* edition and 1291 verses in the Buddha Jayanti Sinhala script edition. The *Therīgathā* has 522 verses in the *PTS* edition and 521 verses in the Buddha Jayanti Sinhala script edition. In both texts, subdivisions are also noted in terms of *Nipātas* and *Vaggas*, collections being arranged according to the increasing number of verses. The longest *Theragāthā* is that of Elder Vaṅgisa, consisting of 70 verses (vv. 1209 – 1279) and that of the *Therīgāthā* being the

collection of Therī Sumedhā with 74 verses (vv. 448 – 522). We owe grateful thanks to Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids and Professor K.R. Norman who have translated the *Thera* and *Therīgāthā* and made excellent studies on them.

Thera-Gāthā

Let us now peep a little into the vast treasure house of Buddhist thinking and living as revealed in these two great collections. We will begin with the Theras. The Buddha is undoubtedly our Master and Guide. The Buddha himself picked out Elder Mahā Kassapa as a senior member of the community to show the Buddhist way of living to fellow members. We shall begin with him. We meet him as an enlightened one who has reached his goal, already referred to as *kata-kicco anāsavo,* i.e. one who has accomplished his task and freed himself of all defilements. He epitomizes self discipline as the true way to liberation from the ills of life which is to be achieved in *Nirvāna*. Saintliness in Buddhism, he indicates, requires moving away from the maddening crowd. 'Do not go about followed by the crowd. It disturbs one's inner peace and tranquility': *na gaṇena purakkhato care vimano hoti samādhi dullabho*. (*Thag*. v 1051). As one who has renounced and left behind life in the household, his advice to fellow members is to leave what one has renounced at a respectable distance. Associate not families too closely: *Na kulāni upabbaje muni*. Respectful reception in the midst of families (*yā'yaṃ vandana-pūjanā kulesu*) is to be looked upon as a mire in which one can sink and perish (*paṅko'ti naṃ avedayuṃ*).

On the other hand, one who has left the household must look out for far greater delight in the new life chosen, creating for one-self a new environment. We discover in Thera Tālapuṭa one such courageous pursuant of the monastic ideal of renunciation, attempting to blend one-self with the total environment around one-self. He wishes to see no difference between the trees, creepers and the grass around him and his bodily aggregates. This is how he would like to feel.

Kadā nu kaṭṭhe ca tiṇe latā ca khandhe ime'haṃ amite ca dhamme ajjhattikān'eva ca bāhirāni samaṃ tuleyyaṃ tadidaṃ kadā me.

(*Thag*. v. 1101) 'When will I see no difference between the bodily aggregates and the otherconstituents of which I am made and the wood of the trees, the grass and the creepers, things which are both external and internal? When will I see them both as being not dis-similar (*samam tuleyyam*)'.

Rain and wind is not to deter his movements. Being drenched in an unexpected downpour of rain as he treads along the path of his ancient seers is a source of delight that he now looks forward to. With such attitudinal changes to the world one lives in, a Buddhist mendicant is bound to move in the world one lives in, without being enticed and trapped by sensory stimuli. Hear what he says:

Kadā nu maṃ pāvusakāla-megho navena toyena sacīvaraṃ vane isippayātamhi pathe vajantaṃ ovassate tan nu kadā bhavissati. (op. cit. v. 1102).

'When will the cloud of the rainy season, with its fresh water, suddenly drench me in my robes, as I tread the path taken by the sages of yore ? When will that be?'

This de-conditioning of the mind of the Buddhist disciple is something to be undertaken and aspired for on a long term basis. This alone gives the mind the correct attitude and approach or *yoniso manasi-kāra*. Nāgasamāla Thera, once on his alms round, saw a glamorously clad girl dancing to music in the street. It was no less than a trap laid out by Māra, the Evil One.

Alaṅkatā suvasanā mālinī candanussadā majjhe mahāpathe nārī turiye naccati nāṭakī Piṇḍikaya paviṭṭho'haṃ gacchanto naṃ adakkhisaṃ alaṅkataṃ suvasanaṃ maccu-pāsaṃ 'va aḍḍitaṃ. (op. cit. vv. 267-268) 'Well clad and glamorously decked with sandal paste and flowers, a dancing girl was dancing to music on the middle of the high-way.

Out on my alms round I did see her, well clad and decked, comparable unto a death-trap, well laid out. *tato me manasikāro yoniso udapajjathaādinavo pāturahū nibbidā samatiṭṭhata.* op. cit. v. 269 'There upon a correct attitude of mind dawned upon me.

The evil that comes on its way manifested itself. A sense of detachment arose.' Thera Nāgasamāla was able to stand up to it. He reflected upon the evil consequences that would come in its wake. He recoiled from it.

In a very similar situation, a monk by the name of Rājadatta sees the body of a dead woman cast away in a cemetery. Lustful thoughts seize his mind: *Kāmarāgo pāturahū*. But he flees from there, and diligently mindful (*satimā sampajāno*), overpowers his thoughts as did the previous monk.

Bhikkhu sīvathikaṃ gantvā addasaṃ itthiṃ ujjhitam apaviddhaṃ susānasmiṃ khajjantiṃ kimihī phutaṃ. Yaṃ hi eke jigucchanti mataṃ disvāna pāpakaṃ kāmarāgo pāturahū andho 'va savatī ahuṃ. Oraṃv odana-pākamhā tamhā ṭhānā apakkamiṃ satimā sampajāno 'haṃ ekamantaṃ upāvisiṃ. Tato me manasikāro yoniso upapajjathā ādīnavo pāturahū nibbidā samatiṭṭatā. (op. cit. vv. 315-319) 'Being a disciple of the Buddha, to the cemetery I did go and there beheld a corpse of a woman cast away. It was being eaten into by worms. While some feel a lamentable repugnance on seeing a dead body, lustful thoughts arose within me. I acted like unto a blinded man. In less time than is needed for cooking of rice I moved away from that place, and being mindful and diligent arrived at yet another place. Thereupon a correct attitude of mind dawned upon me. The evil that comes on its way manifested itself. A sense of detachment arose'. The Pali words used in these contexts like *manasikāro, ādīnavo, nibbidā, satimā* and *sampajāno* or their English equivalents like correct reflection, evil consequences, disgust, diligence and awareness are but a few. But they are essential pungent words. They do carry a tremendously powerful message with them. They are infallibly rewarding. The disciples who are aware of their monastic mission, that is in having renounced their household life in search of their Nirvānic goal, even from a perilous perch, finally achieve their goal successfully and are saved from ruinous disasters.

We meet in these texts of the *Thera Gāthā* another kind of disciple whose well nurtured and well handled aesthetic sensitivity seem to open out wonderfully rewarding avenues of religious awakening. Here is Thera Sappaka whom one cannot afford to miss. He lives by the side of a river named Ajakaraṇi. The river seems to give him delight: *Ajakaraṇī rameti maṃ*. This is by no means a concept from which a Buddhist needs to run away. 'Beauty of things in themselves carry no evil. It is the way we think on them' (*na te kāmā yāni citrāni loke sankappa-rago purisassa kāmo* at *Sn*. I. 22).

The time is the advent of the rains. Hear how he delightfully sings and hear what he sings about. *Yadā balākā sucipaṇḍaracchadā kālassa meghassa bhayena tajjitā palehiti ālayaṃ ālayesinī tadā nādi Ajakaraṇī rameti mam.* (op.cit 307-8).

'When the cranes clad in pure white plumes, scared on seeing the dark rain clouds gathering, are taking to flight in search of a place of shelter, [looking out for a shelter not within sight], then the river Ajakarani gives me delight'.

This probably brings before us a swollen river oveflowing its banks after the rains. These verses give us such a vivid picture. He says 'This is not the time to leave the mountain streams behind and go': *nājja girinadīhi vippavāsa-samayo* (op. cit. v. 310.).

This same Sappaka Thera remarks and sings once again, on his own: *Kan nu tattha na ramenti Jambuyo ubhato tahiṃ sobhenti āpagā-kūlaṃ mama-* (*mahā*'?) *lenassa pacchato*. op. cit. ', 309 'The Rose Apple trees behind my living cave lend beauty to both banks of the river. Whose hearts will they not delight?' Not only does Thera Sappaka see beauty in nature but is capable of feeling with Nature, integrating harmoniously the interaction of man on the one hand, and on the other of bird and beast, and even the animate with the inanimate, one upon the other. The degree of his own enjoyment bursts forth when he, with the innocence of a child, asks 'Those beautiful Rose Apple trees which adorn the river bank on both sides, whom will they not delight = *kan nu tattha na ramenti ?*' In the process, we have no doubt, he is himself equally soothed and comforted in body and mind. And there is inevitable enrichment of spiritual growth. That is how he comes to be inseparably wedded to the River Ajakaraṇi and is sad to leave her behind during rains.

Read what he says and join him to feel with him the way he feels about the world around him: What is said of Thera Usabha at verse No. 110 is even more mystically enrapturing. He beholds a luxuriantly growing clump of trees on a rocky ledge.

nagā nagaggesu susaṃvirūḷhā udagga-meghena navena sittā viveka-kāmassa araññā-saññino janeti bhiyyo Usabhassa kalyataṃ. (op. cit. v. 1110) 'These trees healthily perched on the top of a cliff, they indeed must be drenched by heavenly showers. 'In the heart of Usabha who is forest-conscious and is a lover of solitude, they will generate immense joy'.

The above verses portray only what a camera lens would see. But the words *janeti bhiyyo Usabhassa kalyataṃ* hint at a great deal more. What Usabha has seen undoubtedly does capture his heart. He sees or he imagines the trees to be freshly drenched with water from heaven-fed clouds: *udagga-meghena navena sittā.* His vision is now framed within this perimeter. For he is said to be by nature forest- conscious: *āraññasaññi* and a lover of solitude: *viveka-kāma*. These two together are capable of conjuring up within him new dimensions of spiritual awakening.

Theras on the whole, in contrast to the theris, show far greater maturity in taking control over, and in reacting to the totality of the world they live in, of humans, animals or plants. We have been able to indicate and highlight only a very limited area of this vast panorama.

Therī- Gāthā

In marked contrast to the *Thera-gāthā* which portrays the tremendous spiritual heights which the male members of the Buddhist monastic community attained in their ardent pursuit of the austere life of *brahmacariya* laid down by the Master, the *Therīgāthā* brings before us the untold miseries and hardships which the Indian women of the Buddha's day had to silently suffer on account of the age-old restrictions which the Indian religions and Indian society had imposed on them. They also had to face perilous risks in the hands of the pleasure-seeking males of the society, both rustic and elite.

An eminent Indian historian, Professor A.S. Altekar, describes the position to us as follows (C. Altekar, A.S., *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization,* p.204 f). 'The prohibition of *upanayana* amounted to spiritual disenfranchisement of women and produced a disastrous effect upon their general position in society. It reduced them to the status of Śūdras . . . What, however, did infinite harm to women was the theory that they were ineligible for them (Vedic sacrifices) because they were of the status of the Śudras. Henceforward they began to be bracketed with Śudras and other backward classes in society. This we find to be the case even in the *Bhagavadgitā* IX.32.'

In the *Manusmṛti* we witness the cruel infliction of domestic subservience on woman. The road to heaven is barred to her and there is hard bargaining with her for the offer of an alternative route. Matrimony and obedience to the husband are the only means whereby a woman can hope to reach heaven. These strictures are viciously packeted within a single stanza in the following : *Nāsti strinām pṛthag yajño na vratam nāp 'yuposathaṃ patiṃ ś uśrūṣate yena tena svarge mahiyate. Manu.* v. 153. (There are no individual sacrifices set apart for women. Nor are there any religious undertakings, nor observances of the fast. On account of their submission and their subservience alone to their husbands, they would be glorified in heaven).

With this awareness of the socio-religious background of India in which the Buddha had to deliver his message of deliverance of man, one has necessarily to be impressed with the tremendous impact he has had on the liberation, not only of the entrenched and enslaved Indian woman, but of woman kind anywhere as a whole. We shall begin with the Buddhist nun, Bhikkhuṇi Somā who, having left her household life and joined the Buddhist monastic community was ardently applying for her spiritual edification and emancipation. The *Therī-gatha* (*Thig.* vv. 60-62) tells us of the almost unassailable opposition Somā had to face from the Indian thinking of the day in the words of the religiously conceived Sinful Satan or *pāpī Māra* who fired at her, almost at point blank range, dissuading her from her spiritual endeavours.

Yaṃ taṃ isihi pattabbaṃ thānaṃ durabhisambhavaṃ a taṃ dvangula-paññāya sakkā pappotum (*Thig.* v. 60) 'What spiritual attainments for you stupid woman who possess only your two-finger wisdom (*dvangula-paññā*)? These heights are

the exclusive reserve of sages (*yaṃ taṃ isihi pattabbaṃ*).' Adequately schooled in the Buddhist tradition as Somā was, she thundered back at him with the following words, driving him fleeing through the woods :

Itthi-bhāvo no kiṃ kayirā cittamhi susuamāhite ñānamhi vattamānamhi sammā dhammaṃ vipassato. (*op. cit.* v. 61) 'Our being men or women, what should it matter to you, when our minds are well set and our wisdom indeed is mature? Illumined by the light of the *dhamma,* we do correctly behold the truth'. This, we wish to uphold as an excellent rebuttal of the global malaise of doubting the intellectual capacities of the female, whether in society or in religion. Could any thing more or any thing better be said in sponsoring a women's lib in any part of the world? We must, without fail, include in this study of the *Therī-gāthā* even a very brief reference to the comfort, both social and spiritual, which the women of India were enabled to enjoy in the religio-cultural haven which the Buddha did carefully create for them, irrespective of caste and creed differences, through his meticulously organised Bhikkhuṇi *sāsana* or the full-fledged monastic community for women. The foregoing observations about Bhikkhuṇi Somā, brief though they are, should impress upon the reader the vastness of the sweeping changes which the benevolence of the Buddha brought upon humanity, both men and women, for their own edification in this very life, through their own attitudinal changes and also for the attainment in this very life in Nirvāna of their final liberation beyond birth and death.

Flashing back to the perilous risks which the Indian women had to face in the hands of pleasure-seeking males of the society to which we have already referred, we now present to you a story from the *Therī-gāthā* which is both bewildering and flabbergasting. It tells us of a man who as a husband and a father stoops so low as to seek sexual gratification with both his wife and his own daughter. The tragic victim here turns out to be his own wife and the mother of his own daughter. She is none other than the fortunate lady who later comes to be embellished in the Sāsana as Therī Uppalavaṇṇā. She is far too great to crash under such lamentably disastrous social collisions.

We call here our Uppalavaṇṇā fortunate because, about fifty years ago, within our living memory, we encountered during the Jury sittings at a Supreme Court trial, a woman who had to face the same bitter pangs of agony of a mother-and-daughter sex abuse during a single night and ended up in the mother murdering her daughter to relieve herself of the insult and the injury. The situation in both cases is identically same, excepting that one was within an elitist home and the other in a slum-dweller setting.

But the reaction pattern stands in marked contrast. What we wish to stress here is no more than the religio-cultural maturity of each individual and the difference of their reaction pattern. If humans can descend to such lower depths to seek sexual gratification through such scandalously ugly situations, Uppalavaṇṇā would have nothing but forthright condemnation, both demolishing and devastating :

Ubho mātā ca dhītā ca mayaṃ āsum sapattiyo tassa me āhu saṃvego abbhuto lomahaṃsano. Dhir'atthu kāmā asuci dugandhā bahu-kaṇṭakā yattha mātā ca dhītā ca sabhariyā mayam ahuṃ. (op. cit. vv. 224-5) 'As mother and daughter, we both had to be co-wives of the same man. There arose in me utter revolt and degrading horipilation. Shame upon this sort of sexual gratification, I said. It is putrid and is perilously painful and is of offensive stench where I, the mother and my daughter are both abused by the same man.' With these words of assessment and evaluation, her reaction was firm and decisive. She rejected the enjoyment of sensual pleasures of sexuality in the household and entered the life of renunciation :

kāmesv'ādīnavaṃ disvā nekhammaṃ daḷha-khemato Sā pabbajiṃ Rājagahe agārasmā anagāriyaṃ. (*op. cit.* v. 226) 'Seeing the evil consequences of lustful sexual gratification, and seeing the firm security in the life of renunciation, from home to homelessness I went forth, in the city of Rajagrha'. And her spiritual ascent came forthwith there from, in the wake of her renunciation :

Pubbe-nivāsaṃ jānāmi dibba-cakkhūṃ visodhitaṃ ceto-paricca-ñānañca sota-dhātu visodhitā. Iddhi'pi

me sacchikatā patto me āsavakkhayo. Cha me abhiññā sacchikatā katam buddhassa sāsanaṃ. (op.cit. v.v. 227-8). 'She gained vision into former lives, Her divine eye was cleansed. She could read thoughts of others. She achieved the power of divine hearing. She gained supernatural powers. And finally she reached the extinction of defilements. Six-fold higher knowledge was gained. Mission of the Buddha was done'. The stature which women of the Indian community regained more than twenty-five centuries ago under the magnanimity and liberalism of the teachings of the Buddha can be highlighted through this portrait gallery of the *Therī-gāthā*. In Buddhism, the religious life spoken of was always closely integrated, the mundane life at the worldly level always being looked upon as preparing the *samsāric* beings for the achievement of their transcendental aspiration of Nirvāna.

Here is yet another brilliant one. Subhā, the young nun dwelling in the mango grove of Jīvaka (Subhā Jivakambavanikā), provides a vibrant example of one who has firm conviction about the spiritual goal she has chosen. She brushes aside with ease, courage and wisdom, and with as much disdain, the tempting and flattering remarks of a seducer (*dhuttaka*) who endeavours to tear her back to lay life to enjoy wanton pleasures of the household with her which she diligently renounces :

Daharā ca apāpikā c'āsi kiṃ te pabbajjā karissati. nikkhipa kāsāya-cīvaraṃ ehi ramāmase pupphite vane. (op. cit. v. 370) 'Childish and innocent art thou. What good will this mendicancy do to you? Discarding your dyed robe, let us rejoice in this flower-decked grove.' Prompt came the shattering reply from Subhā who knew what she was about :

Apathena payātum icchasi candaṃ kilānakaṃ gavesasi Meruṃ laṅghetuṃ icchasi yo tvaṃ Buddha sutaṃ maggayasi. (op. cit.i. 384) 'You wish to journey on a path which is not yours to tread. You wish to grab the moon for a toy for you to play with. You wish to leap over Mt. Meru. In these, you wish to possess a Buddha-child for yourself.' The seducer confessed that it was the inescapable charm of the nun's eyes that bewitched him and drove him to this despicable crime of seducing such an angelic being. *tava me nayanāni dakkhiya bhiyyo kāma-rati pavaḍḍhati. (op cit. vv.* 38 1-2) 'On seeing the beauty of your eyes the intensity of my lustful thoughts does increase.' With no hesitation or reluctance whatsoever, she courageously pulls out one of her eyes and delivers it over to him. The veracity and the vibrancy of the Buddha word which was her religio-cultural stand, which Subhā gently and silently transmitted to the seducer triumphed, and the love-sick young man felt he was, in his crime, virtually wrapped up in flames (*aggiṃ pajjalitam'va lingiya*) or was gripping a deadly venomous snake (*gaṇhissaṃ āsivisaṃ viya*) and he apologises to the young nun whom he was offending. He was forgiven. And it was all's well that ends well. Freed from danger (*muttā*), she goes to the presence of the Buddha, with her eye restored (*cakkhu āsi yathā-purāṇakan'ti*).

One of the finest examples of a successful rejection of the highest possible achievements in mundane life, leading up to the final transcendental goal of Nirvāna is in the portrayal of the life of Therī Sumedhā (*Thig. vv.* 448-522). Sumedhā was born as the daughter of the chief queen of King Koñca of Mantāvatī. She was virtuous and wise and socially accomplished on many counts. Perfectly disciplined as a Buddhist, she would approach her parents and tell them of the relative worthlessness of worldly pleasures they were offering her when compared with those of Nirvāna in which she was keenly absorbed (*nibbānābhiratā*).

Sumedhā's father had already agreed to give her in marriage to King Anikaratta and she was to be his chief queen. Young as she was, she was going to inherit command in the kingdom, be an heir to wealth and prestige.

The religious life of *brahmacariya* was going to be painfully difficult, her father would indicate to her. Decide to enjoy the pleasures of the world, dear girl, he insisted :

Agga-mahesī bhavissasi Anikarattassa rājino bhariyā. Sīlāni brahmacariyaṃ pabbajjā dukkarā puttaka. Rajje āṇā dhanaṃ issariyaṃ bhogā sukhā daharikā pi. Bhuñjāhi kāma-bhoge. Vāreyyaṃ hotu te putta. (op. cit vv. 463-4) 'As the wife of King

Anikaratta, you shall be his chief queen. O dear girl, Observance of *sīla*, and practice of higher religious life of *brahmacariya* as a mendicant is hard to be undertaken. In the kingdom you shall have command over others and wealth, authority, possessions and comfort, 0 child. Enjoy sensual pleasures of household life. May marriage be yours'.

But she would relentlessly argue against her father's submissions, pointing out that it is the ignorance of the truths as taught by the Buddha which drive the majority of people to reconcile with *samsāric* continuance and choose to be born in the celestial worlds : *saccāni amma buddha-vara-desitāni te bahutarā ajānantā ye abhinandantā bhava-gatam pihanti devesu upapattiṃ.* (op. cit. v. 454).

'The majority of people, mother, not knowing the truths as taught by the master, rejoice in saṁsāric journeying. So they delight in being born in the heavenly realms.'

She would convincingly argue further, saying that birth in the heavenly worlds is by no means permanent, being caught up within the impermanent saṃsāric whirl. The foolish and the ignorant dread not at being born again and again : *devesu 'pi uppatti asassatā bhava gate aniccamhi. na ca santasanti bālā punappunaṃ jāyitabbassa.* (op. cit. v. 455) 'Birth even among devas is not permanent, for they are within the rapidly changing samsāric whirl. The fools fear not in being born again and again. No better sermon in praise of the Buddhist spirit of *nekkhamma* or renunciation, so convincingly argued, and such an honest acceptance of this chosen life (*silāni brahmucariyaṃ yāvajī'va na dūseyyaṃ (op. cit.* v 459) as portrayed in these verses of Theri Sumedhā could have been found elsewhere. The *Therī-gāthā* is so replete with such courageous expressions of conviction by women, women who were eminent in their learning (*bhikkhuṇi ca bahussutā*). Men shall always bend down their heads in respectful adoration and admiration before them for what they deserve.

Bhikkhu Dhammavihāri

THERAVĀDA : 'The School of the Elders' inclusive of their teachings and literature designated in Pāli literature as Theravāda (Skt. Sthaviravāda) is also often designated Theriyā. The adherents of the school are called either Theravādins or Theriyā. The term *theravāda* occurring once in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1.164) seems to have been taken erroneously by some scholars[1] as a designation for doctrines represented by the Pāli scriptures. But the commentator has, quite rightly taken the word here to mean a 'firm grasp' (*thiravāda*) and also a 'thorough knowledge' (*ñānavāda*) of the teachings received from one's teacher, Ālāra kālāma in this particular instance (*MA*.II,171).In fact there was no Buddhism to speak of at the time for these words are attributed to the ascetic Siddhattha before his enlightenment. Therefore logically one cannot extend the history of the Theravāda designation to the life time of the Buddha. It is also impossible to imagine that the close disciples of the Buddha with their unbounded devotion to their master would have agreed to designate his teachings as the teachings of the elders (*therā*) by which term were known the senior disciples themselves. It is therefore much more logical to think that the designation came into vogue after the demise of the Buddha when the disciple elders became the custodians of the Master's teachings.

The Sri Lankan Pāli Chronicles date the designating of the Buddha's teachings as Theravāda from the day of the conclusion of the first Buddhist Council (*paṭhama saṅgīti)* said to have commenced three months after the demise of the Buddha and continued for seven months. So the *Dīpavaṃsa* states (5.10) "by these and other five hundred Elders, who had accomplished their mission (viz. *arhants*), the Dhamma-vinaya was rehearsed. The collection made by the Elders *(therehi)* is called Theravāda". The *Mahāvaṃsa* agrees (5.1), "That redaction of the true Dhamma, which was arranged at the beginning by the great Elders Mahākassapa and others, is called Theriya". The *Dīpavaṃsa* (5.14-15) adds further that the Theravāda collection of the Dhamma-Vinaya was the very best (*aggaṃ saṅgahaṃ)* and that " the best of the Elders' teachings (*theravāda*), pure and faultless, remained for a long time, for a period of ten decades". The *Mahāvaṃsa* (5.2) states that the School of the Elders remained one and united in the first hundred years. But other schools based on views of individual teachers (*ācariyavāda)* arose afterwards.

Thus we find here that in the Pāli chronicles the two terms *theravāda* and *ācariyavāda* are used respectively for the original redaction of the Dhamma-Vinaya and its custodians, viz the Theravādins and, the break away dissentient schools. But quite intriguingly there is at least one instance in the Vinaya commentary (I.213) of Buddhaghosa where the two terms seem to have exchanged places regarding the importance given to them. Accordingly, by the term *ācariyavāda* is meant the commentarial tradition *(aṭṭhakathā- tanti)* founded on the recurring legal decisions, free from the scriptural texts, established by the five hundred arahant redactors of the Dhamma. Theravāda, on the other hand, is used here in the interpretation of the term *attano mati* or 'one's personal view'. All such personal inferences of Elders, free from the discourses and the teachers' views *(ācariyavāda)* conforming to the discourses, arrived at through one's own intelligence, found in the commentaries of the *Sutta, Abhidhamma* and the *Vinaya* are termed here *theravāda*. These latter are said to be of a lower order than the afore said *ācariyavāda* and not vice versa as in the chronicles. This instance illustrates quite clearly that these terms have to be interpreted according to the context in which they are used and that they do not convey a uniform idea in all contexts.

First Schism in the Saṅgha

As shown above, according to the view of the Pāli chroniclers, the original redaction of the Dhamma-Vinaya was called Theravāda. Therefore who ever presented an amended version of this first redaction would be labelled a break away school or a dissident school. Mahāsāṅghikas are thus considered by the Theravādins as the first dissident school. But this view may not have been acceptable to the Mahāsāṅghikas who,as will be pointed out later, also considered themselves to be orthodox. Anyway all Buddhist chroniclers, to whatever school they belonged, held *Theravāda* (*Sthaviravāda)* and *Mahāsāṅghika* (or *Mahasaṅgīti)* to be the two oldest schools of Buddhism. Yet they do not have a uniform view on the date or the cause of this first schism.

The Sri Lankan Pāli chronicle *Dipavaṃsa* — generally dated in the 4th century A.C — is probably the oldest source which gives us information regarding this event. It, along with the later *Mahāvaṃsa*, and the Sinhala works following them, give the Theravāda version of this historical event. The evil *Vajjiputtaka* monks, says the *Dīpavaṃsa*, evicted by the elders (of the Second Council), who had received the support of others, the many unrighteous persons, ten thousand in number, assembled together and made (another) redaction of the Dhamma. Therefore this rehearsal of the Dhamma is called the Mahāsaṅgīti, the Great Rehearsal. Elaborating on this the chronicle says, the *Mahāsāṅghītika* monks caused confusion in the Buddha's message. Having broken up the original redaction they made up another redaction. A few more details regarding the manner in which they changed the original collection, by confusing the arrangement already in place, dropping some parts here and adding new material there, in all the three *Piṭakas*, are referred to by the chronicler. It is quite possible that the account given here is based on some awareness of the differences between the Theravāda *Tipiṭaka* and its Prakrit or Sanskrit counterpart available to the composers of the chronicle. The *Mahāvaṃsa* deletes all the details found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (*Dpv*.5.30-38, *Mhv*.5.3). Both chronicles agree that both the *Theravāda* and the *Mahāsāṅghika* schools later split up into a number of other schools. In the Theravāda group were altogether twelve schools with the original Theravādins, but in the other group were only six with the original *Mahāsāṅghikas* (*Dpv*.5.39 *ff*; *Mhv*.5.5 *ff*.). The schools in the Theravāda group were the Mahimsāsakas, Vajjiputtakas, Dhammottariyas, Bhadrayānikas, Chandāgārikas, Sammitīyas, Sabbatthivādins, Dhammaguttikas, Kassapiyas, Saṅkantikas, and Suttavādins. (*Dpv*.5.45 *ff*).

The Buddhist chronicler Vasumitra has left quite a different tradition regarding the first schism in the Order. One hundred years after the demise of the Buddha, says he, a Council was held in Pāṭaliputra under the patronage of Aśoka. In it were discussed the five controversial points put up by the two monks Mahādeva and Bhadra which ultimately resulted in the division of the Order and the emergence of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*. The tradition of the Sammitīyas, as given by Bhavya (Bhāvaviveka), was that a council was held under the patronage of kings Nanda and Mahāpadma, 137 years after the Buddha's demise, to discuss these five points. The same authority reports that the Sthaviras say a council was held 160 years after the demise of the Buddha, under Aśokas patronage, at Pāṭaliputra. Certain controversial questions were considered at this council and they led to the Mahāsāṅghika schism.[2]

Four of the five controversial points, as given in *Sarvastivādin Abhidharma* literature as raised by the monk named Mahādeva, said to have been guilty of several heinous crimes, but claiming himself to be an arahant, concern the spiritual content and the attainment of arahantship. By the fifth Mahādeva claimed that one entering into a spiritual attainment makes an exclamation such as "how sad"! (*aho dukkhaṃ*).[3] It has to be pointed out that these five points, more or less in similar terminology, are also found in the *Kathāvatthu* (II.1-4; 5-6). The *Kathāvatthu* commentary attributes them to some sub-sects of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*, but they are said to be rejected by the *Theriyas*.

The Theravāda tradition that their redaction of the Dhamma –Vinaya was the one approved by the Elders of the First Council and that the Mahāsāṅghikas redaction was the amended version approved by the Vajjiputtaka monks evicted after the Second Council and, therefore, that the Mahāsaṅghikas were a break away group from the orthodox Theravāda was not acceptable to the Mahāsaṅghikas. Vallée Poussin points out that the Mahāsaṅghikas themselves claim to be an ancient and orthodox sect.[4]

The causes and the time of the separation of these two schools have been the subject of controversy among modern scholarship for a long time. Those leaning towards the Pāli tradition have taken almost unquestioningly the views presented by the Pāli chronicles. But in fact none of the Vinaya accounts of the Second Buddhist Council speak of the eviction of the holders of the ten controversial points or the splitting up of the Saṅgha as a result of these views. Speaking on this Watters says, "Very little is told in any treatise about the effects of the Council's actions on the Sinning Brethren, but we are left to infer that they submitted to authority and returned to orthodox practices. There is nothing whatever to indicate that they seceded and formed a great sect or school".[5] Vallée Poussin also holds that there is no evidence to identify the *Mahāsaṅghikas* with the *Vaiśāli* monks expelled by the Second Council as held by Sinhalese sources.[6]

Regarding the Second Buddhist Council, one has also to take into account the fact that the *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya* also has a brief account of it which refers to the problem of cash donations to the monks. This in fact is the most important question according to all Vinaya accounts including the Pāli one. Here Warder[7] speculates that the *Mahāsaṅghikas* have either suppressed the rest of the questions as trivial, or they themselves later relaxed them or, on the other hand, these were added later by the *Sthaviravādins*. He adds that " there is reason to suspect that it is a tradition handed down by monks sympathetic to the Vaiśāli community who were unable to suppress the episode completely but wished to pass over it discreetely as possible". Here he seems to conditionally support the Theravādins. But, even then, as the *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya* agrees with the orthodox party in condemning the Vaiśāli monks, Warder thinks that the communities remained united for sometimes after the Vaiśāli affair accepting the decisions arrived at. If any dissident feelings remained it awaited the arising of questions which did not seem to be directly answered by anything in the Tripitaka.

Anyhow Warder thinks the schism must have taken place at a date between the Vaiśāli council and the reign of Aśoka Maurya, probably at the assembly held during the reign of Nanda and Mahāpadma, referred to above, where the disputed five points were discussed. The majority who voted for the five points formed themselves into the *Mahāsaṅghika* School. The defeated minority, who apparently included a number of very senior monks refused to accede to the majority decision, constituted themselves into the school of the *Sthaviravāda*. It is probably the same event, but transferred to the time of Aśoka, one hundred years after the Buddha, that the Sarvastivāda Abhidharma works link to the formation of the Sthavira School in Kashmir by the Arhants who flew there and, the Mahāsaṅghika School in Pātaliputra by the majority group.[8]

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (5.271 *ff*), Emperor Aśoka who examined the Buddhist monks in his empire for their views on the Buddha, realized that all orthodox monks declared him to be a *Vibhajjavādin*, an exponent of logical analysis. The chronicle says the emperor was very happy when Arhant Moggalīputta Tissa confirmed this view as correct. Oldernberg (*Vin.* XLII) and, following him, Dutt[9] identify *theravāda* with *vibhajjavāda*. It is possible that this identification is generally accepted among Theravādins by the time of the Pāli chronicles. Some interesting piece of evidence emerging from one of the seven Abhidharma texts of the Sarvastivādins, the *Vijñānakāya-śāstra*, shows that this identification was

known to them. In this text the author, for the first time, try to establish the 'everthing exists' (*sarvāstivo*) concept against the argument of the Vibhajyavādin named Maudgalyāyana.It is quite possible that this Maudgalyāyana was the same as the above Moggalipurta Tissa who refutes the 'everything exists' concept in his *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa*. Ven. Dhammajoti[10] has shown that even some of the phrases in both texts on this controversy bear much resemblance. The *Vijñānakāya-śāstra* is generally regarded as a post-*Kathāvatthu* composition. It is not clear why the Buddha was called a speaker of analysis'. It is possible that his analytical approach to phenomena beginning with the human personality analysed into aggregates (*khandha*), sense spheres (*āyatana*) and elements (*dhātu*) may have prompted the adoption of this designation. However the canonical example given by Dutt[11] does not help to solve the problem. For in the case shown by him the Buddha merely says that "here I am an analyst" which does not convey the meaning that he was always an analyst. It is only one of the four ways of answering a question shown by him, which also includes definite or absolute (*ekaṃsa*) form of answering.

Among the views held by Theravādins are the rejection of the personalist view held by the Vajjiputtiyas (Vātsiputriyas), Sammitiyas and others, the "all exist" theory of the Sabbatthivādins and the theory that an arahant is liable to fall held by some schools.Theravādins fully upheld the complete integrity of an arahant.André Baraeu, on the basis of a detailed study of the Kathāvatthu commentary, has identified two hundred and twenty two theses which he attributes to the Mahāvihāra school in Sri Lanka. However it is not clear why he attributes them only to this school alone. The commentator, I think, attributes them to Theravādins in general. It is correct to say that some of them may have been rejected by the Abbayagiri and Jetavana schools. R.A.L.H. Gunawardhana claims to have identified fourteen theses associated with the Abhayagiri School and none, so far,has been attributed to the Jetavana School.[12] Another scholar[13] has shown that Sarvāstivāda and Sautrāntika views have influenced Sri Lankan Theravāda views during the commentarial stage especially through such commentators as Buddhaghosa.

Theravāda Literature and the Pāli Language

Arahant Mahinda, credited with the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka, is said to have mastered the Buddhist scriptures, the three *Piṭakas*, which was in what we now call the Pāli language, with their commentaries rehearsed at the two previous Councils, viz. the First and the Second Councils, within three years from his *upasampadā* (*VinA*. p.52). The Third Buddhist Council, presided over by his preceptor, Elder Moggaliputta Tissa, was held subsequently, but prior to his leaving for Sri Lanka. The final *Abhidhamma* treatise, the *Kathāvatthu*, authored by Moggaliputta Tissa was added to the *Tipiṭaka* at this Council. Naturally, therefore, the Theravāda tradition introduced to Sri Lanka by the missionary monks is regarded as based on the scriptures approved by the three Buddhist Councils. The *Samantapāsādikā* (*Vin A*.62 *f*.) gives a long list of the Elders of Sri Lanka beginning with the Elders Ariṭṭha who received the Vinaya Piṭaka, the five Nikāyas and the seven Abhidhamma Pakaraṇas from Elder Mahinda and others and continued to hold them for posterity. An important event in the history of the Theravāda literature in Sri Lanka was the first recital of the whole of the Vinaya Piṭaka by the Elder Ariṭṭha at Anuradhapura which is said to have marked the religion taking roots in the Island. After completing many religious activities under the guidance of Arhant Mahinda, king Tissa of Sri Lanka once questioned the Elder whether the religion is now established in the country. "Yes, it is established but not yet taken root " replied the Elder. For that to happen a child born in the Island of Tambapanni of parents belonging to the same Island should enter the Order and learn the *vinaya* here and teach it here itself, said the elder and then will the roots of the dispensation descend. It was to fulfill this condition that the Elder Ariṭṭha, a nephew of the king himself, at a grand ceremony within the Thūpārāma premises, performed this recital of the *vinaya* (*ibid* 102 *f*.). Anyhow it indicates the place accorded to the rules of discipline in the Theravāda tradition. In this respect it is also worthy of note that in the Theravāda tradition, as recorded in Pāli commentaries and chronicles, the lineage of elders starts with Upāli, the expert on Vinaya among the closesrt disciples of the Buddha.Even when the names of the elders of the Theravāda lineage of Sri Lanka are given the commentator was quite keen to emphasize their expertise in the Vinaya (*ibid* 62 *f*.)

As shown above Sri Lankan Theravāda tradition holds that the Pāli Tipiṭaka with the commentaries were introduced by the missionary group led by Arhant Mahinda. But this view has not been accepted by all modern scholars. For instance Oldemberg (*Vin.*I.II) has other views about it. He thinks that the "naturalization of the whole great Buddhist literature in the island of Ceylon does not look as if it had been brought about by the sudden appearance of missionaries from the Magadha kingdom". Instead he surmises it to be the result of a long and continued intercourse between Sri Lanka and the adjacent parts of India. A similar idea has been expressed by Warder[14] who thinks that the Tripiṭaka was brought to Sri Lanka "probably piecemeal as the monks who knew the various sections of it settled in the Island and passed on what they know to their students". Whatever may be the truth about these surmises it is not impossible that at least some of the text of the present Pāli canon or certain sections in them may have been introduced to Sri Lanka after the initial introduction carried out by the first mission. Suffice it to give the instance of the *Buddhāpadāna* of the *Apadānapāli* the composer of which should have been familiar with descriptions of Buddha-fields (*Buddhakṣetra*) in Mahāyāna sūtras. Reference to a Buddha image (*Buddha-bimba)* in one of the poems in the same text also points to the lateness of at least some parts of the text. There were no Buddha images prior to the Kushāna period in India (from the 2nd cent A.C).

It is generally agreed that there is a close similarity between the *Sutta (Sūtra),* (especially the first four Nikāyas) and Vinaya Piṭakas of the Theravāda School and the available texts, mostly in Chinese and Tibetan translations, of the other schools. But the same cannot be said of the Abhidhamma (*Abhidharma)* piṭakas of various schools. Only two complete sets of canonical Abhidharma texts, Theravāda and Sarvastivāda, are available for comparison. The closest the latter comes to the Theravāda is in their Saṅgītiparyāya which is accepted as a commentary to the Saṅgīti Sūtra common to both Schools.[15] Therefore one can say that the seven Abhidhamma texts of the Pāli canon are exclusively of the Theravāda school. After transmitting the Pāli Tipiṭaka texts orally for more than two centuries, the Sri Lankan monks ultimately committed them to writing in the 1st century B.C. at Aluvihāra in Mātale. The Theravāda commentarial tradition, at first orally transmitted by Indian missionary monks to their Sri Lankan disciples, developed gradually into a full fledged commentarial system in their hands. By the fifth century A.C. there were in Sri Lanka not just one, but several collections of commentaries, mostly in Sinhala, the language of the Island. Some of them were in book form, but others as scattered literature embodying the views of learned teachers of the past. Among them there were at least three, the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccariya-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Kurundi- aṭṭhakathā* regarded as authoritative by the commentator Buddhaghosa and others. The *Andhaṭṭhakathā*, probably from Andhra in East India, was often referred to by Buddhaghosa to reject its views. A number of Indian scholar monks came over to Sri Lanka to translate into Pāli, the Piṭaka- language, the Sinhala commentaries developed in Sri Lanka. Buddhadatta, who led the way did not achieve very much. Buddhaghosa who follwed him accomplished the bulk of the work. The Vinaya, the first four Nikāyas and the Abhidhamma commentaries were translated by him. Dhammapāla who came later translated most of the Khuddaka Nikāya commentaries. But two or three of them are also attributed to Buddhaghosa. Compilation of sub-commentaries was also undertaken by Dhammapāla. Whatever these three could not achieve was completed by the local monks. Translation of the Theravāda commentaries from the local Sinhala language into Pāli, an international language, was undoubtedly a great encouragement for the spread of Theravāda ideas in South and Southeast Asian regions.[16]

The language of the Theravāda scriptures, commentaries sub-commentaries etc. and some other works on a few non-religious subjects is today generally designated Pāli. But no one knows by which name the language of the Piṭakas was known to the Theravāda missionaries who came to Sri Lanka from the Asokan empire or their colleagues back at home. Emperor Asoka refers to the community of monks in the empire as the Magadhan Saṅgha (*māgadhe saṃghaṃ*).[17] As the missionary monks also came from the Magadhan empire, in Sri Lanka they and their language would have come to be designated as Magadhan. Perhaps this was why the language of the scriptures also came to be called the Magadhan language (*māgadha-bhāsā*). Possibly for Sri Lankan Buddhists the language of the scriptures was nothing but the language spoken by the Buddha himself. They did not have the same questions modern scholars raise regarding the origin or the home of Pāli. In the discourses the Buddha is known as a Kosalan. But by the time of the Buddha's

demise it was the Magadhan kingdom of Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu that was growing rapidly in power and extent. Possibly, gradually the Buddha himself came to be identified as a Magadhan who spoke the Magadhan language. Even when the Buddha permits his disciples to learn his teachings in their own dialects (*sakāy aniruttiyā*), the commentator interprets the word *sakāya* in it as a reference to the Buddha's Magadhan dialect (*Vin*. II.139; *Vin A*. VI.1214). Thus naturally Sri Lankan Buddhists thought the scriptures were in the Buddha's own dialect which was also the dialect of the Magadhan monks who introduced the religion to their country. To accord this language of the scriptures, the same spoken by the Buddha himself, the highest respect and regard in their own minds, they called it "the natural and the original dialect of all beings" (*sabhāva-niruttiyā Māgadhikāya sabbasattānam mūlabhāsāya, Vism*. 441 *f. P.T.S)*

Modern scholars do not agree with the above view on the language of the Theravāda scriptures. Instead they have detected, scattered within the Pāli scriptures, traces of the influence of the Magadhan dialect.[18] The view of modern scholars regarding the home of the Pāli language and of the Theravāda canon are sharply divided into two main schools. Of these Oldernberg (*Vin*.II.IV *f*.) holds that the home of Pāli and also of the Pāli Tipiṭaka should be looked for to the South of the Vindhyas rather than to the North of it, probably in the kingdoms of Kālinga and Andhrā. In evidence he cites the Kaṇḍagiri inscription of Aira Mahāmeghavāhana, king of Kālinga, the language of which, according to him, comes close to Pāli. Speaking about the introduction of the Tipiṭaka to Sri Lanka, he thinks the peninsula of the Deccan rather than Hindostan has the better claim to have been the medium for transplanting the Buddhist literature into Sri Lanka (*ibid. L* II *f*). But these views have not been accepted by all. Franke, after an exhaustive study, concludes that the home of literary Pāli was at Ujjain around which were inscriptional dialects more akin to Pāli than in the East, South and South-west. Cosma Körosi and Wassiljew have noted that Theravādins preserved their literature in Paiśāci. Konow places the home of Pāli at Ujjain or more popularly about the Vindhya mountains. He thinks Pāli closely agrees with Paiśāci. Grierson held that Pāli is the literary form of Paiśāci. But does not agree with Konow on the home of Pāli. He thought its origin was in the North- west, close to Takṣaśilā and that it passed from there via Rajaputana up to the Konkan coast.[19]

There is also corroborative evidence for the latter view from Sri Lankan and other sources. Vidisa, the home of Arhant Mahinda's mother was also his birth place. He and his missionary group left for Sri Lanka from Vedisagiri in Avanti. But there is also evidence for close relations between Avanti and the Pāli language going back to a more ancient period.

The Tibetan historian Bu-ston[20] refers to a tradition that Elder Kātyāyana, credited with the conversion of the borderland, was regarded as the patron saint of the Sthaviras who spoke an intermediate dialect. He also refers to another view that Apabhraṃsa was the dialect of the Sthaviras. Although this particular tradition regarding Katyāyana is not found in Pāli literature there is evidence to conclude that the Pāli tradition give an important place to Mahākaccāyana (or Mahā Kaccāna *s.v.*) especially with regard to its commentarial tradition.

The Brahmin house-priest of the King of Avanti, Caṇdapajjota, he was converted by the Buddha on his visit to him to invite the Buddha to Ujjain at the instance of the king. Ordained and becoming an Arahant, he became an expert in giving detailed expositions of brief statements of the Dhamma made by the Buddha. Declining his invitation to go to Avanti the Buddha entrusted him the task of taking his message to Avanti and the neighbouring regions. There he gathered around him a small band of pupils. One of them was Sona Kuṭikaṇṇa who, on his visit to see the Buddha, recited the stanzas of the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, now included in the *Sutta Nipāta*, in his presence. These stanzas, said to be recorded in very old Pāli, could be some of the earliest portions of the Pāli canon. Mahākaccāna also, through Sona, requested the Buddha to amend certain rules of discipline to suit the conditions of the regions outside the Middle country.(*s.v.* Soṇakutikaṇṇa, *DPPN.)*. Mahā Kaccāyana also seems to have extended his services to neighbouring regions as well. It is significant that the monks of these areas, particularly those referred to as Pāveyyakā (or Pātheyyakā) and Avanti-dakkhināpathakā, were in the forefront in calling for the Second Council, to defend the Vinaya rules laid down by the Buddha, against the more liberal minded Vajjian, monks in the East (Pācina). Most of these monks of the western regions were forest-dwellers and followed the ascetic code of discipline (*Vin*.II 299) Arhant Mahinda, a son of Vīdisā in Avanti, preferred

to live a quiet life in the Mihintale hill, away from the busy life in the capital city of Anurudhapura, Sri Lanka.

The unsung esteem with which, Mahākaccāyana was held by Theravādins is shown by the attribution of the authorship of the two post-canonical Pāli works, the *Peṭakopadesa* (tr. The Piṭaka-Disclosure) and the *Nettippakaraṇa* (tr. The Guide) which set forth the method, same in both works, for compiling commentaries on the Buddha's utterances as recorded in the *Suttas*.[21] It is also notable that the first ever Pāli grammer, although a late work, is also named after the elder Mahā Kaccāyana. Prof. Malalasekara thinks that all these three works must have been produced by a school named after Mahākaccāna (s.v.*DPPN*.). Whatever it is, it indicates the importance of this son of Avanti for the history of the Theravāda School, and also the history of the Pāli language.

Both Mahinda and his sister Saṅghamittā were born in Vidisā and must have spent their early youth in Vidisā where their mother Vedisadevi lived. Therefore they must have had-their early education in the same area and had a grounding in the language of these areas, identified above as Paiśāci, and also the Pāli scriptures developed in the area. An indication of the knowledge of Pāli scriptures in the area is found in an inscription from the stūpa No 1 at Sānchi (*EI*.II.p.104) which refers to a *bhikkhu* named Devagiri versed in the five Nikāyas (*pacanekāyikasa bhichuno*). The word Nikāya is used only in the Pāli tradition for the five collections of discourses in the Sutta Piṭaka. Bühler has noted that the characters of this inscription resemble those in Asokan inscriptions. An inscription referring to a monk named Budharakhita with the same title *paṃca nekāyika* has also been discovered at Barhut.

Arhant Moggalīputta Tissa, acclaimed as the president of the Third Council and the author of the Theravāda Abhidhamma text, the *Kathāvatthu*, was also the preceptor of Arhant Mahinda. A relic casket, inscribed with the name " of the Good Man Mogalīputa" (*sa purisa Mogalīputasa*) has been discovered from the stūpa number 2 of the Sanchi group.[22] Geiger thinks that it refers to the Moggaliputta Tissa of the Ceylonese chronicles. Found in the same stūpa is another relic casket with the relics of the Good Man Majhima and the Good Man Kasapagota, the teacher of the Himālaya' (*sapurisa Majkimasa* and *sapurisa Kasapagotasa Hemavatācariyasa*). These, according to the Pāli chronicles, were two of the missionary monks sent by Moggaliputta Tissa to the Himalayan regions. These two names also occur in some other inscriptions from the Sonari group. Another name found in a Sonari urn inscription is that of a monk named Dadabhisāra, identified with Dundubhissara of the *Dīpavaṃsa* said to have been included in the mission to the Himālayan region. Although, according to the chronicles, the missions were dispatched by Moggaliputta Tissa from Paṭalīputta, this inscriptional evidence seems to indicate that the Theravāda centre of the Elder was at Vīdīsā in Avanti. In fact Mahinda is said to have spent some time in Vīdisā before leaving for Sri Lanka with his co-missionaries. All these facts indicate the close relations between the Theravāda School, the Pāli scriptures and Vīdisā in Avanti.

Geographical Expansion of Theravāda

Both the *Mahāvaṃsa* (12.1 *ff*) and the *Dīpavaṃsa* (8.1-13) record that, at the conclusion of the Third Buddhist Council, Moggaliputta Tissa, knowing that the religion will be established in the future in border regions, sent groups of monks to several regions within and outside the Asokan empire. Altogether nine groups of monks of five members each were sent by the Elder.

Of these, as noted above, one, possibly the only one sent to a country outside the sub-continent, arrived in Sri Lanka where the reigning king at the time was Devanampiya Tissa. According to the Pāli chronicles, he had already formed friendly relations with Asoka and, was soon converted to Buddhism by Mahinda. From that time up to now Sri Lanka has remained a Buddhist country with the Theravāda School enjoying the dominant position throughout. The introduction of the Pāli Tipiṭaka to the Island and committing them to writing in the 1st century B.C., the development of the Theravāda commentaries in Sinhala, and their translation into Pāli, starting in the 5th century A.C., were referred to above. With the possession of these Sri Lanka soon became the main centre of Theravāda Buddhism.

During the first millennium three main schools of Buddhism centred in the three great monastic institutions of Anuradhapura, Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri vihāra and Jetavana vihāra had come up in Sri Lanka. Of these, Mahāvihāra was founded by king Devānampiyatissa under the guidance of Elder

Mahinda, and it remained the main orthodox Theravāda school throughout. The extant Pāli commentaries, according to the translator monks, present the then accepted Theravāda commentarial tradition unmixed with personal views of various teachers. The Abhayagiri vihāra founded by king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya in the 1st century B.C., became the centre of the break away group from the Mahāvihāra, the Dharmarucis. Although recognized basically as a Theravādin group, they had a much more liberal attitude, for they allowed members of non- Theravāda Hīnayāna schools as well as Mahāyānists to live within the Abhayagiri premises. Acceptance of certain Mahāyāna views by some of them led to confrontations with the orthodox Mahāvihāravāsins and rulers like Vohārikatissa, Goṭhābhaya etc. several times in the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. The third Theravādin group, the Sāgalikas (s.v. Sāgalikā) was centred in the Jetavanavihāra, in Anuradhapura, founded by King Mahasen in the 4th century A.C. They were, in fact a break away group from the Abhayagiri School. Although they are often portrayed by Mahāvihāra chroniclers as collaborating with the Abhayagiri school, there is no clear indication of any special views held by them.[23] By about the 7th century A.C these three schools had won recognition even in foreign circles as the three sub-divisions of the Theravāda school.[24] However, the three schools were united into one school in the 12th century under Parākramabahu I and since then only the Mahāvihāra school has prevailed, completely obliterating the existence of the other two schools (*Mhv.*78.5 *ff.*)

The above reference to the founding of the Sthavira school in Kashmir is of Sarvāstivāda origin. Sarvāstivādins, by all accounts is a school separated from the original Sthaviravādins, at first maintained their position as orthodox Sthaviravādins. Their " all exists" (*sarvaṃ asti*) concept is rejected in the *Kathāvatthu*. Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma text, the *Vijñānakāya* (1st cent. A.C.) for the first time tries to establish the "all exists" concept against Maudgalyāyana's *vibhajyavāda*. They became popular in the North western regions, in Kashmir and Gandhāra and probably wanted to claim for Kashmir the origin of the Sthavira school. But the Theravāda tradition claims this for Arahant Majjhantika sent by Moggalīputta Tissa. The Sarvāstivāda tradition also has the name Madhyantika, a pupil of Ananda, as the apostle of Kashmir. Probably both names, one in Pāli and the other Sanskrit, refer to the same person. But as in most other cases of Buddhist history, there is some chronological confusion in the records.

One of the missions sent by Moggalīputta Tissa went to the Himālayan region. They were led by the two Elders Majjhima and Kassapagotta (*Dv.*8.10), whose bodily relics have been discovered, as referred to above, in a number of Stūpas in Sānchi and Sonari. This Kassapagotta has been given the title Hemavatācariya, 'Teacher of the Himavat' which shows the important place occupied by him. Warder[25] points out that the School of Buddhism, Haimavata, formed by the Sthaviras of the Himavant was also known as Kāśyapiyas (Pāli Kassapiyā) after the above mentioned leader of the mission sent there. He thinks that they represent a compromise between sthaviravāda and Sarvāstivāda.

Myanmar and Thailand, both traditional Theravāda countries, claim that Moggalīputta Tissa's mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, led by the Elders Soṇa and Uttara, introduced Buddhism to their countries. Identification of Suvaṇṇabhūmi of the Buddhist missionaries has, however, been problematical. Stories of ships on commercial business going to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (*Skt. Svarṇabhūmi*) are often found in Indian tales. Therefore it could have been a land beyond the sea from India. Some think that the whole of the south-east Asian peninsula is covered by the name. Some others thought it to be a place somewhere in Indonesia. In Myanmar, it is the Southern region that is covered by the name Suvaṇṇabhūmi. In historical times the area was dominated by the Mons. However no evidence of the existence of Buddhism in this region during the Pre-Christian era has been so far discovered. Thais, on the other hand, point to the very ancient Buddhist ruins of Nakon Pathom as a possible point of contact by sea with India even as early as the Asokan period. They also point to place names as U-T'om and Supanburi as indications of relations of the area to Suvaṇṇabhūmi. It was also in this same region that the Mon kingdom of Dvarāvati flourished later. Warder[26] also draws attention to the fact that both Lower Myanmar and the adjacent Thai area were Mon regions but prince Dhaninvat (s.v. Siam) thinks that the episode of Soṇa and Uttara refers to a pre-Mon period.

While some scholars are ready to push back the period of the introduction of Buddhism to Myanmar even to the 2nd century A.C., concrete evidence for the existence of Theravāda Buddhism in Lower Myanmar

are available from at least the 5[th] century. Gold plate inscriptions of Pāli texts from the Tipiṭaka show that Theravāda Buddhism was very much alive in the Pyu kingdom of Sri Ksetra in Old Prome. While scholars like Nihar Ranjan Ray trace the Theravāda in this region to South India on palaeographic grounds, de Casparis, based on more recent research, prefers to trace, on the same palaeographic grounds, the Pyu Pāli Buddhism to Sri Lanka.[27]

In the 11[th] century A.C. king Anawratha of Pagān was converted to Theravāda Buddhism by the eminent monk Shin Arahan from Lower Myanmar. But the king had to invade Thaton to accomplish the task of getting the Pāli scriptures, monks and ritual objects to establish Theravāda in Northern Myanmar. To strengthen his efforts he sought the support of his friend, Vijayabāhu I of Sri Lanka, to get the Pāli Tipiṭaka and commentaries from that country to compare them with the texts he got from Thaton. However it was in the 12[th] century that the Myanmāri bhikkhu Chapata who received his higher ordination in Sri Lanka from a combined chapter of Sri Lankan and Myanmāri monks and spent nearly ten years in Sri Lanka studying under the guidance of Sri Lankan teachers, introduced the Mahāvihāra *upasampadā* of the Sihala Saṅgha to Pagan. He was assisted by four other monks, one from Sri Lanka, two from India and another from Cambodia who had all received their higher ordination of the Sīhala tradition. The Sīhala Saṅgha gradually expanded in Myanmar until in the 15[th] century a group of monks, especially from Lower Myanmar, who received their higher ordination in the Kotte kingdom in Sri Lanka re-established the higher ordination of the Sīhala tradition in a boundary consecrated at Pegu in Lower Myanmar. Efforts of king Dhammaceti, the person behind all the above work, to bring unity to the divided Saṅgha and establish a more pure form of Buddhism, was crowned with success by establishing the dominance of the Sīhala Saṅgha in Myanmar.[28]

Except for the views referred to above of the early prevalence of Buddhism in Thailand, there is no direct evidence of the date or the period of the actual introduction of Buddhism to that country. From archaeological evidence found in the lower Menam valley in lower-central Thailand the Dvāravati kingdom has been recognized as a Theravāda centre. The Chinese traveller monk Hsüen-tsang refers to a Buddhist kingdom named To-lo-po-ti situated between the Pyu kingdom of Srikṣetra in Lower Myanmar and the Khmer Kingdom. This is identified as Dvārapati or Dvāravati. The Mon people of the kingdom were Theravāda Buddhists. Archaeological evidence point to the prevalence of Theravāda here about the 6[th] and 7[th] centuries A.C. The *Jinakālamālī* reports that the Lava princess Camadevi of Lavapuri (Lobpuri), who was invited to Haripuñjaya in the upper Menam valley to be its queen, went there with soldiers and five hundred great Elders versed in the three pitakas, and became its ruler. This event said to have taken place in 1204 of the Buddhist era is calculated to have happened in the second half of the 7[th] century. Probably this was the first introduction of Theravāda to upper Thailand which was later strengthened by relations with king Anawratha of Pagān.[29]

Thais who descended into Thailand from South China gradually came under the influence of Mon Theravāda culture and eventually became great patrons of the School. The first Thai kingdom in South Thailand, Sukhodaya, started to have contacts with Theravāda Sri Lanka from about the 13[th] century A.C. But the Sīhala Saṅgha was introduced to the kingdom by the Elder named Sumana sent by the Sinhala Elder named Udumbara Mahāsāmi who was at the time in the Rāmañña country in Lower Myanmar, at the request of king Dhammarāja or Lothai (1317-1347). From Sukhodaya the Sīhala tradition was taken to Chiengmai in the north. Udumbara Mahāsāmi was later invited to Sukhodaya by king Luthai. This Elder is identified with the Sangharāja Medhaṅkara, author of the *Lokappadīpasāra* (s.v. Sīhala Saṅgha). A group of monks from Chiengmai (Nabbisipura), Cambodia and Lower Myanmar came to Sri Lanka in the 15[th] century, during the reign of Parākramabahu VI, and obtained *upasampadā* from the Simhala Saṅgha. On their return the Thai monks strengthened the already established Sīhala Saṅgha both in the north and the south of the country.[30] From their close contacts with the Theravāda Saṅgha in Thailand the school also expanded gradually to Cambodia, Laos and Yünan in South China.

A knowledge of Sri Lankan Buddhism in Fu-nan, probably of the Abhayagiri variety of Theravāda, is shown by a 6[th] century Chinese reference to the translation of the Pāli work *Vimuttimagga* into Chinese by a monk named Saṅghapāla in Fu-nan. Reference to the building of the Abhayagiri Vihāra of the Simhalas

in the 8[th] century Ratuboka inscription of Central Java shows that Abhayagiri adherents were present in the Sailendra kingdom. They are appreciatively referred to as well- versed in the teaching of the *vinaya*.[31] In present day Islamic Indonesia are also a few Theravāda monasteries set up under Thai or Sri Lankan monks. The presence of Theravāda Buddhism in both Singapore and Malaysia is very much evident by the large number of Theravāda monasteries in the two countries set up by Simhala and Thai monks. They are well patronized by Thai and Simhala immigrants as well as by traditionally Mahāyāna Chinese Buddhists. In the recent past Theravāda has been introduced to Mahāyāna Vietnam by the Sri Lankan Buddhist Elder,Nārada. In modern times Theravāda school has expanded outside the Asian continent into Europe, North and South Americas, Australia and also into Africa.(s.v Dharmapala, Anagārika, for re introduction of Theravāda to India.)

One of the missions sent by Moggaliputta Tissa went to Aparānta, the western regions of India. The Chinese pilgrim monk Hsüen-tsang[32] who came to India in the 7[th] century visited Surashtra situated within the Gujarat peninsula. This should have been a region covered by the mission sent to Aparanta. Here the Chinese monk found about fifty monasteries with about three thousand monks who mostly belonged to the Sthavira School of the Great Vehicle. It is possible that the monks of this area who followed the Theravāda Vinaya code at first gradually shifted their doctrinal allegiance to Mahāyāna, but continued to follow the Theravāda *vinaya* rules, thus keeping their identity as Theravāda monks. One can even speculate that they had some relations with the Sri Lankan Abhayagiri or Jetavana schools who, while continuing to be Theravādins, had a liberal attitude towards other schools including Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna.Hsüen-tsang[33] also refers to the Mahābodhi saṃghārāma, outside the northern wall at Buddha Gaya built by a former Sri Lankan king for the use of Sri Lankan monks going on pilgrimage to sacred places in India. This monastery had gradually become the residence of a large community of monks, who, says the pilgrim monk, are about a thousand in number and belong to the Sthavira school but study the Great Vehicle. Here, however, it is not easy to claim that, by merely studying the Great Vehicle, they had become Mahāyānists.

The commentator Buddhaghosa, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (37.215 *ff.*) is said to be a native of Buddhagayā (*Bodhimaṇḍa*) and converted by the elder named Revata, under whom he studied the scriptures. He was sent by Revata to Sri Lanka to translate the Simhala commentaries into Pāli. But before coming here he is said to have composed the *Atthasālinī*, the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅganī*. If so its Simhala commentary must have been available at the Buddhagayā monastery. It follows that the monks there at the time (4[th] cent.A.C.) were Theravādins. A later record also shows that the Sri Lankan monks at the Mahābodhi monastery were Hinayanists. Tāranātha[34] states that Śrāvaka Sendhavas of the Singa Island (Ceylon) and other places destroyed a silver image of Heruka at the Vajrāsana temple and burnt many Tantra books there calling them the work of Māra. The Pāla ruler Dharmapāla tried to punish the Singala islanders for this crime but he was prevented by the teacher named Buddhajñānapāda. Ranaweera Gunawardhana (s.v.*Sihala Saṅgha*) thinks the Sendhavas or Saindhavas referred to here were Sammitiyas from Sind who collaborated with the Siṃhala Theravādin monks against Mahāyanists and Trantrayānists. Citing evidence from another work he says that many Siṃhala monks were executed for the offence but the Saindhava monks were saved by a companion of the teacher. He also cites epigraphic and other evidence to show that even in the 12[th] and 13[th] centuries Simhala monks were in charge of the Bodhgayā temple and played a leading role in its affairs.

Theriya Monks in Andhra

It is very rarely that the names Theriya or Theravāda occurs in Indian epigraphic records. One such rare instances is found in a 3[rd] century inscription of Nagarjunikoṇḍa, the well known Buddhist centre in Andhra, India. Located on a hillock on the right bank of the river Krishna, the inscription refers to several donations made to Buddhist institutions. A female devotee named Bodhisiri is referred to have donated several monuments and buildings to the community of Theriya monks of Tambapaṇṇa, described as teachers of the royalty (*rājācariyānāṃ*) who won over or gladdened (*pāsādaka*) several lands. A long list of names of twelve countries is given in the record indicating that these Tambapanna Theriya monks had, at least, close relations with the Buddhists of a wide range of countries. The names given in the

record are Kasmira, Gandhāra, Cina, Cilāta, Tosali, Avaranta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yava[na], Da[mila], [Pa]lūra and Tambapaṇṇidipa. Attempts have been made to identify the countries named and the Tambapaṇṇa Theriyas and also the nature of their services. In what may be called the latest attempt at that[37], it is pointed out that the list, with a few omissions and additions, comes very close to the list of countries, given in the Pāli chronicles and the Vinaya commentary of Buddhaghosa, to which Moggaliputta Tissa dispatched missionaries after the 3rd Council. It is not, however determined whether there was any influence on either side. On the other hand, if as claimed by the Pāli chronicles, these lands were converted by the Moggaliputta Tissa missions, then there would be no reason to convert them again by Tambapanna monks at a later date. The most these monks could have done was to do certain services in these countries, or to those who came to Andhra from these countries, that won the appreciation of these co-religionists. An instance of such service by a Tambapaṇṇa Theriya monk is the service rendered by the Tambapaṇṇi monk Buddhadatta who composed the *Madhuratthavilāsini*, the commentary to the *Buddhavaṃsa* and later several other Pāli works after coming to Sri Lanka.[38]

Since this inscription refers to Tambapaṇṇidīpa, which should be a reference to Sri Lanka, the question arises as to whom the designation Theriyas of Tambapanna refers to. The confusion becomes more acute when the same inscription also refers to a Siṃhala vihāra. The present writer surmises that the Tambapaṇṇa Theriyas were Sri Lankans living in Andhra. He believes that the name Siṃhala came into vogue in the 3rd century A.C. and hence the community of Sri Lankan monks in Andra must have originated prior to it when the Island of Sri Lanka was named Tambapaṇṇidipa. However not all scholars would agree with him on this point.It is possible that the Tambapaṇṇa Theriyas were a community of monks from that South Indian region who also had close relations with Simhala Theriya monks of Sri Lanka. This close relationship is hightened by the reference to a Theravāda commentary called the *Andaṭṭhakathā* by the commentator Buddhaghosa, who did not always agree with its interpretations which apparently were at variance with the traditional Siṃhala commentarial views of the Mahāvihāra.

It is quite intriguing to see that the names of the Tamil states of South India do not occur among the states to which, according to Sri Lankan sources, Moggaliputta Tissa dispatched missionaries after the 3rd Buddhist Council. But the names of these states, outside the Asokan empire, are known to the epigraphic records of Emperor Asoka. Cola, Pamdiya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra are among the states which had received his *dhamma* message and where some of his social services were performed.[37] Some are even ready to surmise that the mission led by Arahant Mahinda engaged in religious activities in South India before proceeding to their Sri Lankan destination.[38] This view has been strengthened by the reference of Hsüen-tsang[39] to the ruins of a monastic building in a place he calls Malakūṭa said to have been built by Mahendra, the younger brother of Asoka.Close by on the sea coast was a town from where one could embark to Sri Lanka. The conversion of the Sinhala country is also attributed by him[40] to Mahendra, the younger brother of Asoka *rāja*. Hsüen-tsang says the monks of Sri Lanka are of the Sthaviravāda school of the Mahāyāna sect.But later he states that the residents of the Mahāvihāra adhered to the Little Vehicle and opposed the Great Vehicle while the residents of Abhayagiri studied both vehicles and widely diffused the Tipitaka. Of these two statements the latter undoubtedly was the correct position. The first may be due to some confusion in his notes. Regarding the establishment of Buddhism in the Tamil states, some even venture to speculate that Mahinda sent missionaries to South India after the establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka.It is even suggested that Arhant Ariṭṭha mentioned above as the first to recite the *Vinaya* in Sri Lanka led such a mission. It is further suggested that Ari haapatti in the Pandya Country[41], where some Buddhist ruins have been discovered on a hill named Kalugumalai, was named after this Elder Ariṭṭha.

Whatever these speculations may be, there is ample evidence in Pāli commentaries and chronicles of the prevalence of Theravāda Buddhism, Buddhist monasteries, and monks and nuns following the Sri Lankan Mahāvihāra tradition in the Dravidian South of India. These monks and nuns studied the Pāli Tipiṭaka and are in great need of translating the Siṃhala commentaries into Pāli. Pāli commentaries bear witness to close relations the Sri Lankan Buddhist clergy had with South India from the earliest times. During the long drawn out drought and the consequent disastrous famine the country experienced in the 1st century B.C. many Siṃhala monks and, may be, also nuns sought refuge in India. Some of them may have

travelled North to Buddhist centres there. But many of them would have stayed in the South where they were well looked after. With the end of the drought and normalcy returning to the land they returned home quite in good health. For those who stayed back in the country without going to India and managed with great difficulty to retain in memory the texts they had learnt by heart—no writing down of texts was still known—soon met these refugees returning home to test their achievements in retentive memory under trying circumstances. A large number of *bhikkhunīs* also came from India, after the famine, at the invitation of king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya. They taught *vinaya* at Anuradhapura and, many local nuns received higher ordination from them.[42]

The Siṃhala commentaries developed in Sri Lanka being the only complete set of Theravāda commentaries available, the Theravāda monks in India must have felt the great need to put them into a language intelligible to them. So they made great effort to get the Siṃhala commentaries translated into the language of the Tipiṭaka. Buddhadatta who pioneered these efforts was from the deepest South, a native of Tambapanni. He composed the *Vnayavinicchaya* and the *Abhidhammāvatāra* at Uragapura, the capital of the southern Cola country on the Kaveri river. He also translated the commentary to the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Madhuratthavilāsinī* which was the first of the commentaries to be put into Pāli. At the time he was in a beautiful vihāra at Kāveripaṭṭana.[43]

Although the *Mahāvaṃsa* calls Buddhaghosa a native of Buddhagayā, in his own works the commentator refers only to places and persons he associated in the South of India. He stayed in several South Indian monasteries where he was invited by prelates in them to translate Siṃhala commentaries into Pāli. For instance he was invited by the Elder named Jotipāla at Kānchipura to translate the *Anguttara Nikāya* commentary and probably also the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* commentary. At Mayūrapaṭṭana, a prelate named Buddhamitta invited him to translate the *Majjhima Nikāya* commentary.[44] Mayūrapaṭṭana is said to be a place either in Malabar or Madras.[45] We have to assume that these South Indian prelates were of the Theriya school and the monasteries mentioned were centres of the same school. Dhammapala who followed Buddhaghosa, possibly several centuries later, has worked on a number of his translations at Badaratittha in Nāgapaṭṭana, a sea port in the Cola country and also a Buddhist centre. It was in the present Tanjore district.[46] The *Dhammapada* commentary was also compiled probably by a Colian Elder in South India.[47]

These close relations between the Sri Lankan Siṃhala prelates and their South Indian co-religionists continued through the centuries. Among the South Indian Elders who contributed to the enrichment of the Theriya Pali literature are such names as Anuruddha and Coliya Kassapa. Born in Kāveri in Kanchipura, Anuruddha was the author of the popular Abhidhamma work *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* and also the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda* and the *Paramatthavinicchaya*. While writing the last work he was living in the city of Tañja identified with modern Tanjore.[48] Coliya kassapa, a Coliyan as indicated by the name, composed the two sub-commentaries, *Vimativinodanī* and the *Mokavicchedanī*. The latter was written at the splendid Nāgānanda Vihāra in the city Colādhināthapura at the centre of the Cola country. He was a great debater who was bold enough to dispute even conclusions on disciplinary matters of the eminent scholar monk, the Saṅgharāja Sāriputta of Sri Lanka. He accused Sāriputta of presenting Abhayagiri views in his work, the *Sāratthadīpanī* and thus claimed himself to be a more reliable exponent of Mahāvihāra views than the Saṅgharāja of Sri Lanka, the chief incumbent of the Jetavana vihāra of Polonnaru.[49]

The *Pajjamadhu* and the *Rūpasiddhi* are two works of a monk named Dipaṅkara Buddhappiya. Probably a Siṃhala monk, yet known as "The Lamp unto the Tamil country". He was living in the Cūḍamanivarma monastery in Nāgapaṭṭana in the Cola country.[50] A quite interesting piece of evidence of the close relations between the Sri Lankan and South Indian Theriya monks is supplied by the author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, the Sri Lankan monk Ananda. He wrote this work while staying in the Perampalli monastery in the Pāṇdiya country, built by a sub-king name Coḍaganga who was also the builder of two other monasteries. This Perampalli, says Ananda, was a place where great scholar monks of Sri Lanka sought refuge when their country was ablaze with Tamil invasions from across the sea. Such was the strong bond of friendship between the co-religionists of the two countries that even a war between the two countries could not disrupt it.[51]

Buddhism, already under great stress in India due to foreign invasions and internal decadence, was given a heavy blow by the resurgent Hindu philosophical

and devotionalist attacks by such great masters as Śankara and the Śaiva and Vaishnava saints. But Theravāda in South India lingered on for some time even under these heavy odds. Even in the 14th century the Cola country could produce reputable Theravada scholar monks who could attract the attention of Sri Lankan Buddhist kings.

Parakramabāhu IV invited one such scholar monk from the Cola country to be his royal teacher. He is said to be a person of self-control, versed in various languages and intimate with philosophic works. From him the king learnt all the *Jātaka* tales, said to be five hundred and fifty in all, and later translated them into Simhala. To this elder the king granted a *vihāra* built by him in Vidunāgāma close to Rājagāma (*Mhv*. 90.80 *ff*; 99).

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THERIGĀTHĀ See **THERA-THERĪGĀTHĀ**

THĪNAMIDDHA, 'Sloth- and –torpor', is one of the five hindrances, those detrimental mental states which the Buddha singled out for their propensity to 'hinder' the proper functioning of the mind (*D*.I, 246). Sloth- and torpor, though counting as only one out of the five hindrances, in actual fact covers two distinct mental factors[1]. These two distinct mental factors appear to have been subsumed under the heading of a single hindrance due to their similar effect on the mind.

The *Vibhaṅga*, the second work in the Pali *Abhidhamma*, explains sloth- and- torpor to imply 'inability' or 'unreadiness' (*Vibh*.254). Similar to the nuance of 'inability' or 'unreadiness', proposed in the *Vibhaṅga*, the discourses characterize a mind under the influence of sloth- and-torpor as 'internally stuck' (*S*.V, 279: *ajjhattaṃ saṅkhittaṃ*).

The same *Vibhaṅga* explains moreover that while sloth (*thīna*) is a mental type of inability (*cittassa akalyatā*), torpor (*middha*) refers to its bodily counterpart (*kāyassa akalyatā*). That torpor (*middha*) is related to bodily inability can also be inferred from the Pali discourses (e.g.*D*. III, 238), which depict someone who, after overeating, indulges in the pleasure of sleeping (*seyyasukha*), the pleasure of lying down (*passasukha*), the pleasure of torpor (*middhasukha*). The three expressions occurring in this context are used as near synonyms, thereby indicating that torpor stands indeed for a bodily type of inability, namely sleepiness.

A *Dhammapada* verse likewise relates overeating out of gluttony to the arising of torpor (*middha*), a deplorable condition this verse compares to a fat pig wallowing and lolling about (*Dhp*.325). Other discourses indicate that, apart from overeating as a particular condition for the arising of torpor, the hindrance sloth- and torpor can arise due to discontent, boredom, laziness and because of a depressed state of mind (*S*.V, 64):

The effect the hindrance sloth- and-torpor has on the mind can be illustrated with the example of a bowl full of water, used as a mirror in order to see the reflection of one's face (*S*.V, 121). If the water in the bowl should be overgrown with moss, the natural reflecting ability of the water will be impaired. Similarly, if the mind is 'overgrown' with sloth-and – torpor, its natural ability to function properly will be impaired. The same imagery moreover depicts quite vividly that the long-term result of sloth- and –torpor is stagnation, similar to water overgrown by moss. In contrast to this predicament, to be free from sloth- and-torpor is like being released from a prison (*M*.I 275). This complementary simile indicates that sloth- and – torpor 'imprison' the mind, bringing to mind again the *Vibhaṅga's* gloss on 'inability as a characteristic quality of this hindrance.

According to the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism*.141), the hindrances sloth- and –torpor stands in direct opposition to the *jhāna* factor of initial mental application (*vitakka*). The intention of this explanation could be that the clear grasp of an object through initial mental application counteracts the lack of clarity and mental fogginess caused by sloth- and-torpor. Initial mental application as a *jhāna* factor provides a directional and energizing input and may seem to be in particular an expression of the quality of energy. Energy is in fact the one of the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*) which, according to the Pali discourses, stands in direct opposition to sloth- and torpor (*S*.V, 104+105).

Another antidote to sloth- and-torpor, mentioned on frequent occasions in the Pali discourses, is the development of 'perception of light' (*ālokasaññā*) together with mindfulness and clear comprehension (e.g.*D*.I, 71). Some discourses associate the expression 'perception of light' with a mind that is 'open' (*vivata*) and 'uncovered' (*apariyonaddha*) by day and by night, and indicate that such 'perception of light' will lead to knowledge and vision (*D*. III, 223). This suggests the expression 'perception of light' to refer to the development of mental clarity. Such a way of understanding finds support in the *Vibhaṅga* (*Vibh*. 254), which glosses 'perception of light' to be a perception that is 'open' (*vivaṭa*), 'pure' (*parisuddha*) and 'clean' (*pariyodāta*). The commentaries take the expression more literally and suggest employing actual light to overcome this hindrance, by looking at the moon, for example, or at the sun (*MA*.I, 284).

Such 'perception of light' takes place with the aid of mindfulness and clear comprehension (*sampajāna*), which brings into play two qualities as a remedy against sloth- and-torpor that indeed lead to an increase of mental clarity. This is not the only role mindfulness

has to play in relation to the hindrance of sloth-and torpor. The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* describes the tasks of mindfulness in relation to this hindrance to range from clear recognition of its presence or absence to understanding what has lead to the arising of this hindrance, what will lead to its removal, and how a future arising of sloth-and-torpor can be prevented (*M*.I, 60).

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* dedicates an entire discourses to discussing the hindrance torpor (*middha)*, offering a variety of remedies (*A*.IV, 85). Initially, presumably while still maintaining the formal meditation posture, the meditator should attempt to counter torpor by changing the meditation subject, or else by reflecting on or reciting passages from the Buddha's teachings. Should this not work, he or she may pull the ears, massage the body, get up, sprinkle the eyes with water and look up the sky. If torpor still persists, walking meditation should be practiced.

The need to energetically overcome and remove this particular hindrance should not be underestimated, since the presence of sloth-and-torpor in the mind obstruct understanding one's own good or that of others (*A*.III, 63). Due to sloth-and-torpor, one does what one should not do and fails to do what should be done (*A*.II, 67). Sloth-and-torpor is one of the factors indicating that a monk lives the celibate life without satisfaction

(*S*. III, 106). To withdraw into solitude in the forest will be of little benefit if one is still under the influence of sloth-and –torpor (*M*.I, 18). Hence to meditate while the hindrance sloth-and-torpor pervades the mind is a form of mis-meditating, a way of practicing that did not meet with the Buddha's approval (*M*.III, 14). Being under the influence of sloth- and-torpor is to be under Māra's control *(Ud*.38). In sum, as long as sloth- and –torpor is present in the mind, liberation will remain out of reach (*A*.V, 195).

The opposition between sloth-and-torpor and liberation finds a fitting illustration in the case of the monk *Bhagu* (*Thag*. 271-274). According to his own report, he had decided to go out of his dwelling because he had been overwhelmed by torpor. His torpor must have been quite strong since, when stepping out, he stumbled and fell down. Getting up and collecting himself, he took to walking meditation. Continuing to practice walking meditation with firm determination he was not only able to free himself from torpor and develop concentration, but on that same occasion he carried his practice all the way through to liberation. Hence the removal of sloth-and-torpor has a considerable potential, and to properly understand this hindrance and the way to overcome it can yield unexpected result. (See also JHĀNA, NĪVARAṆA).

Analayo.

Reference

[1] This can be seen in *S*.V, 110, which differentiates between sloth and torpor as single hindrances

THŪPĀRĀMA (I)

Preliminaries: The oldest historical *thūpa* put up by King Devnampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.) at Mahā meghavana in Anurādhapura, enshrining the 'right collar bone' (*Dakkhina akkhadātu*) of the Buddha. It is sited to the North of the Mahavihāra boundary, four hundred yards to the north of Ruwanwelisāya, close to the Basavakkulama tank. The *Dīpavamsa*, the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Thūpavamsa* both Pāli and Sinhala, Pāli commentaries[1] and inscriptions are the sources available for the study of the *thūpa*. The road into Anurdhapura passed by the southern gate of Thūpārāma, eastwards and then northwards, as per the *Udāna* commentary and the *Vibhaṅga* commentary. The remains of the building where the tooth relic of the Buddha was deposited is found to the South of the *thūpa*. Behind the Thūpārāma was the shrine of yakkha Maheja, built by king Paṇḍukābhaya.

The *thūpa* stands on a circular platform 164 feet 6 inches in diameter, raised about 11 feet 4 inches above the original level of the ground and sustained by a massive retaining wall of bricks. The platform could be ascended by a set of plain stone steps in two flights, lower flight being about 17 ft. and the upper 9 ft. in width. There are two "moon stones" (*sandakada pahana*) found in front of each flight and also two sets of guard stones at the base of each flight. The monolithic cistern[2] outside the boundary wall is a significant feature, probably contained water to wash feet before proceeding to the *thūpa*. The present height of the *thūpa* is 63 ft. and the circumference is 194 ft. and is of bell shape.

Built on a spot sanctified by the Buddhas: All the sources agree that Thūpārāma was built on a spot sanctified not only by Gautama Buddha, but also by three previous Buddhas Kakusanda, Konāgamana and Kassapa. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter I verse 81 and 82) says that Gautama Buddha on his third visit to the island sanctified the spot by entering a trance (*samādhim appayi*).The *Thūpavaṃsa* goes further and says that the *thūpas* of the three former Buddhas had been established on the same spot. According to the *Thūpavaṃsa* account, the water strainer of Kakusanda Buddha, the belt of Konagamana Buddha and the bathing robe of Kassapa Buddha were enshrined in the *thūpas* once stood in the Thūpārma site.

Mahā Mahinda Thera's suggestion to put up a Thūpa: Similarly all the sources agree that the suggestion to put up the Thūpārāma Cetiya, the first cetiya, came from arahant Mahinda. The inhabitants of the island did not know about *thūpas* till then. Arahant Mahinda did not request the king directly to put up a *thūpa* which the king has never seen before. Instead the thera made the suggestion in an indirect and more intelligent way. After spending his rainy retreat the thera addressing the king supposed to have said "I did not see the master for a long time (*ciradiṭṭho hi sambuddho* (*Mhv.* Chapter XVII verse 3). As the *Mahvamsa* says the king was puzzled over the statement of the thera, from whom he had earlier heard that the Buddha is no more and has attained *parinibbāna*. When the king reminded the thera about his earlier statement about the Buddha's passing away, the thera declared "when the bodily relics are seen, it is the same as seeing the Buddha himself" (*dhātusu diṭṭhesu diṭṭho hoti jino*) (*Mhv. loc.cit.*) In this context it is significant that the relic worship which is an essential part of popular Buddhism was introduced along with the establishment of Buddhism in the island, the reason for which need examination. It should be clear that that the position of Buddhism is quite different from some of the main religions of the day. Its master is no more nor was there a patriarch appointed to take his place, after his demise. But the common man needs a master in flesh and blood to pray, to adore for help, when in distress, without which a religion would not survive long. It was to satisfy this religious sentiment that relic worship was introduced at the earliest possible date by Arahant Mahinda, who knew the minds of the ordinary folk. He proposed to the people to consider relics as the living Buddha. In the course of the long history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, we see that the relics were considered as the living Buddha. It is one of the main reasons behind the deep rooting and the survival of Buddhism specially among the ordinary people in Sri Lanka up to date.

Mahāvamsa's fascinating account of the establishment of the Thūpārāma Thūpa: The *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter XVII) provides a fascinating account of the establishment of the Thūpārāma Thūpa, for the 'serene joy and the emotion of the pious' (*sujanappasāda saṃvegatthāya*). The novice Sumana was entrusted with the task of obtaining relics for the *thūpa*. He proceeded to Pātaliputta city by his psychic powers as directed by Arahant Mahinda. He obtained the bowl used by the Buddha, with relics in it, from King Asoka. Then he is supposed to have visited the realm of the *devas* and obtained the Buddha's "right collar bone" (*dakkhiṇa akkhaṃ.*) from Sakka the king of Gods. Next moment he was in Anuradhapura with relics. Having kept the bowl with the relics at the Cetiyapabbata, he entrusted the "collar bone" to the king at Mahāmeghavana, who was overjoyed as if he was consecrated with ambrosia (*amatenabāhisitto*) and deposited the relic on the back of his royal elephant. The elephant is said to have of his own, kept the relic on his back during the day time so that the construction of the *thūpa* would not get disturbed and during the night kept the relic on the *thūpa* site and paced around it till the final establishment of the relic in the *thūpa*. Though the author of the *Mahvamsa* has adorned with miracles the, the historicity of novice Sumana's mission to Pātaliputta to obtain relics for the *thūpa* , his return to the island successfully with the relic and the final construction of the *thūpa* which exists up to date cannot be disputed.

The construction of the Thūpārāma cetiya is a very significant event in the constructional annals of Sri Lanka. But the chronicles have not paid sufficient attention to the constructional process which the people undertook without any previous experience. There is no doubt that Mahā Mahinda thera who had seen the **thūpas** at Sanci etc. would have given the necessary guidance to build the *thūpa*. The *Mahāvaṃsa* is silent as regards any instruction given by the Thera pertaining to the shape or plan of the proposed *thūpa*. But the *Thūpavaṃsa* says that the king inquired from the Thera as regards the shape of the *thūpa* (*kīdiso bhante thūpo kātabboti*) and the thera

replied that the *thūpa* should be in the shape of a heap of paddy (*vihrāsi sadiso mahārāja*). This shows that the original Thūpārāma cetiya was in the shape of a heap of paddy.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xvii verses 34, 35) describes how dried lumps of clay were brought from the near by tank bed in order to make an elevated place to the height of the back of the elephant to keep the relic when disembarked from the back of the elephant. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says the elephant did not want to keep the relic on a lower place. Possibly this would be the recounting of making a replica of the proposed *thūpa* with clay from the tank bed for the guidance of the workers who have never seen a similar one, as per the instructions of the thera. It is possible that covering the *thūpa* built with clay, a casing of brick would have been built. As per the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xvii verse 41) the relics were deposited when the *thūpa* was built knee height.[3] Apparently the initial construction would have been a rudimentary one as the workers had no previous experience. The poor construction possibly would have been the reason, as we will see later, the reason behind the collapsing of a part of the *thūpa* in the reign of the king Aggabodhi II (601-611 A.C) Further the original *thūpa* would have been a *thūpa* similar to the thūszas at Sānci with one or two "chattas'" (umbrellas) on the top in place of a spire. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter XLIV verse 130) describes how Dāthopatissa damaged the chatta of Thūpārāma cetiya.

Thūpārāma Monastery Complex becomes an important Centre of Buddhism:

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter XVII verse 64) describes how King Devānampiyatissa built a monastery there, after building the *thūpa*. The monastery was called Thūpārāma and the cetiya was referred to as Thūpārāma Cetiya. In the course of time it is observed that Thūpārāma became an extensive monastery complex and an important centre of Buddhism in the country. The Thūpārāma monastery had its Bodhi, one of the eight saplings of Sri Mahā Bodhi. It had its amenities such as uposathāgāras, pirivenas assembly halls, etc. Saṅghapāla Pirivena (*Mhv.* XXXVI verse 114). Asiggāhaka Pirivena[4] (*Rasavāhini* II p. 122) were among the important pirivenas in the monastery complex. Before the construction of the Mahā thūpa the most important place of worship next to Sri Mahā Bodhi was the Thūpārāma Cetiya. The devotees after worshipping Sri Mahā Bodhi next came to Thūpārāma Cetiya. Thūpārāma was the scene of many important events in the sāsana. It was at Thūpārāma (*VinA.* Part I, p. 102) that *Vinayasaṅgiti* was held by Sri Lankan monks headed by the Elder Ariṭṭha, on the instruction of Mahā Mahinda Thera, which was said to have been a necessary condition to make the newly established Buddhasāsana deep rooted in the Tambapaṇṇi dīpa. The body of Theri Saṅgamittā was cremated on a spot to the east of Thūpārāma, where Cittasālā (of later times) (*Mhv.* XX verse 52) was built. The ruins of the *thūpa* built by King Uttiya enshrining her ashes, is seen to the east of Thūpārāma Cetiya. The important conferences of the Mahāvihāra were held at Thūpārāma. In the reign of King Goṭābhaya (309-322 A.C.), when the monks of Abhayagiri accepted Vaitulyavāda, the king summoned the monks of five great monasteries(*Pañcamahāvāsa*) to Thūpārāma to decide whether the teachings were genuine Buddha's teachings. The monks of Thūpārāma appear to have been a powerful group. When King Saddhātissa (77-59 B.C.) died, the monks of Thūpārāma made Thullathana who had no claim, the king, ignoring Lajjatissa the eldest son of the deceased king, the legitimate heir. (*Mhv.* XXXIII verse 18). When King Mahinda II (772-792 A.C.) was ready to launch a campaign against Rohana, he summoned all the monks and people to Thūpārāma to get their consent and blessings for his campaign (*Mhv.* XLVIII verse 126). If the *Mahāvaṃsa* record (chapter XXXVI verse 129) is correct, Thūpārāma had the oldest Buddha image in the world. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says Jetthatissa (323-333 A.C.) removed the beautiful stone image of the Buddha installed by Devnampiyatissa to Pāchīnapabbata Vihāra.

Aggabodhi II (601-611 A.C.) is reported to have offered the whole island to Thūpārama (*Mhv.* XLII verse 61) the only king to do so. Thūpārāma had been a abode of arahants. The *Saṃyuttanikaya* commentary says that (*SA.* III 151) thirty thousand monks have attained arahantship at the gate of Thūpārāma. From this it is possible to get an idea of the number of resident monks who lived at Thūpārāma complex. However, according to the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA.* I, p.102), not long after the establishment of Buddhism in the island, there had been 68,000 monks at Thūpārāma. Thūpārāma complex appear to have had

its own hospital because a stone medicinal bath has been discovered among the ruins. The *paṃsukulika* monks (monks who wear robes made from rags collected from the cemeteries) at Thūpārāma are found referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter XLVII verse 66) and also in *Anguttara Nikāya* commentary (*AA*. p. 489) and it could be presumed that it was a popular abode of disciplined monks.

Renovations, Improvements etc. of Thūpārāma by various kings: In the course of it's long history Thūpārāma cetiya and the monastery complex received the attention, veneration, patronage, improvements and development by various kings. At the same time the Thūpa had to go through periods of misfortune where it got damaged or plundered at the hands of villain kings, some of which are recorded in the chronicles. Lañjatissa (59-50 B.C.) levelled the ground between Thūpārāma and Maha Thūpa and made a mantle (*silakñcukaṃ*) for the *thūpa*. Further he built a small stone *thūpa* to the east of the *thūpa* and a hall named Lanjiksana hall for the monks[4] (*Mhv*. XXXIII 23, 24).

King Goṭābhaya (309-322 A.C) built a *uposathāgāra* at Thūpārāma (*Mhv*. xxxvi 107). The king Amandagāmini (79-89 B.C.) added a inner verandah (*kucchi ajram*). The king Vasabha (127-171 A.C.) placed thousand lamps around the *thūpa* (*Mhv*. XXXV - 79). King Bhātika Tissa built a *uposathagāra* at Thūpārāma (*ibid*. chapter XXXVI verse 4). King Mahānāma (409-431 A.C.) provided a gold casing (*hemacumbataḳāñcukaṃ*) for Thūpārāma (*ibid*.. chapter XXXVII verse 207). Dhātusena (409-478 A.C. effected repairs at Thūpārāma (*ibid* chapter XXXVIII verse 70).

The *Mahvaṃsa* (chapter XLII verse 51 ff) has recorded an important incident[5] that took place during the reign of King Aggabodhi II (601-611 A.C.) pertaining to Thūpārāma Thūpa. Once while the thera Jotipāla was worshipping the Thūpārāma Cetiya, a piece of (Masonry) got loosened and fell in front of him. The worried thera called the king and showed it to him. The king felt sorry, at once commenced the repairs. In the meantime the king took the "collarbone relic" to Lohapāsāda and kept it safe inside it and made offerings day and night. As the repairs in the Thūpārāma were getting delayed the deities of Thūpārāma appeared to the king in a dream and supposed to have said "If the king delays to repair the shrine, we shall take the relic and go where we wish". At that moment the king awoke and greatly perturbed got the *thūpa* repaired in a short time including paintings. It is interesting in this context to note that Thūpārāma Thūpa had been painted. The king did not stop after attending to the repairs, he made additional improvements. He provided four images with stone seats, a golden umbrella and stone and ivory work of the house (*gehamhi ibid*. XLII verse 57) probably of the Cetiyaghara the house over the Thūpa. The king's ministers too reported to have joined him. They made nine hundred reliquaries (for the *thūpa*). The king renovated every thing done by King Devnampiyatissa. The king, afterwards brought the reliquary with the "collar Bone relic" from Lohapāsāda in the company of the great Thera Jotipāla and saṅgha to Thūpārāma and deposited it in the *thūpa* with great reverence. It is seen by this time, i.e. by the time of King Aggabodhi II in the 7th century all that was done by King Devnampiyatissa at Thūpārāma needed a complete repair.

The first half of the 7th century A.C. was one of the most unfortunate periods for the sāsana and also to the country in general. The country was practically ruined by civil wars between rulers. All the rich monasteries were plundered and sold in order to maintain armies of different rebels. Thūpārāma was not spared. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says (ch. XLVI verse 133) the golden crest of the cetiyaghara (*sovannam thupikam ghare*) was seized, the umbrella of the cetiya studded with costly precious stones was broken to take the valuables by Dāṭhopatissa one of the contenders for the throne. But Kassapa II (641-650 A.C.) after he ascended the throne repaired the buildings he plundered as a Yuvarāja to make up for his evil actions of the past (*Mhv*. XLIV verse 146).

Dāṭhopatissa II (650-658 A.C.) gave a village named Puṇṇli to Thūpārāma (*Mhv*. ch. XLV verse 28). The king Mnavamma (676-711 A.C.) covered the roof of the Cetiyaghara (*thūpārāmagharaṃ*), built a pāsāda at Thūprma and gave it to *pṃsukklika* monks and also repaired the "chatta" (umbrella) (*Mhv*. XLVII verse 65 f). Aggabodhi VII (766-772 A.C.) restored the damaged doors of the *cetiyaghara* (*thūpārāmamhi gharassa*) and transposed the pillars (*thambe ca parivattai*) (*Mhv*. ch. XLVIII verse 66). Mahinda II (772-792 A.C.) made a gold casing for Thūpārāma thūpa and had the silver strips introduced at regular

intervals. He also repaired the dilapidated pāsāda there (*Mhv.* ch. XLVIII verse 140 f). King Dappula II covered the roof of the cetiyaghara (*thūpārāmamhi thūpassa gharam*) well and covered the golden entrance with golden bricks (*Mhv.* chapter XLIX verse 81). But unfortunately later both plates and bricks were plundered by the Paṇḍu king (*Mhv.* ch. L verse 35). The king Udaya II (885-896 A.C.) covered Thūpārāma thūpa with gold plates *Mhv.* LII verse128).

The Senāpati Illanāga, of royal descent provided a dwelling place for the nuns behind Thūpārāma (*Mhv.* ch. LI verse 16). This shows that nuns, too, were resident at the Thūpārāma monastery complex. Again Senāpati Rakkha Illanga built an *vsa* named after the king (*Mhv.* ch. LIII verse 11). King Mahinda IV (956-972 A.C.) covered the Thūpārāma thūpa with gold plates and instituted a royal festival. In the relic chamber of the same place the king made a golden door shining like Mount Sineru with rays of the sun (*Mhv.* ch. LIV verse 42 f). Moreover Vijayabahu I (1059-1114 A.C.) and Parakramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.) of Polonnaruwa are reported to have repaired Thūpārāma. Kalinga Māgha, the conqueror (1215-1236 A.C.) who plundered all the dagobas, is reported to have not spared Thūpārāma. But it is said Parākramabāhu II (1240-1275 A.C.) repaired the *thūpa* (*Ancient Ceylon* H.Parker 1909 p. 266). When Vijayabāhu IV (1270-72) visited Anuradhapura he found the shrine overgrown with jungle. He too is reported to have effected certain repairs to Thūpārāma.

Thus it should be clear, though small in size Thūpārāma thūpa was well maintained, looked after and developed by various kings in the course of its long history.

Cetiyaghara: The most peculiar or conspicuous feature of Thūpārāma is the four concentric circles of graceful stone pillars round the cetiya which puzzled the archaeologists for a long time. The capitals are separately carved and joined to the shafts by mortices and tenons. The shafts of the pillars are formed of monoliths and are square for about one third of their height then changing to octagonal. The pillars are highly ornamental with their slim octagonal shafts and elaborate capitals, representing a formalized lotus, decorated with various human animal and plant motifs. The first or innermost circle of pillars is 3ft. 1 inch from the *thūpa* consists of 52 pillars which are of 22 ft. 10 inches in height. The second row of pillars had 36 and are of 21 ft. and 3 inches in height. Third row of pillars consists of 40 pillars of 19 ft. 9 inches in height. The fourth or the outermost row of pillars had 48 pillars each of 14 ft. in height. Altogether 176 pillars[6]. This cluster of pillars was a great riddle for the archaeologists since the archaeological exploration commenced and they presented their own theses on the problem. Fergusson was of the view that those pillars were for the hanging of drawings on religious themes such as *Jātakas*. (Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London 1876). Ananda Coomaraswamy too held the same view. Henry Cave thought that the pillars were for hanging lamps and garlands during the religious festivals (H.W. Cave *Ruined Cities of Ceylon*). Henry Parker's view was the purpose of the pillars was to support a roof constructed round the thūpa to protect those who worship from the elements. S. Paranavitana and also Hocart earlier proposed that there has been a roof over the *thūpa* constructed on the pillars to shelter the *thūpa* from the elements.

Senarat Paranavitana successfully established the existence of a roof over the *thūpa* with help of both Pāli and Sinhala literary works. He pointed out the Thūpaghara, Dhātughara, Vaṭṭha Dhatughara and Vatadāge etc. refer to the house over the *thūpa*. He also discovered and pointed out that similar Thūpagharas have once existed in places such as Lankāramaya in Anuradhapura and Medirigiriya in Polonnaruwa etc. He further successfully prepared a sketch of the Thūpaghara that once stood over the Thūpārāma dāgāba.

It is said that the house over Thūpārāma was constructed for the first time by King Vasabha (127-171 A.C.). King Gotābhaya (309-322 A.C.) during whose time it was dilapidated had to construct it fully once again. As already seen among those kings who effected repairs to Thūpaghara at Thūpārāma, Aggabodhi II (601-611 A.C.), Aggabodhi IV (658-674 A.C.), Mahinda IV (956-972 A.C.) and Dappula II are recorded.

Modern Era and the Restoration of the Thūpa: After the 13th century, there is no record of the Thūpārāma thūpa being repaired till the dawn of the British period. Yet, though over grown with jungles and infested with wild beasts, the pilgrims used to come to Anuradhapura to worship "Aṭamasthānaya", the eight sacred shrines, specially during the poson

(month of June). Even during the Kandyan period kings like Narendrasinghe (1706-39 A.C.), Kirthi Sri Rajasinghe (1747-81A.C.) and Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe (1798—1815) visited Anuradhapura which was within the Kandyan kingdom on pilgrimage. Under the British, Anuradhapura and the surrounding areas generally came to lime light. North Central Province was created in 1873 and Anuradhapura was made it's capital. The jungles were gradually cleared up, and ancient irrigation system was renovated. Anuradhapura was linked with the other parts of the island by a network of roads. As a result, even from the other parts of the island people started to migrate and settle down in and around the sacred city in pursuit of economic ventures such as agriculture trade etc. It was at this juncture that the attention of the Buddhist public turned towards the restoration of the Sacred shrines at Anuradhapura. The Thūpārāma cetiya was the first to receive their attention. Probably due to its small size. During the early part of the19th century, there is no record of monks residing at the Thūpārāma premises. It is recorded that a lay devotee named Juwan upāsaka looked after and attended to the Cetiya, living in a hut in the premises, who was later ejected by British authorities. It is reported that the restoration commenced in 1828 (B.E. 2372) under the guidance of Ven. Pailagama Revata, the Chief priest and completed in1842. This was prior to the establishment of the Department of Archaeology. Therefore no archaeological examination has been carried out before the commencement of the renovation. Consequently many valuable archaeological data pertaining particularly to the history of the Thūpa and also historical data related to the Anuradhapura period of history were, possibly lost. The archaeologists think that it was after this renovation that the *thūpa* which was originally constructed in the shape of a 'paddy heap' (*dhanāyākra*) took the present shape, the 'bell shape' (*ghaṇṭākāra*).

Apparently Captain I.J. Chapman of the Royal Artillery who visited Thūpārāma in 1828 was the first European to visit and record his findings in the "*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*" London, Vol. III, part II, 1833p. 463) under the title "*Remarks upon the Ancient City of Anuradhapura*". Referring to the Thūpa he says "It is much dilapidated and the top (apparently referring to the spire) appears to have been removed by force." (page 473). Possibly this might have happened at the hands of those who plundered the *thūpa* for the last time. A photograph of the *thūpa* before the restoration is not available. But Fergusson has preserved an unpublished sketch of the thūpa before the restoration, drawn by James Prinsep, drawn by pencil which he has published in his History of Indian and Eastern Architecture 1876 London. The drawing shows a flat top covered with 'Brushwood' as Fergusson says. The human figure shown in the drawing similar to an Asiatic might be the Juwan Upāsaka who looked after the thūpa, already referred to. It is seen in a drawing of the Thūpārāma thūpa among the wall paintings of the cave temple Dambulla. The paintings depict the Thūpa as bell shaped and without a spire. Henry Parker thinks that the painter has copied this from an earlier drawing there, done in the reign of Nissanka Malla (1198-1207) (*Ancient Ceylon* Henry Parker 1909 p. 266). See PLATES XVIII-XX.

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1. James Smither, *Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura, Ceylon*, London 1894
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4. S.Paranavithana, *The Stupa in Ceylon*, 1946
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6. Ukkubanda Karunaratna, "*Brahmacāri Walisinghe Harischandra and the Buddhist Revival of Anuradhapura, 1899-1913*, 1991, Colombo (Sri Lanka)
7. Vasantha Sanjiva Hettiarachchi, *Mahvihāraya* Anuradhapura, Colombo, 1996 (Sinhala)
8. Walisingha Harischandra, *Archaeology with Maps* Colombo 1912 (Sinhala)
9. W.Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* 1956.
10. *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society Great Britain*, Vol. III part II London 1833
11. *Epigraphia Zelanica* ,Vol. III
12. *Mahvaṃsa*
13. *Dīpavamsa*
14. *Thūpavaṃsa*

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References

1 A slab inscription of King Gajabāhu I (circa 171-193 A.C.) which records a grant made by the king to a monastery named Ratana-araba has been found on the western side of the enclosing wall. But Thūpārāma is not specifically mentioned. Perhaps Ratana-araba could have been one of the monasteries of the Thūpārāma complex (*Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. III p. 11 ff).

2 James Smither thinks that the cistern was probably a drinking –trough for elephants. *Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura*, James G. Smither, London 1894 p. 10

3 *Mahvamsa* (chapter xvii verse 43) further describes how the relics rose to the sky and performed "twin miracles" (*yamaka pāṭihāriya*) at the time of depositing them in the thūpa. In this context *Mahvamsa* (*loc cit* verse 46) says that it was one of the "Five Great Resolutions" (*Mahā adhiṭṭhāna pañcakam*) made by the Buddha at the time of his *Parinibbāna*, which is found only in the Sri Lankan sources.

4 Rasavāhini refers to a thera named Cūlanāga resident at Asiggāhaka Pirivena, Thūpārāma, who is reported to have vomited what he had consumed to feed a hungry bitch, newly given birth to off- springs, when he found nothing else to give her.

5 *Papañcasūdani* (*MA*. III, 272) contains an another interesting episode with reference to Thūpārāma. Once a mud spirit (*Paṃsupisāca*) left her two children near the gate of Thūpārāma and entered the city of Anurādhapura in search of some food for her two children. The children saw a Piṇḍapātika Thera (monk who lived on begged food) (who was entering the city). The children told the Thera about their mother's going to the city and requested the Thera to tell their mother to come back with whatever food she was able to get, because they were hungry. The Thera wanted to know how he could see their mother. The children gave the Thera a root of a certain tree. Going forward keeping the root in hand the Thera was able to see thousands of demons in the city. Following the details given by the children the Thera was able to identify their mother, an ugly *yakkhini*, who was trying to grab a placenta (*gabbhamalaṃ*) in the Kevaddha Street, and conveyed the message given by her children. She wanted to know, how the Thera was able to see her. The Thera showed her the piece of root given by her children, with the help of which he was able to see the demons. It is said that the moment she saw the piece of the root, she snatched it from the Thera.

6 The number 176 pillars being the calculation made by James Smither (loc.cit.). But according to the calculation earlier made by Captain J.J. Chapman, these 166 pillars out of which 140 were still standing. (Transaction of *R.A.S.* Gt. Britain and Ireland, 1833

THŪPĀRĀMA (2): Thūpārāma is the name used to identity a ruined edifice in the sacred area of Polonnaruwa city, the capital of Sri Lanka during the 11th and 12th centuries. It is the best preserved edifice among the Polonnaruwa ruins. The exact builder and the exact purpose for which this has been built is not known. The term Thūpārāma implies a monastery of a Thūpa. But it is neither a Thūpa nor a monastery. It is perhaps an image house. The scholars think that the name Thūpārāma is of later date and its original name is not known.

Thūpārāma is found in the south west corner of the artificially raised quadrangular platform called "Daladāmaluwa" (Tooth Relic Compound) where a cluster of buildings exist. The three edifices in the quadrangular platform, i.e. the Aṭadāge, the Hetadāge, and the Thūpārāma are thought to have been built to house the Tooth Relic. Hence the quadrangle is called "Daladāmaluwa". Three kings who are supposed to have built the three edifices are Vijayabāhu I (1056-1111), Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) and Kirti Sri Nissanka Malla (1187-1196). But the exact king who built each of these edifices is not known with certainty.

Some say that the Thūpārāma is the Tooth Relic Temple built by King Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186). The *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. LXXIII verses 127 ff. refers to a minister of King Parākramabāhu I, named Mahinda who built a magnificent palace for the Tooth Relic.

Possibly the reference is to the Thūpārāma. It is also said that the building was called "Candra Kānta Pāsāda" (Moon Stone Palace) in the past. At the same time some believe that the Thūpārāma is anterior to Parākramabāhu I and was built by Vijayabāhu I (1156-1111) to house the Tooth Relic.

Architecturally the Thūpārāma is a significant building. Unlike the normal buildings which had timber roofs, the present building had a vaulted roof made of bricks. Two more buildings at Polonnaruwa, namely the Lankātilaka Image House and the Tivanka Image House are supposed to have had vaulted roofs. Prof. Senerath Paranavitana[1] does not agree with the popular view that this type of architecture has been adopted from the South Indian Dravidian architecture. Neither does he agree with the other theory that there is a Cambodian influence here. He says that the proto type of this architecture is found among the Anuradhapura ruins. In the Sinhala Language the particular architectural building is called "Gedige". Prof. Paranavitana is of the view that Ginjakāvasatha (Brick House) referred to in Pali literature (*D.I.* 91, *Vin.* I. 232) refer to buildings with vaulted roofs. He further says that a ruined image house to the west of the Jetavana thūpa at Anuradhapura was a vaulted roofed building. The Cambodian influence in this particular type of architecture is also rejected by him, because Sri Lanka had no connections with Cambodia during the time.

Externally Thūpārāma measures 84.6' x 52.6'. The verandah is 38 feet wide. As the walls are unusually 7 ft. thick the internal space is limited. The hollow of the building is 27.9' length and breadth. A flight of steps leading to the balcony is found across the southern wall. On the northern verandah wall there is a window in the shape of a horse shoe. The southern and northern walls are provided with two windows each. This appears as an ancient architectural technique to allow air and light in, to prevent the echo and also to control the temperature inside the building. Remains of a sedent Buddha image is found inside.

The interior of the walls are decorated with sculptural representations of *devas*, human beings, animals etc. The interior of the walls are adorned with frescos. The Thūpārāma building taken as a whole could be described as a fine blend of the local tradition with North Indian (Maurya) and South Indian traditions. See also Polonnaruwa. See PLATE XXI.

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Reference

1. Polonnaruwa Period (Ceylon Historical Journal IV, 1956) published in commemoration of the 800[th] anniversary of the Accession of Parakramabahu I (1153-86). Article by Prof. S. Paranavithana on "Arts and Architecture of Polonnaruwa", page 82 f.

THŪPAVAṂSA: *Thūpavaṃsa* is a Pali chronicle written in Sri Lanka, which describes the story of the Mahā thūpa or Ratnamāli cetiya, built by King Duṭṭhagāmini (101-77 B.C.). It is in mixed prose and verse and falls into the category of *campukāvya*.

Author and the period: In the colophon the author has identified himself as Vācissara Therapāda, attached to the Dhammāgāra of King Parakkama who was like a "Pinnacle" to all the kings. Moreover, it is said that he was versed in the three *piṭakas* of Buddha's teachings.

Parakkama narindassa sabbabhūpāla ketuno
Dhammāgāre niyutto so piṭakattaya paragū
(*Thupavaṃsa* Colophon)

Further, the venerable author had given the names of some of the books he has authored. i.e a sub commentary to *Paṭisambhidāmagga* named *Linatthadīpani*, two Sinhala glossaries *Atthadipani* on *Saccasaṅkhepa* and the *Atthappakāsinī* on the abridged *Visuddhimagga* for the use of the *yogis* (those who strive for the spiritual upliftment). Here is an evidence for the existence of an abridged version of *Visuddhimagga* which is not extant at present. Burmese *Sāsanavaṃsa* attributes *Saccasaṅkhepa Purāna Ṭīkā*, *Nāmarūpa Pariccheda Purāna Ṭīkā*, *Nāmarūpa samāsa Purāna Ṭīkā*, and *Abhidhammāvatāra Purāna Ṭīkā*, to Vācissara. Burmese *Gandhavaṃsa* adds *Thūpavaṃsa* and the *Visuddhimagga Saṅkhepa Ṭīkā* to the above list.

Ven. Vācissara is reckoned as a pupil of the celebrated Sāriputta Saṅgharāja , the advisor to King

Parakkamabahu I (1153-86 A.C.) of Polonnaruwa. In the list of pupils of Sāriputta, Vācissara's name is found immediately after Sumaṅgala Mahāsāmi. Ven. Sāriputta's pupils always pay homage to their eminent teacher in the prologues of their compositions. It is conjectured why such homage is not found in the *Thūpavaṃsa*.

Objective: It is important that Ven. Vācissara has stated his objective of his undertaking the composition of *Thūpavaṃsa*, in the prologue. He refers to two previous compositions on the history of the Mahāthūpa, one in Sinhala and the other in Māgadhi (Pali). He says that the Sihala monk did not serve all, as his work was in the Sinhala language.

Vākkena sīhalabhāvena 'bhisaṅkatattā
Atthaṃ na sādhayati sabbajanassa samma

The other work written in the *Māgadhi* (Pali) was in a confused state due to conflicting words and meanings. Further many things that should have been discussed were not included.

Yasmā ca Māgadha niruttikatopi Thupavaṃso
Viruddhanaya samākūlo so vattabbameva ca
Bahumpi yato na vattam........................

It is clear that earlier there were two attempts to write the history of the Mahathūpa which were not successful. It was under the above circumstance that Ven. Vācissara decided to write the history of the Mahathūpa again avoiding previous short comings so that it would be useful to everyone, even those outside the island.

Moreover the author says that he composed it on a formal invitation made by a Thera named Pattacīvarapāda[2] residing at the Mahindasena Pirivena,[3] who was endowed with faith and virtues. (*Saddhāsīla Gunopeto*).

As regards the period of composition there exist two views. Some assign it to the reign of King Parakkamabāhu I (1153-86), while others assign it to the reign of King Pandita Parakkamabāhu II (1236-71) of Dambadeniya. However it is difficult to establish the theory that it belongs to the reign of King Parakkamabahu II. An inscription on the pavement near the southern *vāhalkaḍa* of the Mahathūpa dated in the second year of Queen Kalyāṇawathie (1202-1208 A.C.) refers to a minister of King Parakkamabāhu I (1153-86 A.C.), by name Vijayanāwan and the members of his family listening to a public reading of the story of the Mahathūpa. This too confirms the view that the *Thūpavaṃsa* belongs to the reign of King Parakramabāhu I. There is no justification to identity King Parakkama "a pinnacle to all the kings" (*parakkama narindassa sabbabhupāla ketuno*) in the colophon with Paṇḍita Parakkamabāhu II of Dambadeniya. Therefore, it is more acceptable to assign the Pali *Thūpavaṃsa* to the reign of King Parakkamabāhu I (1153-86).

Sources: It has been observed that the Mahāvihāra monks used to keep the records of important events pertaining to the religion, since the inception. The introduction of Buddhism to the island by Mahā Mahinda Thera, the arrival of Theri Saṅghamittā with the Bo Saplin, career of King Devanampiyatissa who patronized the new religion etc. are among such events regarding which they kept records. Those records later formed the preliminary work *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa*, on which the Pali *Mahāvaṃsa* was written in the 5[th] century A.C. It is also seen that they used to keep records of important religious edifices such as the Mahā Bodhi, the Mahā Thūpa etc. separately. The scholars believe that the *Cetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭika*, the *Vamsatthappakāsini*, was the record the Mahāvihāra monks kept pertaining to the Mahathūpa and it formed the basis of the Pali *Thūpavaṃsa* written in the 12[th] century by Vācissara. Moreover the author of the Pali *Thūpavamsa* refers to two earlier works on the Thūpa, one in Sinhala and the other in Māgadhi (Pali) in his prologue of the Pali *Thūpavaṃsa*, as already mentioned. Those two also could be considered among his sources. He has closely followed the *Mahāvaṃsa* and often quoted from it. It is also observed that the author has consulted the *Jātakanidāna*, the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini*.

Contents: As far as the contents of the *Thūpavaṃsa* are concerned the author categorically states that his intention was to relate the story of the Thūpa that glitter with jewels, stand for the welfare of all the beings and which is being worshipped by gods and men.

"Vakkhāmaham sakalaloka hitāvahassa,
Thūpassa sabba jananandana kāranassa
Vamsam surāsura narinda varehi niccam,
Sampūjitassa ratanajjala thūpikassa
(*Thūpavamsa*, Preamble)

But as the *Thūpavamsa* is seen today, it contains very much more than the story of the Maha Thūpa. It is seen that a brief reference is made to all the historical Thūpas as well as the Thūpas whose historicity is yet to be confirmed. The *Thūpavamsa* begins from the "Dipankarapādamula" (feet of the Dipankara Buddha), where the ascetic Sumedha is supposed to have received the revelation that he would one day become Gautama Buddha.The accounts of all the Buddhas from Dipankara Buddha to Kassapa Buddha, who are supposed to have made revelations regarding the future Gautama Buddha are discussed in brief, including the Thūpas built in respect of each of the Buddhas, after their attainment of *parinibbāna* and the chapter is called "Abhinihāra Kathā".

A short account of the Buddha's carrier preceded by his birth as Prince Siddhattha and his renunciation is included. Here a special mention is made of the two thūpas "Culamani Thūpa and Dussa Thūpa supposed to have been built enshrining the locks of hair Prince Siddhattha cut and threw away to become an ascetic and the garments of the prince discarded when he donned the ascetic garb. Those two Thūpas are supposed to have been put up by Sakka, the king of gods and Mahā Brahmā respectively.

In the course of dealing with the "Buddha Carita" he discusses the *parinibbāna* and the cremation of the Buddha's body in detail and proceeds to describe the division of the relics by the Brahmin Dona, among the contending eight parties. Thus he has paved the way to describe the eight Thūpas put up enshrining the eight quotas of relics by the relevant recipients. Mallas who arrived when the division of the relics was over, took away the charcoal left over from the pyre and put up a Thūpa over the charcoal. Brahmin Dona got the "measure" he used to divide the relics and built a Thūpa enshrining it. Therefore the number of Thūpas comes to ten and the chapter is named "Dasa Thūpa Kathā", the account of the ten Thūpas

Afterwards the author describes how King Ajātasatthu arranged for a "Central Relic Deposit" (*ekam dhātu nidhāna*) collecting the major portions of the relics deposited in the eight Thūpas, for safety. Next Ven. Vācissara draws the attention of the readers to Emperor Asoka who discovered the Central Relic Deposit and constructed 84000 Thūpas all over his empire depositing the relics, two hundred and thirty six years later. The chapter has been named "caturāsitisahassa thūpa kathā". Asoka's missionary campaign is taken up subsequently. Mahā Mahinda Thera's conversion of Lanka is described in detail. This enabled the author to describe the story of the Thūpārāma, the first historical thupa in the island built by King Devanampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.). A reference is also made to the report that King Devānampiyatissa constructed thūpas at the interval of one "yojana" covering the whole island and the chapter is identified as *yojana thūpa kathā*. The author did not forget to describe the Mahiyangana Thūpa, the first thūpa in the island, according to the tradition.

The military campaign of Dutthagāmani (101-77 B.C.) and his victory over the Tamils is briefly given. The construction of the Maricavatti thūpa which Dutthagāmani undertook to build prior to the Mahā Thūpa, is found described immediately before taking up the main theme, the story of the Maha Thūpa By the time the author comes to the main topic the "History of the Mahāthūpa", two third of the book has been devoted for the preparatory chapters and only one third remained to be devoted for the Mahāthūpa, the main theme. However the perusal of the said chapters shows that the author has highlighted all the Thūpas, built before the Mahāthūpa, possibly to justify its name *Thūpavamsa*, the "History of the Thūpas".

The story of the Mahāthūpa is dealt in detail, with the help of earlier records. The appearance of gold, silver, copper and pearls in various parts of the country prior to the commencement of the construction of the Thūpa is significant. A detailed technical description how the foundation for the Thūpa was laid, is a unique feature of the account. The international gathering at the foundation laying ceremony was an unprecedented event in the annals of the island up to that time. A fascinating description of the relic chamber etc. are some of the highlights of the Mahā Thūpa account. It is seen that simultaneous with the story of the Thūpa runs a narration of the illustrious life of King Dutthagāmani, the hero of the

chronicle. It is said that when the Thūpa was nearing completion Duṭṭhagāmaṇi died of a sudden illness and the Thūpa was completed by his brother Saddhātissa (77-59 B.C.).

Some scholars say that originally the forerunner of the *Thūpavaṃsa*, the *Cetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, contained only the story of the Mahāthūpa. It was Ven. Vācissara, the author of the *Thūpavaṃsa*, who incorporated the preparatory chapters containing the accounts of the other thūpas. The existence of manuscripts containing the account of the Mahāthūpa only, has led to this conclusion. The Library of the India Office contains a similar manuscript (*JRAS*. Ceylon Branch 1898 p. 637 f.).

There exist a Sinhala translation of the *Thūpavaṃsa*, by Parākrama Paṇḍita written during the Kurunegala period. It has been observed that the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa*, is not a Sinhala paraphrase of the Pali *Thūpavaṃsa*.. It has a considerable amount of information not found in the Pali version and it shows the characteristics of an original composition of high literary merit.

The *Thūpavaṃsa*. is published by the *PTS*. edited by B.C. Law in 1935. It has been once more published under the *PTS*. in 1971, edited and translated by Prof. N.A. Jayawickrame.

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References

1 Dhammāgāra, possibly the Library
2 The name Pattacivarapāda is an uncommon name, the meaning is obscure.
3 Mahindasena Pirivena, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* was built by Sena II , 851- 885 A.C. *Mahāvaṃsa* Chapter LI, verse 60

TIBET

Topography and Early History.- Tibet is a landlocked country located on the great plateau of Central Asia, stretching from Himālaya to the Kuen-lun Mountains and Western China. Most part of the country is covered with a vast number of hills and mountains separated by ravines and valleys. A great part of the country exceeds 16,000 feet above mean sea level and is covered with snow, almost right throughout the year. The permanently inhabited areas are those that fall below 11,000 feet below mean sea level.

The T'ang annals (circa 10th century A.C.) trace the origin of Tibetans to nomadic, pastoral Ch'iang tribes who inhabited the great steppe northwest of China around 200 B.C. In this area, which is believed to be the original homeland of the Tibetans, those tribal people began to mix with people of various other racial groups and this process had apparently continued till the 7th century A.C. As a consequence of this intermingling emerged people belonging to two quite distinguishable traits, namely the brachycephalic or the people with round heads and the dolichocephalic or the people with long heads. The brachycephalic people who predominated the cultivated valley are supposed to have descended from the early Chinese and Burmese people while the dolichocephalic people were to be found mostly among nomads of the north and in the noble families of Lhāsa, who displayed traits somewhat akin to the Turkic peoples. Moreover, in the west and along the eastern Himalayan border lived people manifesting Dardic and Indian traits and they were identified by the Tibetans as Mon.

Diverse are the legends that revolve round the origin of the Tibetan people and their very first ruler. According to one of these legends, the progenitor of the Tibetans was a monkey named Hilumandju (evidently the Hanumanji of the Hindu mythology) and a *rākṣas'* sent by Avalokiteśvara.[1] The Buddhist chronicles of a later date trace the first ruler of Tibet to India and attribute it to an ancestor descending from the family of the Buddha.[2] *Mani-kāh-'bum Gyal-rabs* and other legendary sources mention that an exiled mythical prince called *gNah-K'ri-b Tsan-po*, the son of Prasenjit, the first royal patron of the Buddha, had entered Tibet in the 5th century B.C. to become its first ruler.[3] Yet another source, the T'ang annals of China record that in 441 A.C., a Turkic fugitive, prince of the Southern Liang dynasty in north Szechwan declared himself the ruler of some Tibetan tribes.[4]

Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs and Practices in Tibet

The religion professed by the tribal people of Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism was called by

them *Bön* (pronounced as *Pön*), and its adherents were known as *Bon-pa*. It was an animistic, shamanist, necromantic cult akin to Taoism in China. The *Bon-pas* believed in the existence of "spirits of earth and sky, spirits of good and bad, the worshipping of the former and the propitiation of the latter. Magical tambourines were among the necessary equipment of a professor or priest of this religion, enabling him to travel in the sky."[5]

Chinese annals of the fifth and the sixth centuries reveal that even gruesome human sacrifices were performed to propitiate spirits at *Bön* religious ceremonies.

"The officers (Tibetans) are assembled once every year for the lesser oath fealty. They sacrifice sheep, dogs, and monkeys, first breaking their legs and then killing them afterwards, exposing the intestines and cutting them into pieces. The sorcerers having been summoned, they call on the gods of heaven and earth, of the mountains and rivers, of the sun, moon, stars and planets saying 'Should your hearts become changed, and your thoughts disloyal, the gods will see clearly and make you like these sheep and dogs. Every three years there is a grand ceremony, during which all are assembled in the middle of the night on a raised altar on which are spread the savoury meats. The victims sacrificed are men, horses, oxen and asses, and prayers are offered up in this form: "Do you with one heart and united strength cherish our native country. The god of heaven and the spirit of the earth, they will cause your bodies to be cut into pieces like unto these victims."[6]

'According to *Bön* beliefs, spirits and demons were both beneficent and malign. They haunted the trees, fields, mountains, lakes, rivers, waterfalls-in short they haunted everything and everywhere. When they were disturbed, "they sent both physical affliction (such as leprosy and smallpox) and social affliction (such as gossip) .... Beneath the surface of the earth and in rivers and lakes lived a class of demons named *lu* (*klu*), who would become enraged, if the earth was disturbed by digging, ploughing, and digging the foundation for a home. Unless they were properly appeased, they also would inflict diseases on humans and livestock."[7]

Among the fundamentals of the Pönist religion were divination, exorcism and sacrifices of animals and even humans. However, with the introduction of Buddhism, the Lāmās prevailed upon the rulers to denounce and suppress the *Bön* religion and they were quite successful in their endeavours in the Central and the Western Tibet. "In the Eastern Tibet, however, where they are free to practise their cult, the *Bön* priests live in large flourishing monasteries. . . like the Lāmaist establishments; and they have many images of gods, saints and demons, generally resembling in appearance those of Lāmāism, but having different names. The chief god they call ***gShen-rabs Mi-bo***, who is reputed to be a deified priest analogous to the Lāmaist Padma Sambhava."[8] Despite the endeavour of Lāmās to subjugate *Bön* religion, it still exerts influence on Tibetans to some extent, sometimes directly in its pristine form and sometimes in its syncretized form by diluting with certain elements in popular Buddhsim. Thus, "the Yellow Hat sect employ many rites which are transparently *Bön*, such as the necromantic expelling of the death-demon and the demons of sickness, and much of their divination-ritual. The unreformed Red-Hat sect practise the old *Bön* rites to a much greater extent, including the erection of masts attached to skulls of dogs and sheeps to 'bar the door' to the earth and sky demons".[9] Thus, it is a two-way process, *Bön* religion absorbing elements from Buddhism and vice versa.

Formal Introduction of Buddhism into Tibet

It is believed that Buddhism had been unofficially introduced into Tibet through India and China at a very early date in the Christian era. There exist no historical records, however, to prove that fact and it remains just a probability. It is only toward the end of the sixth century that one can obtain a few glimpses of Tibetan Buddhism from the Chinese annals. According to those sources, there was a belligerent king, **Gnam-ri slon-btsan**(circa 570-619 A.C.), who had established his authority over the other wild clans of Central Tibet. From a petty prince of a small valley, he ascended to the status of a ruler of a fast expanding military empire, commanding an army of 100,000 warriors. Nevertheless, it was his son, ***Slon-brtsan sgam po*** (circa 608-650 A.C.), who became the first emperor of Tibet. He had not only unified Tibet, but also had conquered the parts of China ruled by the founder of the T'ang dynasty, the Chinese emperor Taitsung (reigned 626-649 A.C.). In his keenness to come to a compromise with the Tibetan

prince, the Chinese emperor offered him, in 641 A.C., a Chinese princess named Wench'eng as his consort. Two years earlier he had already married the Nepalese king Aṃsuvarman's daughter, Bṛkuṭi under a similar arrangement. Since both these princesses were devout Buddhists, they were able to convert their young husband, who was then only about 16 years of age, as mentioned in Chinese annals, into Buddhism. Thus, he became the first religious king (*chos-rgyal*) in the history of Tibet.

At the instance of his two wives, **Slon-brtsan sgam-po** sent a minister called **Thon-mi Sambhota** on a mission to India to bring some books on Buddhism. Having spent several years studying under the Brahman Lipidatta and Paṇḍit Siṁha Ghosa, he returned not only with Buddhist books, but also the Indian script, from which he evolved the Tibetan alphabet and the first grammar.

The two queens of the emperor were also credited with founding several temples, including **Sprul snang** (temple of the magical appearance) and **Ra mo che**. **Slon-brtsan sgam-po**, being the first Buddhist emperor who had rendered such a yeoman service to Buddhism, he was posthumously canonized as the incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and his Chinese and Nepalese wives were deified as the White Tārā and the Green Tārā respectively.[10]

Transformation that had taken place in the Tibetan society with the advent of Buddhism is succinctly and vividly described by L.A. Waddell as follows:

".... The current of Buddhism which runs through its tangled paganism has brought to the Tibetan most of the little civilization which he possesses and has raised him correspondingly in the scale of humanity, lifting him above a life of semi-barbarism by setting before him higher hopes and aims, by giving milder meanings to his demonist mythology; by discountenancing sacrifice of animal lives and by inculcating universal charity and tenderness to all living things..."[11]

After **Slon-brstan**'s death Buddhism could not make much headway due to the resurgence of shamanism. Yet, with the ascending of his successor **Khri-slon lde-brstān** (755-797 A.C.) to the throne, Buddhism began to flourish again under his patronage. During his reign, Tibet saw the culmination of its military supremacy as he overran even Chang-an, then capital of China and exacted tribute from that country. He is immortalized as one of the greatest benefactors of Buddhism, who had invited Buddhist teachers from India and China for the propagation of religion in Tibet. He is said to have appointed a scholarly Indian Buddhist monk named Śāntarakṣita as royal preceptor. It was at his request that the emperor invited Padmasambhava,.[12] It is said that Śāntarakṣita's presence had infuriated the local spirits and it necessitated him to invite his teacher as an exponent of the Tāntric Yogācāra school, and Kamalaśla to Tibet. The credit of ordaining the first batch of Tibetans, comprising a small group of noblemen, goes to Śāntarakṣita and his retinue. The emperor also founded *Bsam-yas* (circa 779 A.C.), the first real monastery purported to train Tibetan monks.

Tibetan emperors spanning from **Khri-slon lde-brstan** to **Ral pa–can** (who reigned from 815 to 838 A.C.) opened translation centres, which were treated as official translation bureaus of Mahāyāna texts. There were also parallel unofficial translation activities concentrating more on radical Tāntric texts. This situation led to a confusion sparking a controversy. Thus, in the reign of **Khri-lde-slon-brtsan** (804-815 A.C.), it necessitated to convene a council to standardize Tibetan orthography and to regularize both translation methods, besides compiling a lexicon of equivalents to be used in official translations. It contributed considerably to the development of a classical Tibetan language capable of translating subtle and abstruse Buddhist texts from Sanskrit and Chinese originals into Tibetan. However, later it became obvious that there existed certain discrepancies between the Indian and the Chinese interpretations in matters pertaining to doctrine and its practices. It had ultimately given rise to a controversy regarding the authenticity and the orthodoxy of the two versions. The proponents of the Indian group was led by Kamalaśīla, who succeeded Śāntaraksita and the Chinese Buddhists, who had the backing of the Tibetan nobility, were headed by a Chinese monk called Mohoyen of the Northern Chen (Zen) school. The crux of the controversy centred round the nature of enlightenment. The Indians argued that enlightenment is the final outcome of the gradual process of self-purification, meditative serenity and philosophical insight. On the contrary, the Chinese opined it as an

outcome of the intrinsic nature of mind. Therefore, one needs only to be awakened to the presence of this innate nature of enlightenment by entering a state of awareness beyond distinctions.

Consequently, to assess the authenticity of the Indian and the Chinese versions, a public debate between the Indian and the Chinese exponents were held at the *Bsam-yas* monastery from 792 to 794 A.C. It was finally decided to uphold the Indian translation in preference to the Chinese version. Accordingly, the king requested his subjects to adhere to the Indian (Mâdhyamika) tradition and to reject the tradition advanced by the Chinese school.

Emperor **Ral-pa-can** (reigned 815-835 A.C.) who succeeded **Khri-lde-slon-brtsan**, was an ardent patron of Buddhism. He promoted translation of a large volume of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan by setting up of bureaus for that purpose and also for the purpose of compiling standard glossaries of technical terms. It was a great service that enabled to translate into Tibetan a vast corpus of Indian Buddhist texts, which were never translated into Chinese. The treatises thus translated during this period fall basically into three categories, namely Tantras, Śâstras and Sūtras. The Tântric teachings describe a wide range of techniques to be followed to attain one's desired goals expeditiously. Once the aspirant is initiated into the Tântric teachings, the necessary instructions are imparted to him in secrecy. The Śâstras are exegetical works by Indian commentators, which resemble a systematic philosophy or theology presented with rational argumentation and supported by relevant passages from the Sūtras and the Tântras. In Mahâyânism, the Sūtras are texts that contain in most part imaginary visualization of worlds populated by enlightened beings, who had already gained access to those worlds through their devotion to the Sūtra itself.

There is yet another category of literature introduced later, which describes the Vajrayâna rituals to be performed by the meditator. It is known as *Sâdhanas*, which literally means method of attaining enlightenment. Execution of that method is through a practice of visualization, supplicating a Buddha or a bodhisattva to appear before him in person. *Sâdhanas* mention two ways of performing the ritual. In one method, the meditator appeals to a Buddha or a bodhisattva to manifest before him, and once appeared, he is worshipped to receive blessings from him. In the other form, the meditator imagines himself to be a Buddha or a bodhisattva who has already attained enlightenment and having the exalted body, speech and mind of an enlightened one. *Sâdhanas* generally exhort the meditator to visualize that light is radiating from his own body inviting Buddhas and bodhisattvas in the whole universe to appear before him. Then he performs a series of preliminary practices called seven fold services comprising *Sâdhana* and prayer.

Suppression of Buddhism and the Decline of the Empire:

Despite **Ral pa can**'s great service to the cause of Buddhism, it was his over enthusiasm that undermined his role as a ruler and brought about his downfall. There appeared reluctance among the ruling class and the nobility to adhere to the tenets of Buddhism as it jeopardized their claim to the divine origins and obstructed to treat them as divine manifestations. To add to this growing resentment, a monk was appointed by Ral pa can to the post of Chief Minister, vesting powers of administration in his hands.

These developments enraged the nobles, who conspired against the king. When it reached a saturation point in 836 A.C., they got together to assassinate the king and to expel the monk-minister. They replaced the king with his brother, Glang-dar-ma (reigned 838-842 A.C.), the last in the line of the emperors and he immediately started persecuting Buddhism. Before long he was assassinated by a Buddhist monk and that event marked the beginning of the disintegration of the vast Tibetan empire.

During the interregnum that followed, there arose a rivalry among the generals to seize power. Consequently the whole empire was fragmented into several small states, each under a separate petty potentate. Generally, a civil unrest prevailed in most parts of Tibet and that turbulent situation lasted for nearly a century. In the absence of royal patronage, Buddhism too suffered during this period. In Central Tibet, in particular, the monks were forced to flee and monastic practices were abandoned. Nevertheless, certain members of the ruling families who had migrated to the west of the country, maintained their connections with Indian Buddhist universities through scholar monks like **Rim-chen bzang-po** (958-1055 A.C.).

Revival of Buddhism in the Tenth Century

Towards the latter part of the tenth century, a gradual revival of Buddhism became evident, particularly among the lay devotees, who were engaged in pilgrimages and rituals. It first manifested slowly in the east, but later emerged as a significant force in the west. In Central Tibet this revival was spurred on by Klu mes, who travelled to Dan tig temple and received ordination as a monk. On his return to Central Tibet around 980 A.C., he renovated Bsam yas monastery and constructed a network of several other temples.

The Gu-ge rulers of the West Tibet descending from the imperial lineage were ardent followers of Mahāyānism, who opposed extreme Tāntric practices. **Rin-chen Bzang-po** was sent by the Gu-ge ruler on a mission to Kashmir for the purpose of studying Mahāyānism. Returning to Tibet with a corpus of Mahāyāna texts he, in the company of some scholarly monks, embarked on a gigantic translation project in 1076 A.C., under the patronage of the Gu-ge kings.

A similar revival was evinced in Central Tibet too, where scholar monks in the calibre of **Brogâ-ma, Dgos-lo, Rwa-lo, Mar-pa** were responsible for rendering several Sanskrit Tāntric works into Tibetan. They were critical of some of those Tāntric translations done at an earlier date disparaging them as inaccurate, and not authentic. Their criticism, however, was refuted by **Rnying-ma** teachers who, in turn, pointed out the inaccuracies found in their own translations. The eleventh century also saw frequent travel by Tibetan monks to Indian centres of Buddhist learning in Bihar, Bengal and Kashmir.

Another most remarkable event that took place in this century was renowned Indian scholar, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa's (985-1054 A.C.) visit to Tibet in 1042 A.C., responding to a request by the Gu-ge king. Atīśa is credited to have 'rekindled the faith through out Central Tibet and from then onward Buddhism increasingly spread its influence over every aspect of Tibetan life."[13] It was he who introduced the cult of the goddess Tārā, the consort of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva and stressed that Tāntric Buddhism represents a more advanced stage of Mahāyāna teachings. His lay Lāmā disciple **'Brom –ston Rgyal ba'i byung-gnas** (1004-1064 A.C) established, in 1056 A.C., the *Rwa Sgreng* monastery in Central Tibet and founded **Bka'gdams–pa** order. **'Brom—ston** became renowned for his rigour and austerity in practising Buddhism. This order was particularly concerned about the tendency for abuse in Tāntric practices and imposed strict disciplinary measures to prevent such lapses.

Emergence of the Sa-skya Sect

Of the several Tāntric traditions that came into existence at a later date, the tradition evolved by **Mar-pa** (1012-1097 A.C.), namely the **Dwags Po Bka' brgyud** appeared to be the most prominent. **Mar-pa**'s disciple, hermit **Mi-la ras-pa** (**Milarepa**: 1040-1123 A.C.) and his disciple **Sgam po-pa** laid a firm theoretical and practical foundation for the tradition in Tāntric as well as monastic practice. Another Tibetan scholar of the same lineage, **Khon dkon-mchog rgyal-po** (1034-1102 A.C.) founded a monastery at Sa-skya (Grey Earth) in 1073 A.C. and later it came to be the headquarters of the Sa-skya (or Sakya) sect. The most distinguished members of this sect in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries belonged to the Khon family and of them the most outstanding personality was **Khon dga' 'rgyal mtshan** (1181-1251 A.C.), who became better known as **Sa-skya Paṇḍita**.[14]

A notable feature emerged during this period was the adaption of the principle of succession through incarnation. Some sects, particularly the Karma-pa and the Bigung-pa sects followed this principle. Proliferation of satellite monasteries around the central monastery was yet another important development witnessed in this period. An emphasis was placed on the elucidation and interpretation of doctrinal and philosophical expositions and in this respect Sa-skya masters played a leading role. **Sa chen kun dga' snying** (1092-1158 A.C.) wrote the first Tibetan summary of the Tāntric path, besides writing eleven commentaries on an esoteric work, *Lam 'bras*, attributed to the Indian monk Virūpa. His two sons, **Bsod names rto mo** (1142-1182 A.C.) and **Grags pa rgyal mtshan** (1147-1216 A.C.) wrote a commentary on ***Bodhicaryāvatāra*** by Śāntideva and systematized the Tāntric path in accordance with Sa-skya interpretation.

Mongolian Involvement in Tibet

Ascendancy of a new power in Central Asia in the thirteenth century had its impact felt strongly in its neighbouring territory, Tibet too. Genghis Khan, the most powerful ruler of the Mongols attempted to invade Tibet in 1207 A.C., but it was diplomatically averted by Tibet after acknowledging the supremacy of Mongol and agreeing to pay a tribute. Since Genghis Khan's death, however, Tibetans failed to honour the agreement and it resulted in punitive incursions into the country by Mongols. In 1247, Lāmā **Sa-skya Paṇḍita** was summoned to the Mongolian Court to give explanations for his defence. There he was able to impress the emperor with his magical powers as well as scholarship. Thereupon the emperor became so pleased with his demeanour, he appointed him as Mongol's regent in Tibet. Thus, for almost a century Sa-skya order was able to wield their political control over Tibet under the suzerainty of the Mongols.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita's nephew **Phags-pa blo-gros rgyal mtshan** (1235-1280 A.C.), who succeeded him became the religious preceptor of the all conquering emperor Kublai Khan. He subjugated even China and founded the Yuan dynasty in 1279 A.C. He kept a leading member of the Sa- skya sect at his court to ensure the Tibetan submission to Mongol. In this way, the Sa-skya Lmās officiating at the Chinese court controlled the affairs of Tibet on behalf of the Mongols. This relationship that existed between the emperor and the Lâmā was known as *yon-mchod*, wherein the emperor playing the role of the patron cum protector while the Lāmā functioning as his spiritual leader and the head priest.

Though the administration of Tibet was left in the hands of the Sa-skya Lāmâs, in later years the Mongols intended to reorganize it. Accordingly, they ordered the country to be divided into 13 administrative provinces called myriarchies and each of those were placed nominally under a Sa-skya viceroy. This move offended the other sects, and particularly **Byang-chub rgyal mtshan** (1302-1364 A.C.) of the Bka'-brgyud-pa sect challenged the supremacy of the Sa-skya sect in Central Tibet. In the ensuing period, a chaotic situation prevailed in the country due to internal conflicts, which got worsened with the weakening of the Mongol rule. A new movement centred on the revival of national identity was emerging in the country and it gained an impetus when some 1368 old texts highlighting the country's past glory during its imperial period was suddenly discovered. Meanwhile the collapse of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 A.C. signalled the downfall of the Sa-skya order and the ascendancy of **Byong chub rgyal** of Phag-mo-gru-pa sect into power. He had avowed to wipe out Mongol dominance from the Tibetan soil and to revive the Tibetan ethos. As the first step, he overwhelmed Sa-skya sect and deprived them of the power they held over Tibet. Later, when China was liberated by the Ming dynasty and drove away the Mongols, it provided him the opportunity to seize power and to regain his country's independence. Afterwards, it was his Phag-mo-gru-pa sect that controlled power in Tibet for more than a century.

Fluctuation of Fortunes

Several events of Buddhist significance marked the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. **Bu-ston Rin chen-grub** (1290-1364 A.C.) systematized the Tibetan canon under the patronage of **T'ai si tu. Bu-ston** is also credited to have catalogued the Tāntric canon section (*rgyud 'bum*) of the translated scriptures (*Bka' 'gyur*) apart from translating some important texts (*Bstan'gyur*).

Emancipation of Tibet from the grip of the Mongols marked the dawn of a new epoch during which Buddhism prospered. "A proliferation of scholars, preachers, mystics, hermits and eccentrics as well as monastic administrators and warriors accompanied the revival of Buddhism. Literary activity was intense; Sanskrit works were translated with the help of visiting Indian paṇḍits; the earliest codifiers, classifiers, biographers and historians appeared. In an outburst of monastic buildings, the characteristic Tibetan style acquired extent, mass and dignity. Chinese workmen were imported for decorative work, such as tiled roofs and gilded ornaments.... Under Nepalese influence, images were cast and ritual vessels and musical instruments made in style blending exuberant power and sophisticated craftsmanship,.... and from India came palm-leaf books, ancient images, and bell-metal stūpas of all sizes".[15]

The emperors of the Ming dynasty in China showered gifts and titles on Lāmās of the Kagyu, Sa-skya and Dge-lugs-pa sects. Buddhism enjoyed a

prestigious position and became the popular religion of the masses. However, despite this outward pomp and prosperity, the spiritual aspects of Buddhist practices were on the decline as most of the monasteries had displayed a tendency to become more social and political institutions rather than religious. Thus, prosperity and involvement of monks in political matters had an adverse effect on the disciplinary behaviour of the clergy and the monasteries. Meanwhile the political stability in the country gradually deteriorated and the atmosphere became turbulent. In 1481, it paved the way for Princes of the Rin spurg, ministers and patrons of the influential Karma-pa sect to seize power.

Ascendancy of the Dge-lugs-pa (Yellow Hat) Sect

Amidst this religious and political turmoil, a saintly scholar named **Blo-bzang grags-pa** (1357-1419 A.C.), better known as **Tsong-kha-pa** founded a new sect called Dge-lugs-pa (The Virtuos Order) or Bka-gadms-pa. He studied with the leading teachers of his day, including the famous Sa-skya teacher **Red mda'ba** (1349-1412 A.C.,), an exponent of the radical Prāsaṅgika – Mādyamika system. Not being satisfied with those doctrines and the general set up of the then existing monastic establishments, he formulated his own form of doctrine, preferring moral and philosophical teachings of Atiśa to magic and mysticism of the Sa-skya sect. After traversing Tibet on a preaching mission, he finally found a monastery at Dga' ldan in 1407 A.C., and settled down there resolving to restore the strict monastic discipline to its former status.

The laity, who were disgusted with the rivalry and dissension that existed among the monasteries, welcomed **Tsong-kha-pa**'s new approach that imposed strict monastic discipline. His doctrine was based, both on the Mahāyāna exoteric path (*lamrin-chen mo*) and the Vajrayāna esoteric path (*sngogs rim chen po*). He was also renowned for his masterly synthesis of the Mādyamika and Yogācāra systems of Buddhism, based on the Indian tradition.

Beginning of the Dalai Lāmā Tradition

After **Tsong-kha-pa**'s demise in 1419 A.C., good work initiated by him was continued by his disciple, **Rgyal tshob Darma rin chen** (1364-1432 A.C.), who succeeded him. He became reputed for his orthodox commentaries that constituted a great part of Dge-lugs-pa scholasticism. His successor, **Mikos grub Dge legs dpal bzong** (1385-1438 A.C.) became renowned for his erudite epistemological treaties as well as for his interpretation of the Kālacakra Tantra (*s.v.*). In 1319 A.C., he was succeeded by **Dge 'dun grub pa** (1391-1494 A.C.) who came to be designated, a century later, as the first 'Dalai Lāmā'. He earned a reputation for his exegetical work on epistemology and also credited with the founding, in 1447, the great monastery at *Bkra shis lhun po*. Upon his death, his disciples believed that he had been the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva in human form, who had appeared in Tibet to preach the doctrine and foster Buddhism.[16] Through the efforts of **Tsong –kha-pa**'s dedicated and vibrant followers, new Dge-lugs-pa monasteries began to proliferate in and around Lhasa and also in the west and east of Tibet. Thousands of monks dwelt in these monasteries transforming them into virtual religious cities. A striking feature of the priests of this sect was wearing of 'Yellow Hats' – probably to distinguish them from the adherents of other sects. Hence this order came to be known in the west as 'Yellow Hats'.

Status of Monks and Nuns in Tibetan Buddhism

A Buddhist monk commands a highly estimable position in the Tibetan society. He is adored and patronized by people of all walks of life, from royalty to humble peasant. Those monks who are reputed as scholars, preceptors, meditators, skilful performers of rituals and adepts of divination commanded more respect than others. Rising through their monastic ranks they could attain high positions endowed with authority and prestige. In case of Dge-lugs-pa monks, it qualified them to claim high ranking government positions.

Though the order of nuns (*a mi*) exists in Tibet, the position of nuns and their influence in the society is much less in contrast to monks. Since they are not entitled to higher ordination (*dge slong*), they have to remain as novices throughout their lives. Though monks constitute a substantial proportion of the population (between 10-15 percent) the proportion of nuns is apparently meagre (3%).[17]

Monasteries and Nunneries in Tibet

The monastery, the mainstay of monastic life, plays a vital role in Tibetan Buddhism, for all Buddhist activities are centred around it. *Bsam-yas (Samye)* monastery set up around 780 A.C. at the instance of the Indian monk, Śāntarakṣita, was the first ever real monastery founded in Tibet. The early monasteries were modelled on the Indian prototypes. Originally, monasteries were small centres for retreat, but with the influx of generous support from the royalty and the laity, in subsequent times, those establishments grew in stature to become colossal monastery complexes.

"The largest of these, such as *Drepung* (which, with some 13,000 monks in 1959, was the largest Buddhist monastery in the world), functioned as self-sufficient cities, with their own economy (with farms worked by share croppers), government, and police force. Tibetan monks were not fully supported by the monasteries, receiving only a small ration of tea and roasted barley for their subsistence; they had to rely on their families or their own earnings (from trade or performing rituals) for anything more." [18]

A general feature in Tibetan monasteries is that the majority of its inmates remain as novices right throughout their lives. Only a few monks with higher ordination (*dge slong*) concentrate on doctrine and meditation. It is mandatory for a monk leading a monastic life to adhere to a disciplinary code meant for monks as laid down in the Indian texts. However, each monastic establishment had its own particular code of discipline relating to minor details and it is called *ja yik* or *bca'yig*.

The number of nunneries found in Tibet is comparatively less. Apparently there are around 60 nunneries, the largest being *Dge chog theg chen gling* accommodating about 1000 nuns.

Revival of the Mongolian Connection

Although the Dge-lugs-pa sect could influence and win over many other sects, they confronted a stiff resistance from the Karma-pa adherents patronized by Rin-spungs princes and their successors, the Gtsang kings. Meanwhile, Dge-lugs-pa sect, in their keenness to secure a patronage to forge ahead, directed their missionary zeal toward Mongolia, where the Tibetans had failed to carry out any religious activity since the collapse of the Ming Dynasty. Dge-lugs-pa sect was successful in winning over the royal patronage of the Tümed Mongols and its third hierarch, **Bsod nams-rgya-mtsho** (1543-1588 A.C.) was accorded a warm welcome by the Mongol ruler Altan Khan, when the former paid him a visit in 1578 A.C. This meeting revived the patron-priest relationship that existed earlier between the emperor Kublai Khan and the 'Phags-pa sect'. Altan Khan was so delighted that he conferred on him the title 'Dalai Lāmā' (*Dalai* is a Mongolian word connoting the meaning 'Oceanwide', which signifies his unfathomable qualities such as great compassion, erudity, etc.), with retrospective effect to two of his previous incarnations, the first being his birth as **Dge'dun grup pa** (1391-1474 A.C.). Thus, he became verily the third Dalai Lāmā in the line of succession based on reincarnation.

When a Dalai Lāmā passes away, the regent became the tentative ruler of the country and it was his responsibility to undertake the search for the next Dalai Lāmā. Formalities, rituals and superstitions involved in the discovery of Dalai Lāmā's new reincarnation are both extremely elaborate and mystifying. It is believed that the Dalai Lāmā in his dying moments makes certain indications to his trusted officials, which provide clues to the part of the country he intends to reappear and the family into which he would be reborn. All parents are alerted that they should carefully observe their dreams and be vigilant for any auspices signs in the sky that might indicate the direction in which the child was going to be born. The State Oracler, who also functioned as the adviser to the head of the state, played a prominent role in discovering the reincarnated Dalai Lāmā. He resided in the Nechung monastery in the Lhasa valley and led a celebate and a devout life, which qualified him to get possessed the powerful protective deity, Pehor while in trance.[19] The Tibetans displayed a high regard for their oracles, who were consulted frequently in people's day-to-day problems. The government too consulted the State Oracle in all important matters related to state and attached a great confidence and credence to the prophisies made by him. In his visions in trance, the oracle provided the clues that would help to discover the birth of the new Dalai Lāmā, the

family into which he was expected to be born, etc. It was interesting to note that the Lhamoi Latso lake at Chokhorgyal in the south east of Lhasa too played an important role in this search. The Tibetans believed that this lake possessed some mysterious power to portend things and if a person approached it with a pure mind, it provided ample clues to solve his problems. It was customary that the regent approached this lake to get further clues that helped to discover the new born Dalai Lāmā.[20]

Following all those hints, the most venerated and learned Lāmās of the three great State monasteries, namely *Se-ra*, *Drepung* and *Gan-du* proceed on their mission of searching the new Dalai Lāmā among the boys, who were born under unusual circumstances and had certain auspicious signs on their person. Those signs were: i) marks of a tiger skin on legs, ii) elongated eyes and eye brows curved upwards on the outside, iii) long ears and an imprint resembling a conch-shell on one of his palms.[21]

The new reincarnation of the Dalai Lāmā, it is believed, did not appear soon after his death and it took place after a year or two. Thus, the search for the prospective Dalai Lāmā began when the child was deemed to be about two or three years old.

Once the search party came to the conclusion that they had discovered the boy, he was subjected to a series of verification tests until they were fully convinced and confident that he was the real reincarnation. Then, that news was duly communicated to the regent and the Kashog (cabinet) in Lhasa for formal ratification by the government. Once the approval was given, with parent's consent the boy was ceremoniously taken by palanquin to Lhasa, where he was to be brought up by the learned monks. In grooming him, the prelates take especial care to instil into his mind all secrets and facts associated with his reincarnation and his divine origin and also the mission he was expected to fulfil. He had to wait till he reached eighteen years to be enthroned as the spiritual and the temporal leader of his country and its peoples.[22]

There is a graphic account how the fourteenth Dalai Lāmā, Tengin Gayasto was discovered in a house of a Tibetan horse dealer in the region of Amdo. Following the revelations the State Oracle had made through his visions, and the clues seen by the regent in the waters of the lake, the search party progressed and ultimately found a house with turquoise tiles at the village of Taktser. They learnt that there was a boy of two years in that house. Two members of the delegation went there, the leading lāmā disguising himself as the servant and his assistant lāmā as the master. They pretended as pilgrims who had come on a pilgrimage to the famous Kum-bum monastery in that area. They found the boy and the moment he saw the leading Lāmā, he wanted to sit on his cap. The grand Lāmā was wearing the rosary that belonged to the thirteenth Dalai Lāmā round his neck. The boy grabbed it and said it was his. The lāmā replied he could give it, if the boy guessed who he was .The boy replied he was *Sera-aga'*, meaning the lāmā of *Se-ra*. Then the lāmā asked who the master was, and the boy replied, 'Losang', which indeed was his name. He also knew the name of the other monk, Amdo Kasang. When the party prepared to leave in the following morning, he insisted that he too should join them The delegation went back to Lhasa and reported everything to the regent and the investigations continued for several months. The party went there again to make further tests. That time they brought with them two identical rosaries, one black and one yellow, a walking stick and a ritual drum, along with a facsimile of each.

When they laid those on a table before the boy, he immediately picked the correct black rosary worn by the previous Dalai Lama. When the two drums were offered, the boy correctly chose the little drums used by his predecessor and beat it in the way drums are beaten during the prayers. Lastly they offered the two walking sticks. The boy picked up the wrong one first, but left it and chose the correct one later. It was revealed that the first one was sparingly used by the late Dalai Lama.

Amalgamation of Ecclesiastical and Temporal Authority vested in Dalai Lāmā

After the third Dalai Lama's demise, he was succeded by **Yon tan rgya mtsho** (1589-1616 A.C.), a grandson of Altan, Khan, as the fourth Dalai Lāmā. In fact, he was the only Dalai Lāmā, not Tibetan by birth. Though the Dge-lugs-pa prospered through royal patronage of the Mongolian court, their dominance in the intellectual and institutional capacity was not tolerated by certain rival sects like Karma-pa and Sa-skya. Therefore, for his protection Mongols stationed their own garrison in Tibet, a move vehemently

resented by the Karma-pa sect and their patron, Gtsong king of the Tumed clan. The Karma-pa monks, known in the west as 'Red Hats', were the bitter opponents of the 'Yellow Hats' sect. However, with the death of the fourth Dalai Lāmā and the decline of the supremacy of the Tūmed clan in Mongolia, which occurred almost simultaneously, that rivalry subsided. Meanwhile, the Khochotd clan who displaced the Tūmed clan seized power and its leader Gushi Khan became the new ruler. He became the patron of the fifth Dalai Lāmā, **Za hor ban de Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho** (1617-1682 A.C.) and suppressed the Karma-pa sect. In 1642, he proclaimed the fifth Dalai Lāmā as the ruler of Tibet. This event marked a very important landmark in the chequred history of Tibet as it was the first instance that both, the religious and the temporal powers were vested in a single person. He identified himself not only as the fifth reincarnation of the Dalai Lāmā but also as Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva's present incarnation. From that time onward Dalai Lāmā came to be venerated as Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva who appears in this world over and over again in the guise of Dalai Lāmā to protect Tibet and its people. This revelation established "an unbroken link with Tibet's prehistoric past and exalting the religious lineage of one of many lines of incarnation to the level of kingship through identification with Avalokiteśvara."[23]

Having moved his capital back to Lhasa, Dalai Lāmā built his grandeur palace there and named it Potala (which derives from Potalika the palace of Avalokiteśvara). As the spiritual and the temporal overlord, he wielded absolute power and under his efficient administration, Tibet became a unified country once again. Half of his officials were Buddhist monks and Tibetans referred to that form of theocratic rule, where religion and politics welded together, *Chosi nyindre* or *chos-srid gnyis – 'brel.* [24]

Another interesting development that occurred during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lāmā was the creation of a second line of supreme spiritual leader called Pan-chen Lāmā (a term derived from Sanskrit *Maha-Paṇḍita*, meaning 'Great Scholar'),who is regarded as a reincarnation, in the divine presence of **'Od dpogm,ed** (Sanskrit, *Amithābha*, the God of Infinite Light). He resides at the *Bkra shis lhun po* monastery. What motivated the Dalai Lāmā to introduce this new line of reincarnation was to elevate his own rank further. "This evolution indicated a noticeable growth of the prestige of the dGe lugs pa School, who now claimed as their own three supreme religious dignitaries: the Dalai Lama, the Pan-chen and the ***Khri rin po che*** (the grand abbot of d Ga'ldan)[25]

The fifth Dalai Lāmā was also known as the 'Great Dalai Lāmā' by virtue of his exceptional scholarship. He was well-versed in Dga'ldan, Sa-skya, Zha lu and Rnying ma traditions. Some orders like Rnying ma which he favoured, reaped benefits while the orders like Jo-nang, which were ill-disposed towards him, were not supported. He revived the religious ceremonies that had gone to oblivion due to lack of royal patronage in the past and renovated and enlarged the monasteries of *'Bras-spungs Se-ra* and *Dgal-ldan.*

Two years after the fifth Dalai Lāmā's ascendancy to power, the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty became the rulers of China. On the invitation of the Chinese emperor, the Dalai Lāmā visited China in 1563 as an independent ruler. The emperor's design was to build up a cordial relationship with Dalai Lāmā, because of close connections the latter maintained with the Dzungars of Western Mongolia, from whom the emperor feared an invasion.

Precipitation of a Series of Turbulent Scenarios

The Great fifth Dalai Lāmā passed away in 1682 A.C., and his incarnation was discovered in 1688 A.C., in a five year old boy, who was proclaimed as the sixth Dalai Lāmā under the name **Tshangs-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho**. However, it was kept a secret by the minister regent, **Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho** (1679-1705 A.C.) , as he was wary to continue administration without any external interference. When the Chinese emperor K'ang hsi (reigned 1662-1722 A.C.) came to hear about it in 1691, he suspected a Tibetan conspiracy with the Dzunger ruler, Dga'ldan. It prompted the emperor to enter into an alliance with Lha-bzang Khan, an opponent of the minister regent. Taking the advantage of sixth Dalai Lāmā's slackness in religious pursuits and his penchant for poetry and other worldly indulgences, Lha-bzang invaded Tibet in 1705 A.C., killed the minister regent and deposed the Dalai Lāmā branding him as a pretender. He was exiled and died on the way. Lha-bzang replaced him with a mature person as the legitimate Dalai Lāmā, but

it only exacerbated the situation. The Tibetans vehemently rejected him and identified an infant in east Tibet as the real reincarnation of the fifth Dalai Lāmā and enthroned him as the sixth Dalai Lāmā under the name **Tshongs -dbyangs-rgya-mtsho**.

The Dzungars, who were the supporters of Dge-lugs-pa, taking the advantage of this turbulent situation, invaded Tibet on the pretext of avenging the deaths of the sixth Dalai Lāmā and his minister regent. They killed Lha-bzang and seized the power at Lhasa. But by their unruly behaviour, the Dzungers, soon antagonized the Tibetans. Meanwhile, fearing a domination of Tibet by Dzungars, the Chinese emperor forthwith dispatched a battalion to fight against the invaders. The Chinese, who vanquished the Dzungars in 1720 A.C., were welcomed by the Tibetans as they relieved them from harassment at the hands of the Dzungars and also that they brought in their company the new Dalai Lāmā, **Bskal-bzang-rgya-mtsho**, who had been kept as a protégé at the imperial court.[26]

After expelling the Dzungars, Chinese left behind a garrison known as Ambans in Lhasa, but it was subsequently withdrawn in 1727 A.C. when a civil war broke out in Tibet. However, suspecting that the Dzungars might capitalize on the prevailing chaotic situation, Chinese emperor immediately dispatched a battalion to restore order. Afterwards, the administration of Tibet was entrusted to a confidante, a nobleman named **Pho-lha Bsod-nams sttobs-rgyas**, who ruled the country peacefully until his death in 1747 A.C.

When his son attempted to conspire secretly with Dzungars, the Ambans assassinated him in 1750 A.C. The enraged Tibetans, in turn, massacred the Ambans too, The Dalai Lāmā, however, managed to bring the situation back to normalcy, and peace reigned till Tibet was invaded by the militant Gurkhas in 1792 A.C. Thereupon the Chinese General Fu-k'ang-an intervened and drove away the invaders. But with the decline of the imperial power in China, Tibet began to assert its independence. Thus, when Tibet fought wars with Ladakh in 1842 A.C. and with Nepal in 1858 A.C., Chinese did not intervene on their behalf.

Apart from the great fifth Dalai Lāmā, none of his successors could exercise such a powerful authority and attain a charismatic position till the emergence of the thirteenth Dalai Lāmā. This was partly due to the fact that the Pan-chen Lāmā, the second ranking religious dignitary in Tibet, who sought refuge in China whenever a dissension arose between him and the Dalai Lāmā, was exploited by the Chinese to curtail the absolute authority and power enjoyed by the Dalai Lāmā at Lhāsa.[27]

New Developments in Dogmatism

Amidst political upheavals, a section of the clergy was seen engaged fervently in doctrinal and philosophical controversies, which resulted in new developments in dogmatism. At the turn of the nineteenth century, it became apparent that the "original austerity of the **Tsong-kha-pa**'s order was diluted by power, wealth and numbers. There were, of course, disciplinarians and saints and many scholars also. The older sects, free from political responsibilities, were often renowned for piety and discipline and produced scholars and mystics with wide ranging religious views.[28] This development was quite evinced "in Eastern Tibet (Khams), where the Sa-skya and the Rnying ma orders were specially supported. This movement tried to move Tibetans from a narrow view of lineage toward an ecumenical vision of Buddhist study and practice and specialized in the collection and publication of compendia of religious practices and ideas. **'Jam dbyang Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po** (1820-1892)... promoted the study of their esoteric systems. **Kong sprul Blo gras mtha'yas** (1813-1899) .... integrated Rnying ma, Bon po and Bka'brgyud systems all together in his great *Rin chen gter mdzod* (Treasury of Gems). In the Sa-skya order, 'Jam dbyang Blo gter dbana po (1847-circa 1914) brought together two great compendia of new translation practices....".[29]

Incursion into Tibet by the British

The British occupation of India in the nineteenth century eventually had its repercussion on Tibet. When Col. Francis Younghusband led a military expedition to Tibet in 1903, the Dalai Lāmā took refuge in China. In 1904, the British forced Tibet to enter into a trade agreement with them without getting China involved in it. In 1906, China retaliated by craftily signing a treaty with the British, leaving out any Tibetan involvement. Taking that advantage, the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1910, laying their claims on

the territory and this time the Dalai Lāmā had to seek protection from the British in India. However, with the downfall of the Manchu dynasty and the occurrence of the Chinese Revolution in 1911, the Tibetans got the opportunity to take their revenge and they drove out all Chinese back into China. Immediately they declared the independence of their country and turned to British for their protection. Thereupon the British realizing Tibet's inability to defend their territory, negotiated with China in an attempt to persuade them to enter into a tripartite agreement, acknowledging Tibetan autonomy under a nominal Chinese overlordship. Dissatisfied over a frontier issue, the Chinese refused to sign the agreement and later challenged its validity. Despite the fact that China always maintained their claim over Tibet, the Tibetans never tolerated the presence of Chinese in their territory and from 1913 till 1935 Tibet enjoyed freedom as an independent country.

Invasion of Tibet by Chinese Communists

The thirteenth Dalai Lāmā, who was reputed as a strong personality, died in 1935 and with his demise slackened the morale of the Tibetans. The 'Condolence Mission' sent by the Chinese remained at Lhasa and set up a small office there. They also sought to bring back the sixth Panchen Lāmā, who had left Tibet in 1923 over a disagreement with the Dalai Lāmā and was living as a protégé in China. The British in India, who were discreetly following these developments in Tibet, also set up a small British mission at Lhasa and Tibet continued to function as an independent state.

In 1939, the incarnation of the fourteenth Dalai Lāmā, **Tenzin Gyasto** was discovered and duly enthroned. However, a decade later, in 1949, the Tibetans got alarmed when the Chinese Communists seized power in China. Their immediate reaction was the expulsion of the Chinese battalion stationed at Lhasa.

After consolidating their position in China, the Communists directed their attention to Tibet and without much resistance they overran Tibet in 1950. The Dalai Lāmā's appeal to the United Nations for help was of no avail. In 1951, a treaty was signed between Communist China and Tibet, whereby the Tibetans were assured of their autonomy and freedom to practise religion. At the same time, it allowed China to set up its civil and military headquarters in their territory. The supreme position held by the Dalai Lāmā thereunto was curtailed by depriving him of his temporal authority and dividing the country into three regions.

This situation continued to deteriorate and the disgruntled Tibetans began to organize themselves to protest the Communist rule. It resulted in a popular uprising in March 1959, but the Chinese suppressed it ruthlessly. When a rumour spread that the Chinese were planning to kidnap the Dalai Lāmā, the people of Lhāsa immediately surrounded his Norbulinka palace. At night on March 19, 1959, disguised as a common Tibetan soldier and accompanied by his ministers and followers, he escaped across Himalayas to India. The fourteenth Dalai Lāmā is renowned for his erudity and vast knowledge in Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy. He has authored a number of exegetical treatises and earned a name for his lucid elucidation of most enigmatic points in Buddhist philosophy to his audiences. He has been awarded the honorific title "*geshe*", a rare tribute conferred on outstanding academics in the monastic curriculum.

Tibetan Diaspora in India

The Tibetan diaspora in India, concentrated in Dharmasālā "immediately set about to construct temples, monasteries, monastic schools and print their sacred books".[20] The majority of the Tibetan diaspora is to be found today in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim.

The Chinese immediately replaced the Tibetan government with a military dictatorship, which confiscated all property owned by the monasteries and nobility. "To give an appearance of Tibetanness, the new Panchen Lāmā, a protégé of the Chinese, was appointed Chairman of an interim administration and a few of the Buddhist temples were maintained as show places. The rest were abandoned, and the monks fled, were imprisoned or reverted to lay life"[21]

Aftermath of the Cultural Revolution and the Current Resurgence of Buddhism

The effects of the Cultural Revolution in China in 1966 had its adverse effects disastrously felt in Tibet too. Between 1963 and 1971, communication with the outside world was greatly restricted and the

Tibetan culture and religion were quelled. However, when that oppressive phase of the Cultural Revolution came to an end, things began to change for better. Thus, since 1978, the Chinese government in their attempt to make amends took several constructive measures toward ameliorating the living standards of the Tibetans. They now exercise more cultural autonomy in the spheres of religion, language, customs and education on condition that they acknowledge Tibet is an inalienable part of China "... over the past two decades Tibetans have actually, availed themselves of the new opportunities and Tibet to day is alive with religion and religious activities."[32] The Chinese themselves have taken steps to renovate salient religious monuments like Potala, Jo khang, Norbulinka, which remained neglected till then.

A new wave of enthusiasm and awakening in Buddhism is currently pervading throughout Tibet and it bears testimony to the unshaken faith the Tibetans have endured for their religion even on the face of adversity. Though their faith remained dormant in the two decades that the Cultural Revolution was in full swing, it rebounded with a new vigour, no sooner the revolution became a spent force. The Chinese have taken several measures of redress and "Tibetan printing had taken off in the People's Republic of China since Mao's death, making many rare chronicles available for the first time."[33]

Through the ages, Buddhism has become an integral part of the lives of the Tibetans and has been the most vital force regulating their life styles for generations. It is so inextricably intertwined with their day to day life, that their ethos and national identity are all deeply rooted in their religion and eventually it has become the predominant motivating force of all their actions and reactions. On confronting any adversity they turn toward their religion for solace and are prepared to endure any suffering ungrudgingly for any stretch of time hopefully anticipating some divine intervention on their behalf. Hence, perpetuation of a Tibetan culture pivoted on Buddhist faith is assured in the foreseeable future. See PLATES XXII-XXIV.

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11. *ERE , op.cit.* p. 331
12. It is said that Sāntarakṣita's presence had infuriated the local spirits and it necessitated him to invite his teacher at Nālanda, Padmasambhava to come to Tibet to defeat spirits and demons, which he did and later converted them to Buddhism (L.A Waddell, *op.cit.* p. 24; ed. Donald S. Lopez (jr.) *op.cit.* p. 127)
13. *New Ency.Brit. op.cit.* p. 379
14. He became renowned in the history of Tibetan Buddhism for his feat in defeating a Hindu scholar in a formal Philosophical debate. The Sanskrit translation of his masterly treatise on logic *Rigs gter* (Treasury of Realisation) was widely circulated in India.
15. *New Ency. Brit. Op.cit.* , p. 380
16. Avalokiteśvara is one of the Bodhisattvas in the triadof bodhisattvas, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, symbolizing all pervading compassion; the other two being Mañjuśri symbolizing wisdom and Vajrapāni symbolizing 'might' or potence.
17. ed. Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, *Buddhsim in Contemporary Tibet*, New Delhi, 1998, p. 5).
18. ed. Donald S. Lopez (Jr.), *op.cit.*, pp.139-140.
19. The Tibetans displayed a high regard for their oracles, who were consulted frequently in people's day-to-day problems. The government too consulted the State Oracle in all important matters related to state and attached a great confidence and credence to the prophesies made by him.
20. It is recorded that at the time the thirteenth Dalai Lama was discovered, the lake was covered with this layer of snow. However, when people approached the lake to find the auspices signs there, that banket of snow was miraculously swept away by a sudden gust of wind.
21. Charles Bell, *Religion of Tiber*, Delhi, 1994, p.161
22. There is a graphic account how the fourteenth Dalai Lāmā, Tenzin Gayasto was discovered in a house of a Tibetan horse dealer in the region of Amdo. Following the revelations the State Oracle had made through his visions and the clues seen by the regent in the waters of the lake, the search party progressed and ultimately found a house with turquoise tiles at the village of Taktser. They learnt that there was a boy of two years in that house. Two members of the delegation went there, the leading Lāmā disguising himself as the servant and his assistant Lāmā as the master. They pretended as pilgrims who has come on a pilgrimage to the famous Kum-bum monastery in that area. They found the boy and the moment he saw the leading Lāmā, he wanted to sit on his lap. The grand Lāmā was wearing the rosary belonged to the thirteenth Dalai Lāmā round his neck. The boy grabbed it and said it was his. The Lāmā replied he could give it, if the boy guessed who he was. The boy replied he was *Sera-aga'*, meaning the Lāmā of *Se-ra*. Then the Lāmā asked who the master was and the boy replied, 'Losang', which indeed was his name. He also knew the name of the other monk, Amdo Kasang. When the party was prepared to leave in the following morning, he insisted that he too should join them.

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picked the correct black rosary worn by, the previous Dalai Lāmā. When the two drums were offered, the boy correctly chose the little drum used by his predecessor and beat it in the way drums are beaten during the prayers. Lastly, they offered the two walking sticks. The boy picked up the wrong one first, but left it and chose the correct one later. It was revealed that the first one was sparingly used by the late Dalai Lāmā. By these prolonged observations and tests, it was proven beyond doubt that he was the real reincarnation of the previous Dalai Lāmā.

This conviction was further corroborated by the vision which the regent had seen in the lake Lhamoi Latso.

23. ed. Donald S. Lopez, *op.cit.*, p. 150
24. Ed. Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstan, *op.cit.* p. 5
25. Guiseppe Tucchi, *The Religion of Tibet*, Gt. Britain, 1980, p. 42.
26. *New Ency. Brit.*, op.cit., p. 381
27. In subsequent times frequent disagreement of opinions arose between Dalai Lāmās and Pan-chen Lāmās, mainly over matters pertaining to political supremacy Pan-chen Lāmās often tried to maintain their autonomy in their territory of gTsang, over which they exercised a considerable authority
28. *New Ency. Brit.*, op.cit., p. 381
29. ed. Robert E. Bushwell, *Ency. Buddhism* Vol. II USA 2003; p. 852
30. ibid , op.cit. p. 858
31. *New Ency. Brit.* Op.cit. p. 382
32. ed. Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matahew T. Kapstein, *op.cit.*; p. 10
33. ed. Robert E. Bushwell op.cit. p. 858.

ṬIKĀ LITERATURE: The *ṭikās* are a class of Pali exegetical literature that came into existence after the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*)in order to provide further elucidations or additional information on the same points discussed in the commentaries. However the etymology of the name *ṭikā* is obscure. As Prof. N.A. Jayawickrama points out "*Ṭikās* are dove-tailed into the commentarial period and flourished in the Polonnaruwa period and continued almost to the last century (19[th] century). They served as supplementary works to Buddhaghosa's commentaries. A perusal of the literature categorized as *ṭikās* show that several types of exegetical works are coming under the term *ṭikā*. Fore-most among works coming under the name *ṭikā* are the sub commentaries written for the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*) of the canon, i.e. *ṭikā* written for the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, the *Dīghanikāya* commentary, *ṭikā* written for the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Vinaya* commentary etc., which are among the oldest *ṭikās*. The exegetical works on the treatises such as *Visuddhimagga* and *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* etc. are also called *ṭikās* as evident from the names *Visuddhimaggaṭikā*, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, *Vibhāviniṭikā* etc. Further exegesis on chronicles like *Mahāvamsa*, grammatical works like *Bālāvatāra* are also categorized as *ṭikās* as seen from the names *Mahāvamsaṭikā*, *Bālāvatāraṭikā* etc. The exegesis on Pali lexicons, too, are classed as *ṭikās*, as we see in the case of *Abhidhānappadīpikāṭikā*, the exegesis on the Pali lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*.

It appears that there has been a practice to accommodate any exegesis written to any Pali work composed after the closing of the commentarial period, among the *ṭikās*.

Another peculiarity observed in the *ṭikā* literature is that there exist more than one *ṭikā* on the same book. In such instances the first *ṭikā* is named *Porāṇaṭikā* and the *ṭikā* posterior to it as *navaṭikā*. In the case of *Samantapāsādikā*, the Vinaya commentary, three different authors have compiled three *ṭikās*, i.e. *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* by Ven. *Vajirabuddhi*, *Sāratthadīpanī* by Ven. Sāriputta and *Vimativinodanī* by Ven. Coliya Kassapa.

The *aṭṭhakathācāriyas* or commentators used to give meaningful names to the commentaries they composed such as *Samantapāsādikā*, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* etc. The *ṭikācāriyas* or the authors of the *ṭikās*, too, have adorned their *ṭikās* with attractive names, as evident from the *Visuddhimaggaṭikā* bearing the name *Paramatthamañjūsā* and the *Dīghanikāyaṭikās* carrying the title *Paramatthadīpanī*.

Ṭikās in Sanskrit Literature: Exegetical works known as *ṭikās* are found in other Indian literature, too. In Sanskrit it is one among several exegetical forms, others being *vṛtti*, *vārttika*, *bhāsya*, *pañcikā*, *paspasā* etc. Among them *vṛttis* are the oldest and are generally composed to make *sutras* more intelligible. At the same time *ṭikās* are comparatively later compositions

and are meant for the beginners which could be composed for any type of literature. The characteristic feature of Sanskrit *ṭikās* is that they explain each and every word of the original text, and it is defined as "*nirantaravyākhyāṭīkā*". In Jaina literature, too, *ṭikās* are found and is the last of four types of exegetical works, the first three being "*nijjutti, bhāsā* and *cunni*" and are composed in Sanskrit. As in Pali, the Jaina *ṭikās* more or less represent the last phase of literary development. Moreover the literary form known as *ṭikās* appear to have been first popular among the Buddhist Sanskrit writers of South India. Aryadeva (circa 200 A.C.) the personal disciple of Nagarjuna is assigned with the authorship of a *ṭikā* called "*Prānyamūlasāstraṭikā*. The celebrated Buddhist philosophers Asaṅga (280-360 A.C.) and his brother Vasubandhu are also reported to have authored a number of *ṭikās*. Among the other eminent northern Buddhist philosophers who composed *ṭikās* are Sthiramati, Gunaprabhā and Dinnāga. Thus it is quite probable that *ṭikā* as a literary type was popularized by Buddhist Sanskrit writers. But Pali *ṭikās* differ from both Sanskrit and Jaina *ṭikās*, being neither word to word explanations nor Sanskrit explanations. However it is important as to what Pali *ṭikā* literature in Sri Lanka flourished during the Polonnaruwa period (12th and 13th centuries) when Sanskrit influence was most felt in the literary sphere.

***Ganthipadas* (glosses), the forerunners of the Pali Ṭīkā literature:** The intermediary period between the successful completion of the translation of Sihala commentaries (*Sihalaṭṭhakathās*) into Pali by the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa and his successors and the emergence of the *ṭikā* literature saw the birth of a new type of literature called *Ganthipadas* (glosses). Though the translation of Sīhala commentaries was finalized and nothing new could be added to them, the scholarship did not remain idle. As a result of almost immediate shifting of media of the religious literature from indigenous Sīhala language to Pali, the need for some form of guidance appear to have been felt within Mahāvihāra and other places of learning, for the correct interpretation and the correct understanding of the Buddha's teachings. In order to cater to this need the explanatory notes and glosses were first compiled, both for students and teachers. Such explanatory notes and glosses that accumulated in the course of time formed themselves into a separate branch of literature called "*Ganthipadas*", prior to the Polonnaruwa period. The term *Ganthipada* literally means a word with obscure meaning and the literature that provides guidance to understand the meaning of such obscure words, too, came to be known as "*Ganthipadas*". *Ganthipada* literature is the result of scholarship that did not remain idle during the intermediary period between the closing of the *aṭṭhakathās* and the birth of the *ṭikās*. Unfortunately the *Ganthipadas* have perished totally, leaving some information of their existence in a few contemporary works. *Sāratthadīpanī*, the *ṭikā* on *Samantapāsādikā*, the Vinaya commentary, provide valuable information on Ganthipadas. According to it there have been three sets of *Ganthipadas* written in Sinhala and one *Ganthipada* in Pali, all for the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. It is significant that there is no evidence as to the existence of *Ganthipadas* for the four *nikāya* collections. Similarly there is no information regarding the existence of a *Ganthipada* to *Visuddhimagga* in the *Visuddhimaggaṭikā* (*Paramatthamañjūsā*). But there is a reference to a Sinhala *Ganthipada* to *Visuddhimagga* in the *Sāratthadīpanī* which, scholars think, is posterior to *Visuddhimaggaṭikā* (*Paramatthamañjūsā*). However, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, the *Vinayaṭikā* reports the existence of a Sinhala *Ganthipada* to the *Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā* and another *Ganthipada* to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and a nondescript *Ganthipada*.

Professor Lily de Silva considers *Ganthipadas* as forerunners of *ṭikā*. But she does not deny the possibility of certain *Ganthipadas* to have been written after the respective *ṭikās*, probably for the benefit of Sinhala readers i.e. Sinhala *Ganthipada* to *Visuddhimagga* and Sinhala *Ganthipada* to *Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā* referred to in the *Sāratthadīpanī* (*Dīghanikāyaṭikā* introduction xxxiv-xxxviii). Dr. Somapala Jayawardena too, holds the view that *Ganthipadas* were written before *ṭikās* (*RAS*, Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume 1845, - 1995 (288*f*). But Prof. N.A. Jayawickreme holds a different view. "The writing of *ṭikās* apparently stopped after Dhammapāla and their place was taken by *Ganthipadas*" (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. VII p. 272).

Emergence of ṭikā literature: There seems to be a difference of opinion among scholars as regards the period the *ṭikās* emerged and what the first *ṭikā* written was. According to the tradition the first *ṭikā* was the *ṭikā* to the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* or *Abhidhammamūlaṭikā* written by Ven. Ananda

Vanaratana, which is also called *Linatthapadavaṇṇanā*. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, too, subscribes to the same view, saying " *Abhidhamma mūlaṭīkaṃ pana ananda thero akāsi. Sā ca sabbesaṃ ṭīkānaṃ ādhibhūtattā mūlaṭīkāti pākaṭā.* (Ven. Ananda Thera composed the *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā* and as it was written prior to all the ṭīkās it is called the *Mūlaṭīkā* (*Sāsanavaṃsa* 33, 16).

Prof. Lily de Silva (op.cit. xxxv) states that the traditional view is confirmed by a quotation from the *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā* found in the *Dīghanikāyaṭīkā* (*Dīghanikāyaṭīkā* Vol. III 85). At the same time she points out that the *Dīghanikāyaṭīkā* frequently refers to the *Paramatthamañjūsā* ,the *Visuddhimaggaṭīkā*, which shows that both *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā* and the *Visuddhimaggaṭīkā* are anterior to the *Dīghanikāyaṭīkā*. But she has not finally identified the senior *ṭīkā* out of the two, which would decide what the first *ṭīkā* written was. Apparently, she upholds the tradition that accepts *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā* as the first *ṭīkā*.

Dr. Somapala Jayawardena (*RAS.* Sesquicentennial Commemmorataive Volume 1845-1995 p. 288 *f*) has no hesitation in declaring that the *Paramatthamañjūsā*, the *Visuddhimaggaṭīkā* of Ācārya Dhammapāla as the first *ṭīkā* and it was written in Badaratittha Vihāra in South India. He further says: "The first *ṭīkās* on the *aṭṭhakathās* of the *Tipiṭaka* were written in the 6th century A.C. i.e. long before the convocation held under the patronage of King Parākramabāhu I (1153-86), contrary to the view held by Prof. G.P.Malalasekera (*Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo 1928 p. 192 *f*) who says: "the *ṭīkās* on canonical texts and commentaries were composed soon after the convocation held under the patronage of Parākramabāhu, with Ven. Mahā Kassapa as the president".

Ven. Prof. Walpola Rāhula (*History of Buddhism in Ceylon,* 1956, Introduction, xxviii) too, is among those who accept that the *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā* as the first *ṭīkā*. However his statement "the term *ṭīkā* came into vogue only during the Polonnaruwa period, about the 10th or 11th century A.C. under Sanskrit influence", appear substantial as we will see later.

The history of Pali *ṭīkās* could be divided into three phases chronologically, as the early period, the medieval period and the modern period.

The Early period of Ṭīkās : The period roughly between the 6th century and the 11th century could be considered as the early period of the development of Pali *ṭīkās*. This is more or less the latter part of the Anuradhapura period. Some scholars trace back the origin of Pali *ṭīkās* to this period, while others argue that the *ṭīkās* were first written during the 12th century, namely in the Polonnaruwa period. Among the *ṭīkās* belonging to this early period is *Paramatthamañjūsā*, the *Visuddhimaggaṭīkā* of Ācārya Dhammapāla who is considered slightly posterior to Buddhaghoṣa. Dr Somapala Jayawardena maintains it as the first *ṭīkā* as already stated. The authorship of three sub commentaries written for the commentaries of the first three *nikāyas* (*Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, and *Saṃyutta*) by Buddhaghosa, is also attributed to Ācārya Dhammapāla. They all bear the same name *Linatthappakāsinī* and are foremost among the *ṭīkās* of the early period. But Prof. G.P. Malalasekera (*Pali Literature of Ceylon* p. 192) has attributed the authorship of the *ṭīkā* on *Papañcasūdanī* , the commentary on *Majjhimanikāya*, to Ven. Sāriputta. *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā*, also known as *Linatthapadavaṇṇanā* of Ananda Vanaratana which is the first among the *ṭīkās*, according to tradition, undoubtedly belong to the early period. This *ṭīkā* is supposed to cover all the *Abhidhamma* commentaries. Moreover it is anterior even to *Dīghanikāyaṭīkā* because quotations from it are found in the former. *Anuṭīkā* on the *Abhidhamma* commentaries attributed to Acarya Dhammapala also belong to the same period. It is significant that those *ṭīkās* that belong to the early strata were not named *ṭīkās* by their authors, but *Saṃvaṇṇanā* or *Vaṇṇanā* . The name *ṭīkā* found in the early *ṭīkās* appear to be subsequent interpolations made when the name *ṭīkā* became vogue. It was during the Polonnaruwa period that the particular branch of the exegetical literature came to be known as *ṭīkās* with the influence of Sanskrit. The works of the same literary category though written earlier, too, were included in the *ṭīkā* category. In the case of the *Dīghanikāyaṭīkā* the term *ṭīkā* is found in two places including the colophon which appear to be later interpolations. But an examination of the interior of the work testifies that the author has named it *Saṃvaṇṇanā*. When concluding each of the exegesis on individual suttas, the author has named thus (a) *Brahmajālasutta vaṇṇanāyalīnatthavaṇṇanā* (b) *Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā, Sāmaññaphalasutta-vaṇṇanālīnatthappakāsana,* (c) *Ambaṭṭhasutta-vaṇṇanāya līnatthappakāsanā* etc. Same phenomena

is witnessed in the *Visuddhimaggaṭikā*, the *Paramatthamañjūsā*. In the colophon the term *ṭikā* has been found. But in the closing statement found at the end of each chapter, in place of work the name *Samvaṇṇanā* is found i.e. *Paramattha Mañjūsāyaṃ visuddhi maggasaṃvaṇṇaniyaṃ.....niṭṭhitā*.

One more *ṭikā* that should be considered among the early *ṭikās* is the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* ,the Mahāvamsa *ṭikā* which Malalasekera assigns to the 6[th] century, while some others attach it to the 9[th] century. Here too an anonymous author calls it a *vaṇṇanā*. The term *ṭikā* appearing in the title appear to be a later addition. Thus it should be clear that the *ṭikās* belonging to the early stratum of *ṭikās* have been named *Samvaṇṇanā* or *Vaṇṇanā* by their respective authors. The term *ṭikā* has been used to identify this particular type of exegesis during the Polonnaruwa period. Subsequently the name *ṭikā* has been used to identify even the works of the particular form of exegesis written before the term *ṭikā* became vogue. Moreover the term *ṭikā* has been interpolated into the titles of those works earlier written, which have been named *Samvaṇṇanā* by their authors.

The Ṭikās of the Medieval Period: The medieval period of *ṭikās* is considered to have commenced in the late eleventh century A.C. and ends up in the 15[th] century A.C. . Although the *ṭikā* literature originated during the latter part of the Anuradhapura period the *ṭikā* literature flourished during the Polonnaruwa period. After the convocation held under the patronage of Parākramabāhu I (1153-86 A.C.) a great importance was attached to the writing of *ṭikās* and the writing of *ṭikās* appears to have been described as the "need of the hour"

As per the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, Ven. Mahā Kassapa, the Saṅgha Thera of the day, at a meeting of erudite monks held at the hall of Jetavanārāma in Polonnaruwa built by king Parakramabahu I, explains the urgent need of re-writing the *ṭikās* as follows: "*yañ cā'vuso piṭakattaya" aṭṭhakathāya linatthapakāsanattham atthavaṇṇanaṃ poraṇehi kataṃ taṃ sabbaṃ desantaravāsinaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ atthaṃ na sādhati. Katthaci anekesu ganṭhipadesu sihalabhāsāya niruttiyā likhitañca katthaci mūlabhāsāya māgadhikāya bhāsantarena sammissaṃ ākulanca katvā likhitañca. mayam bhāsantaram apanetvā paripuṇṇa anākulam atthavaṇṇanaṃ kareyyāma* (*Saddhammasaṅgaha*, 13[th] century Pali werk by Dhammakitti).

"Whatever the expositions have been written to explain the obscure meanings in the commentaries of the three *piṭakas* are of no use to the bhikkhus living in foreign countries. Some of these numerous glosses are written in the Sinhala language , while others are written in Māgadhi, mixed with various languages, are unintelligible. Let us therefore remove those different languages and compose exegesis complete and unambiguous".

As revealed from the statement supposed to have been made by Ven. Mahā Kassapa, there has been a somewhat chaotic situation regarding numerous *ṭikās* composed for the commentaries of the *Tipiṭaka*. Some are written in Sinhala for which foreign monks have no access and, some are written in Māgadhi mixed with various languages, making them unintelligible to many. It was that sad situation that Ven. Mahākassapa wanted to rectify. He proposed to write exegesis complete and faultless. The Council of Bhikkhus unanimously approved the proposal and came forward to re-write the *ṭikās*. The programme was successful beyond expectation and produced a large number of advanced *ṭikās*, as we will see later.

Among the *ṭikās* that belong to the second or mediaeval period, the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā*, appear as the foremost, because it is anterior to the rest of *ṭikās* composed during the period.The *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* is named after it's author Ven. Vajirabuddhi and was possibly written in the late eleventh century. It is the first *ṭikā* composed for the *Vinaya* commentary *Samantapāsādikā*. It is observed that the views expressed in the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* are criticized in the second *ṭikā* on *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī* of Ven. Sāriputta. The most important *ṭikā* composed during the period is the *Sāratthadīpanī* on the *Samantapāsādikā* above referred to. This masterly exposition of *Vinaya* shows that its author Ven. Sāriputta was equally versed in the *Vinaya* as the great commentator Buddhaghosa. Ven. Sāriputta also composed the *ṭikā* on *Manorathapūraṇī* the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya* on the invitation of King Parakramabahu I (1153- 86 A.C.) which is named *Sāratthamañjūsā*. **A.P.** Buddhadatta is of the opinion that Ācārya Dhammapāla wanted to write *ṭikās* on all the four commentaries on the first four *nikāyas*, but could not accomplish it since he died before that. The celebrated pupils of Ven. Sāriputta joined the programme of writing *ṭikās* enthusiastically and produced the following important *ṭikās*. Ven.

Saṅgharakkhita composed *Khuddhakasikkhāporānaṭikā*, *Susaddhasiddhi* on the *Moggallāna vyākarana*, Ven. Sumaṅgala authored the *Abhidhammatthavikāsinī* on the *Abhidhammāvatāra*, the *Abhidhammattha vibhāvinī* on *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* and the *Sāratthasālinī* on *Saccasaṅkhepa*.

Ven. Buddhanāga, another pupil of Ven, Sāriputta, added *Vinayatthamañjūsā* on the *Kankhāvitaranī*, while Ven. Vācissara authored *ṭikās* such as the *Yogaviniccaya* on the *Vinayaviniccaya* the *Sumaṅgalappasādinī* on the *Khuddakasikkhā*, the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa ṭikā*, *Sambandhacintāṭikā*, *Subhodhālaṅkaraṭikā*, *Vuttodayavaṇṇanā*, *Uttaraviniccayaṭikā*, *Khemappakaraṇaṭikā* and the *Nāmarūpaparicchedaṭikā*.

Ven. Mahākassapa of Chola origin composed the *Vimativinodaniṭikā*, the third *ṭikā* on the *Samantapāsādikā*. It is important that the views expressed by Ven. Sāriputta in his *Sāratthadīpanī*, the second *ṭikā* on *Samantapāsādikā* is disputed in the *Vimativinodanī*. An anonymous thera at Jetavana monastery composed the *Pālimuttakaṭikā* on the *Pālimuttaka Vinayaviniccaya*. Ven. Siddhattha was the author of the *ṭikā* the *Sāratthadīpikā* for the *Rasavāhinī*. The *ṭikā* for the *Rūpasiddhi* was composed by its author himself, Ven. Buddhappiya Dipaṅkara. A resident of Mahāvihāra, Ven. Mahābodhi wrote the *Mukhamattaka*, the *Paramatthaviniccaya* and the *Khemappakaraṇaṭikā*. All the above *ṭikās* belong either to the 12[th] century or the 13[th] century. It is reasonable to assume that the *ṭikās* written as decided at the council of monks assembled at the Jetavana monastery under the chairmanship of Ven. Kassapa were presented for approval of the council of monks. Thus the Polonnaruwa period could be described as the golden age of *Pāli ṭikā* literature in Sri Lanka.

A couple of authors who belong to the 14[th] and the 15[th] centuries A.C. too, have enriched the *ṭikā* literature by adding several *ṭikās*. Ven. Cūlābhaya composed the *Madhuratthappakāsinī* on the *Milindapañha*, Ven. Totagamuwe Sri Rahula composed the *Pancikāpradīpaya* on the *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa* and the *Buddhippasādini* on the *Padasādana*. Ven. Saddhammapāla of Burma composed the *Nettivibhāvinī* on the *Nettippakaraṇa aṭṭhakathā*. Ven. Ariyavaṃsa from Ava in Burma during the reign of Narapati (1442-1468) authored the *Manisāramañjūsā* on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* and the *Manidīpa* on the *Atthasālinī*. Ven. Chappata or Saddhammajotipāla who came to Tambapaṇṇi from Arimaddanapura where he wrote the *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* on the *Saccasaṅkhepa*. After Ven. Chappata returned to his motherland he composed the *Suttaniddesa* on the *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa*, the *Sīmālāṅkārasaṅgahaṭikā*, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahasankhepaṭikā*, the *Pātimokkhavisodhanī* and the *Mātikatthadīpanī* on the *Abhidhamma*. The medieval period of *ṭikās* which produced more than thirty six *ṭikās* comes to an end at the close of the 15[th] century. However, it should be noted that the above list is not exhaustive.

Modern Period of Ṭikās: The modern period of Pali *ṭikās* begin from the 15[th] century A.C. Ven. Suvaṇṇarāsi of Burma, circa 1584 wrote the *Gandhābharaṇaṭikā*. Ven. Ñānavilāsa composed the *Linatthasūdanī* on the *Saddabindu*, Ven. Saddhammavilāsa of Pagan, Burma, authored the *Sammohavinodanī* on the *Kaccāyanasāra*, the *Madhusāratthadīpanī* on the *Linatthapadavaṇṇanā* was written by Ven. Mahānāma. The 17[th] century saw the compilation of several *ṭikās* on the *Kaccāyana grammar*. Ven. Mahāvijitāvin composed the *Kacchāyanavaṇṇanā* on the *Sandhi* section of the Kaccāyana grammar. In 1608 Ven. Ariyalankāra wrote the *Sāratthavikāsinī* and sometime later Ven. Uttamasikha composed the *Kaccāyanabheda Mahāṭikā*, a very exhaustive work. Both the above *ṭikās* are on the *Kaccayanabheda*. Ven. Dā thānāga of Burma wrote the *Niruttisāramañjūsā* on the *Mukhamattadīpanī*. Ven. Paññāsāmi wrote the *Abhidhānappadīpikā Navaṭikā*. A salient feature of the above *ṭikās* is that they are either on Abhidhamma or on grammar and have been authored by Burmese monks.

Moreover the *ṭikās* written during the modern period are insignificant when compared to the *ṭikās* of the mediaeval period. This may be partly due to the fact that the *ṭikās* written during the previous period were either on the commentaries to the *Tipiṭaka* or on non canonical original works which were exhausted by the dawn of the modern period of *ṭikās* and no canonical commentary or very important non canonical work remained for which a *ṭikā* was needed. This also resulted in writing of more than one *ṭikā* for the same work. Yet the enthusiasm shown by those *ṭikā* composers in continuing academic pursuits and keep the torch of learning burning should be very much appreciated.

Significance of some important *ṭikās*: The *ṭikās*, specially those that belong to the early and mediaeval periods are of vital importance to students of Buddhist philosophy, history, linguistics and sociology etc. The *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* the sub commentary of the *Dighanikāya* is very important in that context. It is significant that the *Dīghanikāyaṭikā* refers to the residents of Abhayagiriya or Uttaravihāra and certain views held by them. Another group called Sārasamācāriyas is mentioned together with the residents of the Uttaravihāra, possibly a group who held similar views. An unknown book written by the same author (author of the *Dighanikāyaṭikā*) is found referred to, namely, the *Asammohānantaradhānasuttaṭikā* (*Dīghanikāyaṭikā* Vol. I p. 35). An unknown book named the *Saṅkhārapiṭaka* is also mentioned. The name *Sārasamāsa* possibly refer to a book and the scholars conjecture whether it is the Uttaravihāra counterpart of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* of Mahāvihāra. (*Dīghanikāyaṭikā* Introduction, Vol. I ixiii).

Another interesting area in the *Dīghanikāyaṭikā* is its exegesis on the heretical views enumerated in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* which maintains that all the heresies and philosophical dogmas existing at the time are caught in the net. But there exist philosophical developments that came into existence subsequently, which made their impact felt on Buddhist thought in the course of time. The author of the *Dīghanikāya* appears to have been conversant with those later philosophical developments and has made an attempt to discuss the *Brahmajāla Sutta* in the context of the contemporary philosophical environment. In the discussion of qualified eternalism (*ekaccasassatavāda*) the influence of Buddhist logicians like Nāgarjuna and Dinnāga is clearly seen (*Dīghanikāyaṭikā*, Vol, I 194). At the conclusion of the discussion of thirty two heresies, the author of the *ṭikā* attempts to include heresies, mentioned in other suttas and those external heresies within the ambit of thirty two mentioned in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*.

"Iminā nayena suttantaresu bahiddhā dissamānānaṃ diṭṭhigatānam imāsu dvāsaṭṭhiyā antogadhatā veditabba" (*Dīghaṭikā* Vol. I, 232-4)

The *Paramatthamañjūsā*, the *Visuddhimaggaṭikā* is a store house of data on the History of Buddhist thought, grammar, linguistics, History, Geography etc. Supposed to have been written in the early sixth century, it is the earliest work that speaks of Abhayagiri Vihāra and its adherents and also of Ven. Upatissa and his *Vimuttimagga*. It is of vital importance that certain points which are quoted and refuted in the *Visuddhimagga* without referring to the authority, are explained in the *Visuddhimaggaṭikā* as belonging to the residents of Abhayagiriya and further the *ṭikā* has justified the *Visuddhimagga* point of view:

"Eketi Abhayagirivāsino tehi paṭipadā visuddhi ādike vaṇṇayanti. Tadā'ayuttam tathāhi sati ajjhānadhammehi jhānassa guṇasaṅkhittanaṃ nāma kataṃ hoti....(Visuddhimaggaṭikā- Sinhala script part I, p.144)*'Eke* refer to the residents of Abhayagiri. They extol purity of the path etc. That is not reasonable. How can there be an announcement of qualities of an absorption with the conditions that go against an absorption."......

The above discussion in the *Paramatthamañjūsā* provide valuable information about the intellectual deliberations that were taking place among the Buddhist scholars of Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri during the Anuradhapura period.

Sometimes the author of the *ṭikā* provides details regarding an incident briefly referred to by the author of the *Visuddhimagga* . For example the story of Ven. Mahātissa, resident at Civaragumba, may be cited. Ven. Mahātissa, during the famine while travelling was lying fainted under a mango tree, due to lack of food. Though there were many ripe mango fruits fallen all over the place he did not eat them, because the monks were prohibited to partake any food unless it is offered by some one. Thus he risked his life in order to abide by the *vinaya* rules. It is said, ultimately another passenger who happened to pass the place, saw the plight of Ven. Mahātissa and fed him with mango juice and saved his life.

The *Vamsatthhappakāsinīṭikā* ,the sub commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa* is another important *ṭikā* of immense historical value. Malalasekera assigns it to the 6th century A.C. while some put it to the 9th century. It is observed that the original sources of the *Mahāvaṃsa* such as *Sihalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* etc. were still existing when the *Vamsatthappakāsinī* was written. Valuable information the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* discarded as irrelevant are found in the *ṭikā*. It was with the help of this *ṭikā* that the name of the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* was discovered.

Moreover the *Vamsatthappakāsinī* provides a full account of procedure and rites relating to the consecration of Sinhala kings for the first time. (*Vamsatthappakāsinī* part I p. 305 *f*). It is important that the author says that the account was taken from the exegesis of the *Cūlasīhanāda Sutta* in the Sihala commentary to the *Majjhimasaṅgīti* (*Majjhimanikāya*) which is not extant now. Several problems relating to the *Mahāvaṃsa* were solved with the help of its *ṭikā*. The anonymous author of this *ṭikā* seems to have closely associated with the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*, the commentary of the Abhayagiri sect which is not extant today.

Abhidhammatthavikāsinī is the *ṭikā* on the *Abhidhammāvatāra* of Ven. Buddhadatta. This *ṭikā* has been compiled by Ven. Sumangala, pupil of Sāriputta, in the Polonnaruwa period. The *ṭikā* is very useful to study the views of the Abhayagiri Sect .The *Abhidhammatthavikāsinī* has quoted Ācārya Dhammapāla and Ācārya Jotipāla as authorities in order to reject certain views. The interpretations of Ācārya Jotipāla appear to have been accepted and honoured as those of the Mahāvihāra as evident from this *ṭikā*. In an exceptionally rare reference it quotes an interpretation upheld by both the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Abhayagiri Monks.

"*Mahāsaṅghikā pana Abhayagirivāsinā ca diṭṭhi 'ujjukammam visum puññakiriyābhāvena na ganhanti.*"

"Mahāsaṅghikas and the residents of Abhayagiriya do not accept that an action to straighten one's belief is different from one's inclination for a meritorious act."

Sāratthadīpanī is the name given to the *ṭikā* on the *Samantapāsādikā* , the *Vinaya* commentary of Buddhaghoṣa. Another store house of information, useful for the students of religious life, history, customs etc. is a masterly product of the erudite author. Many illustrative stories of local theras and laymen described by the author provide glimpses of the social conditions of the period. The work containes a valuable historical account of the eighteen schools into which the Buddhist Sangha were divided at the time of the third council and gives much information elsewhere. The influence of Sanskrit is clearly seen in the *ṭikā*.

Ṭikās Literature not fully explored: Pali *ṭikā* literature is an area yet to be fully explored. The majority of the *ṭikās* are still in manuscript form. Only two *ṭikās* have been edited and published in the Roman script by the *PTS*. *Dīghanikāyaṭikā* ed. Prof. Lily de Silva was published in 1970 and the *Vamsatthappakāsinī* , the *Mahāvamsaṭikā* edited by Prof. G.P. Malalasekera was published in 1935. Those are the only *ṭikās* accessible to the general Pali readership. The *Abhidhammatthavikāsinī*, the *ṭikā* on the *Abhidhammāvatāra*, has been published in Sinhala script in 1961. The *Vamsatthappakāsinī* has been published in 1895, in Sinhala script, though copies are not available. The *Dīghanikāyaṭikā*, too, is available in printed form in sinhala script.

A part of the *Visuddhimaggaṭikā* , the *Paramatthamañjūsā*, edited by Morontuduwe Dhammānanda and a part of the *Sāratthadīpanī*, the *ṭikā* on the *Samantapāsādikā* have been published in the Sinhala script nearly eighty years ago , though copies are not available. A part of the *Samyuttanikāyaṭikā* has been published by the Ministry of Buddhasāsana recently. It is learnt that all *ṭikās* are printed and published in Burma and Thailand in their respective scripts. Though names of some *ṭikās* are seen in the catalogue of Pali Palm Leaf Manuscripts of Sri Lanka, the manuscripts are not available, perhaps they are lost. The catalogue of Palm Leaf manuscripts of Sri Lanka records the existence of a manuscript of the *Dāṭhāvamsaṭikā*, but it is not available in the relevant library, except for a manuscript with two or three chapters only at some other place.

Also it is not impossible that some of the conclusions arrived at apparently going through the *ṭikās* which are still in manuscript form, might have to be adjusted once the texts are academically edited and published. Though Dr. Somapala Jayawardane (*RAS*. (Sri Lanka) Sesquicentennial volume p. 290) has attributed the authorship of the *Abhidhānappadīpikāṭikā* to Ven. Vācissara of Polonnaruwa, it was written by a Burmese minister Caturaṅgabala. He further (op.cit. p. 317) has enlisted the *Cakkavāladīpanī* as a *ṭikā* on a Sutta but a critical edition of the manuscript revealed that it is a treatise (*pakaraṇa*) in spite of the fact that the title of the manuscript calls itself a *ṭikā*.

A List of Ṭikās arranged according to the alphabetical order : *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaporāṇaṭikā*, by Ven. Mahākassapa of Dimbulāgala, 12th century AC, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha -saṅkhepaṭikā* by Ven. Chappata of Burma, 15th century AC,

Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī, by Ven. Sumaṅgala, on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, 12th century, *Abhidhammatthavikāsinī* by Ven. Sumaṅgala, on the *Abhidhammāvatāra*, 12th century.

Abhidhānappadīpikāṭīkā (navaṭīkā), by Ven. Paññāsāmi of Burma, 17th century. *Abhidhānappadīpikāṭīkā (porāṇaṭīkā)*, by the Burmese Minister Caturangabala. *Bālāvatāraṭīkā*, by unknown author of unknown date. *Bālappabodhanaṭīkā*, by unknown author of unknown date.

Bodhivaṁsaṭīkā, *Buddhippasādanī*, by Ven. Totagamuve Sri Rāhula Vācissara Saṅgharāja, 15th century. *Candasāratthaṭīkā*, by Ven. Saddhammañāna of Burma. 14th century.

Cariyāpiṭakaṭīkā, *Culladhammatthakathāṭīkā*, *Chandosāratthavikāsinī* on the *Vuttodaya*, *Chappaccayadīpakaṭīkā*,, on the *Vuttodaya*, *Dīghanikāyaṭīkā* by Ven. Ācariya Dhammapāla, 6th century AC, *Ekakkharakosaṭīkā* by an author of Burma, *Galumpyapāḷi*, on the Kaccāyana.

Gandhābharaṇadīpanīṭīkā Gandhābharaṇanavaṭṭikā (vaṇṇanā), *Gandhābharaṇaṭīkā* by Ven. Suvaṇṇarāsī of Burma,1584.

Jinālaṅkāra-Porāṇaṭīkā, *Kaccāyanabhedamahāṭīkā*, by Ven. Uttamasikha of Burma, in 1669 AC, *Kaccāyanasandhivisodhaniṭīkā Kaccāyanasāraṭīkā*, *by* Ven. Mahayasa of Burma. 14th century, *Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā*, by Ven. Mahāvijitāvi, in 1610. *Kavisārappakaraṇa*, on the *Vuttodaya Khemappakaraṇaṭīkā*, by Ven. Vācissara, 12th /13th c.

Khuddakasikkhāṭīkā, by Ven. Saṅgharakkhita, 12th century *Khuddakasikkhāṭṭīkā*, by Ven. Mahāyasa of Burma, *Khuddakasikkhāvinicchayaṭīkā*, *Līnatthapadavaṇṇanā* by Ven, Ācariya Ananda Vanaratanatissa, on the *Atthasālinī*, 7 th century AC, *Līnatthasūdanī* by Ven. Ñānavilāsa of Burma, 16th century, on the *Saddabindu*, *Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, by Ven. Culla Dhammapāla, on the *Līnatthapadavaṇṇanā*, 8th century.

Madhusāratthadīpanī, by Ven. Mahānāma of Burma on the *Līnatthapadavaṇṇanā*, 15th century, *Madhuratthappakāsinī*, by Ven. Cūlābhaya, on the *Milindapañha*, 14th century, *Majjhimanikāyaṭīkā*, by Ven. ācariya Dhammapāla, 6th century *Maṅgalasuttaṭīkā*, by Ven. Sāriputta, 12th century. *Maṇidīpa* by Ven. Ariyavaṁsa of Burma, 15th century, on the *Atthasālinī*, *Maṇisāramañjūsā*, by Ven. Ariyavaṁsa of Burma, on the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī*, *Mātikatthadīpanī* by Ven. Chappata, on the *Abhidhamma* texts, 15th century, *Moggallānavyākaraṇaṭīkā* by Ven. Vācissara, 12th / 13th century *Mohavicchedaniṭīkā* by Ven. Kassapa of Cola country, on his *Mohavicchedanī*, 12th century, *Mukhamattadīpanī* by Ven. Vimalabuddhi, the earliest *ṭīkā* on the *Kaccāyana*, *Mukhamattakā*, by Ven. Mahābodhi, on the *Paramatthaviniccaya* 13th century *Mūlasikkhā-abhinavaṭīkā* by Ven. Vācissara, 12th century *Mūlasikkhā-porāṇaṭīkā*, by Ven. Vimalasāra, *Nāmarūpaparicchedaṭīkā* by Ven. Vācissara, 12th / 13th century, *Niruttisāramañjūsā*, by Ven. Dāthānaga Rājaguru of Burma, on the *Nyāsa* or *Mukhamattadīpanī*, 17th century, *Niruttivibhāvinīṭīkā Nissayatthakathā* by Ven. Mahābodhi, on the *Saccasaṅkhepa*, 13th century, *Nettivibhāvinī*, by Ven. Saddhammapāla of Burma, on the *Nettippakaraṇatthakathā* 15th century, *Nyāsappadīpa*, by Ven. Chappata, on the *Nyāsa*, 15th century *Pālimuttakaṭṭīkā*, by a Thera of the Jetavana Vihara in Polonnaruva, on the *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya*, 12th century, *Pañcikālankāra*, by Ven. Sāriputta. on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, 12th century.

Pañcikāpradīpaya, by Ven. Totagamuve Srī Rāhula Vācissara, 15th century, on the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa*, *Paramatthamañjūsā*, by Ven. Ācariya Dhammapāla, on the Visuddhimagga 6th century *Paramatthasārsmañjūsāṭīkā*, Pt. 1.

Paramatthavinicchayaṭīkā, Pt. I. *Pātimokkhavisodanī* by Ven. Chappata, 15th century, *Paṭṭhānaganaṇāyana*, by Ven. Chappata, 15th century, *Rūpasiddhiṭīkā* by Ven. Buddhappiya Dīpaṅkara. 13th century, *Saccasaṅkhepa-porāṇaṭīkā* by Ven. Vācissara, 12th /13th century, *Saddabindulīnatthavaṇṇanā Saddatthabhedacintāṭīkā*, by an unknown author of Burma, date not known, *Saddasāratthajālinī*, by Ven. Kanakakhipa Nāgita of Burma, on the *Kaccāyana'*.

Saddasāratthajālinīṭīkā by an unknown author of Burma, 14th century, *Saddavutti-porāṇaṭīkā*, *Saddavuttiṭīkā* by Ven. Sāriputta of Burma, 18th century, *Sādhucaritodayaṭīkā*, *Sādhujanānandavikāsinī*, on the *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, *Sambandhacintāṭīkā*, by Ven, Vācissara, 12th /13th century, *Sammohavināsinī*, by Ven. Saddhammavilāsa of Burma, on the *Kaccāyanasāra*, *Saṁyuttanikāyaṭīkā*, by

Ven. Ācariya Dhammapāla, 6th century *Saṅhattasūdani*, on the *Nettippakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*. *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* by Ven. Chappata of Burma, 15th century, on the *Abhidhammatthaasaṅgaha*, *Sāratthadīpanī* by Ven. Sāriputta, 12th century, on *the Samantapāsādikā*, *Sāratthadipikā* by Ven. Siddhattha.

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Sududdasavikāsini, on the *Vuttodaya*, *Sumaṅgalapasādanī* by Ven. Vācissara, on the *Khuddakasikkhā*, 12th/13th century, *Susaddasiddhi*, by Ven. Saṅgharakkhita, on the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa*, 12th century, *Suttaniddesa* by Ven. Chappata, on *the Kaccāyana*, 15th century, *Uttaralīnatthappakāsinī* on the *Uttaravinicchaya*, *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* by Ven. Vācissara, 12th /13th century, *Vācatthajoṭikā* on the *Vuttodaya*, *Vāccavācakaṭīkā* by Ven. *Saddhammanandi*, 18th century, *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* by Ven., Vajirabuddhi, on the *Samantapāsādikā*, 12th century, *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī by* an unknown author, on the *Mahāvaṁsa*, *Part One*, 9th century, *Vibhatthyatthadipanī* by Ven. Vimalābhidhaja of Burma, 18th century, *Vimativinodanī* by Ven. Kassapa of Cola country on the *Samantapāsādikā*, 12th century. *Vinayagulhatthadīpanī*, by Ven. Chappata, 15th century, *Vinayālaṅkāra*, by. Ven. Tipiṭakālāṅkāra of Burma, 17th century.

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TIROKUḌḌA SUTTA. The designation *Tirokuḍḍa* is given to one of the *Peta* stories in the late canonical work named the *Petavatthu* (*SHB*. 15ff), Stories of the Departed-one of the fifteen works of the *Khuddaka Nikaya* in the *SuttaPiṭaka*. This *Peta* story has also been included in the *Khuddakapāṭha* (*SHB* 132ff) in the same *Nikāya* under the name *Tirokuḍḍa Sutta*, hence the above title word. However, it is clear that the *Khuddakapātha* is a much later work made up of nine texts selected from earlier works in the canon. The story is not called a *sutta* in the *Petavatthu*. The commentator of the *Khuddakapātha* has attempted to give reasons for its inclusion in the collection, especially so after the Ratana Sutta. He admits that the Buddha has not preached this in the order found in the collection. Although, prior to this, principles of wholesome acts have been shown, yet people who

are heedless are reborn in the hell or among animals or in a comparatively higher destiny as *Petas*. Therefore one of the purposes of its inclusion is to show that one should not be heedless regarding the performance of wholesome acts. Or else, another purpose was to show the nature of one type of *bhūtas* mentioned in the preceding Ratana *Sutta*. Thus the commentator has tried to justify the inclusion of the *Peta* story in this manual.

The *Tirokuḍḍa* text is a short poem of merely thirteen stanzas. The name, meaning 'Beyond the Walls' is undoubtedly derived from the first two words of the first stanza in the poem. Although we call it a story because it is included among the stories of the *Petavatthu*, the poem itself does not in actual fact contain any story. It is a description of the nature and the behaviour of *Petas* , namely the departed ones reborn in the miserable state called *Pettivisaya*, who revisit their erstwhile homes in the human world. They stand outside *walls*, at places where paths cross or meet, and at door- posts of their former homes, probably in expectation of the munificence of their former kinsmen. Since they do not have any agricultural, pastoral or commercial activity in the present abode, they depend for their sustenance entirely on what is given from the human world. This, however, is different from the description of the inmates of the *Pettivisaya* given in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (v. 270). There they are said to have their own form of food and also receive what is given by their former kinsmen and friends.

The departed ones (*Peta*) who expect the liberality of their former relatives are not lucky enough to receive anything from them due to their own past evil actions. Even when sumptuous meals are laid before them some of their relatives never remember their unfortunate departed kinsmen. But the more compassionate ones do remember them and dedicate, at proper time, delicious, pure and fitting food and drinks to them. The departed kinsmen who have assembled there approve these offerings and wish their kinsmen, on whose account they received this food and drinks, long life.

This brief account which seems to demonstrate a practice prevalent among ancient Indians, probably pre-Buddhist, apparently indicates a ritual of offering food, drinks etc. directly to the dead, a custom not altogether forgotten by Sri Lankan Buddhists even today. The reference to the need for making gifts to the dead, recalling the good things they had done in the past, seems to point at a practice of direct offerings to the dead. The reference to *bali* to ancestors (*pubbapeta-bali*) in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II. 68) seems to confirm this. However, the last two stanzas of the poem have given a completely new orientation to this custom. Here it is stated that gifts should be given not to the dead but to the Saṅgha, the community of disciples of the Buddha. Then and there (*ṭhānaso*) the benefits would accrue to the dead. Summing up the whole conception after the Buddhist adaptation the final stanza enumerates four achievements of the ritual. i. It is a demonstration of the fulfillment of the duty of a kinsman (*ñātidhammo*); ii. By it an excellent offering to the departed ones is made; iii. Strength has been given to the monks; iv. The donor himself has reaped a not insignificant amount of merit. These final stanzas have been affixed to give a possible pre-Buddhist ritual a Buddhist veneer. By the final stanza the poem is directly linked to the introductory legend given in the commentary. For it is stated that this poem was a sermon delivered by the Buddha to King Bimbisāra of Magadha to make him rejoice in his good act of feeding the Buddha and the Saṅgha for the benefit of some *Petas* who had been his relations in a past life.

The *Petavatthu* commentary (*SHB*. p. 15 ff) and the *Khuddakapaṭha* commentary (*SHB*. p. 132 ff) both give a legend, in identical terms, of the events, leading to the preaching of this story by the Buddha. In a far off age, in the dispensation of the Buddha Phussa, three of his half-brothers had got permission from their father, the king, to entertain the Buddha for three months. When they were at it some provincials who were not very happy, misappropriated the goods brought for the purpose and even set fire to the refectory. As a result they suffered in hell for ninety two aeons. They heard from the Buddha Kassapa that they will receive assistance from King Bimbisara in the dispensation of the Buddha Gotama. But, when they found that their expectations were not fulfilled by Bimbisara who entertained the Buddha and the community of monks on his first visit to his capital, they made a horrible noise in the night to draw his attention. Learning from the Buddha the reason for it the king invited the Buddha once again for a meal and dedicated to the *Petas* the water, food and drinks and clothes and seats etc. gifted to him and the monks. At each dedication the *Petas* received results corresponding to the gifts made and were relieved from their misery.

This poem, with some other shorter poems in the collection like the *Khettūpamā* and *Piṭṭhadhītalika*, has given a solid basis for a ritual for providing the material needs of the dead as developed the *śrāddha* ritual (s.v. *śrāddha)* which included three main elements, viz. offering of balls of food, casting food etc. into the sacred fire and making gifts to brahamin priests. Of these, as the above mentioned poems shows, Buddhists adopted the last one but substituting the brahamin priests with the Saṅgha. In Theravāda countries the *Tirokuḍḍa* poem along with the introductory legend in the commentaries is used as a sort of myth providing the guide lines for the ritual. Instead of making direct offerings of food etc. to the dead, according to the Buddhist adaptation, these gifts are offered to the Saṅgha dedicating them verbally to the benefit of a particular departed kinsman or the dead in general. Immediately the dedicatory words are uttered (*uddiṭṭhamatte)*, it is said, benefits appear to the dead then and there (*ṭhānaso upakappati)*.

After further developments under commentarial views, the present day ritual of dedicating merit to the dead in Theravāda countries has evolved. Accordingly, instead of dedicating to the dead the gifts made to the Saṅgha, the merit generated by such gifts is dedicated to the dead. In this dedication the direct influence of the *Tirokuḍḍa* poem is clearly seen in the liturgy. The dedicatory formula used in gifting merit to the dead is taken from this poem, to wit *idaṃ me ñātīnaṃ hotu, sukhitā hontu ñātayo*. Theravada Buddhists dedicate merit to the dead with the ritual act of pouring water. Sri Lankan Buddhists, at the conclusion of a meritorious act performed on behalf of the dead, pour water from a full pot into an empty vessel while reciting the above formula. The monks follow it by reciting two stanzas from the *Tirokuḍḍa* poem.

"Just as full streams fill the ocean from all directions", says one stanza, "even so what is given from here comes to the benefit of the dead". "As the rain falling on high ground flows down to the plain below, even so what is given from here comes to the benefit of the dead" says the other (*Pv.* 1. 5, 8-9). In the poem they are two similes illustrating the manner in which results of gifts made here devolve on the dead. But in the contemporary ritual they appear to be a little more than a demonstration. At least the uninformed laity seems to think that the monks who chant the stanzas can speed the merit to the dead. As in the final stanza of the poem, shown above, the monk who gives the concluding sermon shows the purpose of the ritual and the benefits it brings to the dead, the monks who are fed and, the donors who make the gifts and also the duty of the kinsmen to assist their dead relatives by such gifts. This is the only way and in no other manner can they be of assistance to the dead.

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TISSAMAHĀRĀMA: Tissamahārāma is the most important shrine in the ancient kingdom of Rohana in South Sri Lanka. It was regarded as the southern counterpart of Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura. It is in the South East of the island and within the Hambantota Administrative District of the Southern province. It is significant that the electorate, the sub administrative unit, and the *Prādeshiya Sabhā* (Local Authority) have been named after the shrine i.e. Tissamahārāma Parliamentary seat, Tissmahārāma Divisional Secretariat and Tissamahārāma Pradeshiya Sabhā. This is a clear indication that the shrine is the land mark of the area even at present. The area is also known as Tissa or Tihava, the shorten form of Tissamahārāma.

Tissamahārāma is included in the sixteen holy places (*solosmasthāna*) and it occupies the ninth place among the sixteen shrines. It is also listed in the "Nampota" list of Shrines composed by a lay Paṇḍit, Attaragama Rājaguru Bandāra, a pupil of Saṅgharāja Saranankara, during the 17th century A.C. in the Kandyan kingdom. There it is enlisted as Tissamahāvehera and given the 132[nd] place in the list of 267 shrines. In the present article Tissamahārāma is used to denote the whole monastery complex including the *cetiya* and when necessary to refer to the *cetiya* alone Tissamahārāma cetiya or thūpa is used.

According to the *Dhātuvaṃsa* supposed to have been written *circa* 13[th] century and the *Jinakālamāli*, a sixteenth century Thai chronicle, Tissamahārāma Cetiya was built on a spot sanctified by the Buddha, when he visited the island for the third time. Both the *Dhātuvaṃsa* and the *Jinakālamāli* say that the Buddha sanctified the spot having attained a trance there (*samāpattiṃ āpajjitvā*). The *Dhātuvaṃsa* further says that the Buddha stationed a deity named Manimekhala to guard the spot. But the *Jinakālamāli* mentions that it was Manikāra Devaputta the Buddha stationed there to protect the place. It is also important that both the above works say that the Buddha afterwards sanctified the spot where Nāgamahācetiya would be built.

It is rather unfortunate that the chronicles supposed to be from Anuradhapura appear to have not paid sufficient attention for this great shrine in the south which is equivalent to the Mahāvihāra of Anuradhapura. Therefore it is difficult to ascertain the exact builder of the shrine, and the relic over which the Tissamahārāma cetiya was built. Yet with the assistance of Pali commentaries, inscriptions and other literary works, it is possible to build up the history of this important shrine in the South to a certain extent.

The builder of Tissamahārāma: There is some controversy regarding the king who built Tissamahārāma. According to the popular tradition it was built by King Kākavaṇṇatissa, the father of Duṭṭhagāmini. The *Mahāvaṃsa* of the 5th century A.C. says that Kākavaṇṇatissa built Tissamahārāma vihāra and also the Cittalapabbata (chapter xxii verse 23). The *Dīpavaṃsa* which is anterior to the *Mahāvaṃsa* says that Kākavaṇṇa's son Tissa built Tissavihāra at the Mahāthūpa (*kārāpesi maha thupe tisso vihāram uttamo* (*Dīpavaṃsa* Chapter xx verse 1). Though some take this Tissavihāra as the Tissamahārāma of Rohana it appears that the reference is to a Tissavihāra Saddhātissa built near the Mahāthūpa in Anuradhapura, after he succeeded his bother Duṭṭhagāmini.

The *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, a collection of pious stories possibly written in the late Anuradhapura period says that Kākavaṇṇatissa built Tissavihāra on the banks of the River Giri and named it Tissamahāvihāra, using his own name (*Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* ed. Polwatte Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1969 p. 80, Sinhala script). The *Dhātuvaṃsa* assigned to the 13th century included Tissamahārāma among the 128 *vihāras* Kākavaṇṇatissa is supposed to have built, out of which 13 *vihāras* are given, where Tissamahāvihāra comes at the end. It is clear that the *Dhātuvaṃsa* has been written to glorify King Kākavaṇṇatissa, in the same way the *Mahāvaṃsa* glorifies King Duṭṭhagāmini, while describing the construction of Ruwanveli Sāya. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* describes in Detail how Kākavaṇṇatissa built Seruvila Cetiya[1] enshrining the frontal bone relic (*Nalāṭa Dhātu*) of the Buddha in the same way the *Mahāvaṃsa* describes the construction of the Ruwanvelisāya. It is conjectured why the author of the *Dhātuvaṃsa* did not describe the construction of the Tissamahārāma which appears more important than the Seruvila Cetiya, if it was built by Kākavaṇṇatissa and left it just included in the list of vihāras, King Kākavaṇṇatissa supposed to have built.

As recorded in the *Mahāvṃsa* King Kākavaṇṇatissa appears to have had close connections with Tissamahārāma. It was at the Silāpassapirivena of Tissamahārāma that Vihāramahādevi invited a dying novice to be born as her son, who later became Prince Duṭṭhagāmini (*Mahāvaṃsa*, xx verse 34 f). It appears that Tissmahāvihāra already existed when Kākavaṇṇatissa became the king. If so it is not possible to consider Kākavaṇṇatissa as the original builder of Tissamahārāma. When the king died Vihāramahādevi took the body in a covered vehicle to Tissamahārāma and informed about his death to the Mahāsaṅgha (*Mahāvaṃsa*, xxv, verse 13). Also King Duṭṭhagāmani before proceeding to war with Elāra went to Tissamahārāma to get the blessings of the Mahāsaṅgha. (*ibid.* chapter xxv, verse 1). Thus it should be clear that Tissamahārāma was the royal monastery of the Kākavaṇṇatissa royal family of Mahāgāma. Perhaps Kākavannatissa was associated with the vihāra during his childhood, as it appears that it was already existing when he came to the throne.

Some scholars point out that the shrine at present known as Tissamahārāma was previously known as Nāgavihāra or Nāgamahāvihāra and it was originally built by Uparāja Mahānāga, brother of King Devānampiyatissa. He fled to Rohana when he discovered the plot of his brother's queen to kill him. As the *Mahāvaṃsa* says, Mahānāga established the kingdom of Mahāgāma in the Rohana province.[2] That was the beginning of a new royal dynasty in the South that later brought the entire South under their rule (*Mahāvaṃsa* xxii verse 2 ff). The *Mahāvaṃsa* describing his good deeds, says that he built a *vihāra* and named it Nāgamahāvihāra, using his own name (*kāresi Nāgamahāvihāraṃ sakanāmakaṃ* (*Mahāvaṃsa*, xxii verse 9). The scholars have identified this Nāgavihāra or Nāgamahāvihāra as the present Tissamahārāma cetiya.

Next the *Mahāvaṃsa* proceeds to describe the repairs and improvements effected by subsequent kings. While describing the repairs and improvements of King Ilanāga the *Mahāvaṃsa* says:

Kapijātakaṃ sutvāna bodhisatte pasādavā nāgamahāvihāraṃ so jiyāmutta dhanussatam katvā kāresi. thūpañca vaḍḍhāpesi yathāṭhitaṃ (*Mahāvaṃsa* xxxv, verse 31-32), which means that the king having listened to the *Kapijātaka* and pleased with the Bodhisatta, increased the height of the *thūpa* at Nāgamahāvihāra by one hundred lengths of unstrung

bow lengths (roughly 800 ft.) and developed the *thūpa* as it was. The *Vamsatthappakāsini*, commentary of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Vol. II p. 643) commenting on the above lines, adds that the king developed the *thūpa* which was originally put up by Uparāja Mahānāga., the second brother of King Devānampiyatissa, without changing the original *thūpa*.

The above comments in the *Vamsatthappakāsini* is of vital importance as it confirms that the Nāgamahāvihāra was originally built by Uparāja Mahānāga, the second brother of King Devānampiyatissa.

It is of great significance, that king Ilanāga's improvements to the Nāgamahāvihāra described in the *Mahāvaṃsa* above mentioned, is found confirmed by an inscription found near the *cetiya* identified as Tissamahārāma cetiya at present. The inscription concerned has been found on a pillar discovered near the *thūpa*, which cannot be seen at present, because it has been inserted into the structure during the restoration of the *thūpa*, carried out in the latter part of the 19[th] century. But fortunately Dr. Goldschmidt[3] who visited the *thūpa* in 1876 has taken steps to copy its contents before the pillar was completely covered. The text of the inscription found on the pillar is preserved in Edward Muller's *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, which reads as follows:

"*Siddhaṃ Mahanaka rajhapute alunaka Raja nakamahavihera kara [hi] Golagamavila golagamketa waga ...... gama ca nam*" (Edward Muller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Trubn & Company Ludgate Hill, London, 1883 part iii, page 3 –Inscription No. 4 under Tissamahārāma). "Hail king Alunaka son of King Mahānāga, built or (enlarged) the Nāgamahāvihāra, the tank and the field of Golagama". (Translation p. 109)

This inscription is of invaluable importance for the historians, though it cannot be seen to day. Alunako no doubt refers to king Ilanāga. The discovery of the pillar with the inscription near the *thūpa* at present known as the Tissamahārāma thūpa, confirms that Nākamahāvihāra (Nāgamahāvihāra) and the Tissamahārāma Thūpa are one and the same, beyond doubt.[4] Again the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxzvi verse 33-34) records that King Voharikatissa (209-231 A.C.) repaired the "chattas" of eight thūpas among which two thūpas bear similar names i.e: Mahagāmanagasavha and Mahānāgatissavha. The *Vamsatthappakāsini* (Vol. II p. 662) helps us to identify the two thūpas. Accordingly Mahānāgasavha is Mahāgāmanāgavihāra in Rohana and Mahānāgatissavha is Tissavihāra of Nāgadīpa. The Nāgamahāvihāra of Rohana in the above context appear nothing else than the present Tissamahārāma. The remains of a "chatta" has been discovered near the *thūpa*. Thus it is clear that the *thūpa* has had a *chatta* in the early days in place of the subsequent pinnacle.

Another inscription at Cittalapabbata records repairing of a *cetiya* by King Kaniṭṭhatissa (167-186A.C.), son of king Mahallaka Nāga and brother of king Bhātiya tissa. The *cetiya* of king Nāga recorded as repaired by Kaniṭṭha Tissa in the inscription is identified as the Nāgamahāvihāra (*Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon* by Edward Muller, London, 1883 page 24, inscription 16. (translation on page 10).

The evidence so far discussed both in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the inscriptions speak of Nāgamahāvihāra and Uparāja Mahānāga. An inscription discovered in 1960 at Kirinda, contrary to the above evidence, speak of Tissamahārāma built by King Kākavaṇṇatissa, adorned with sixty three pirivenas, for the first time. This inscription established by Epa Mahinda to record some donations made by him, belong to the 10[th] century A.C. to be taken up with more details below in the context of the relic enshrined in it.

A perusal of Pali commentaries that belong roughly to the period 5[th] to 6[th] centuries A.C. regarding Mahānāga vihāra at Tissamahārāma, it is possible to find a large number of references to Tissamahāvihāra (*DA*.II. 581; (*MA*.I. 185; *AA*. I 42, II 249; *VbhA*. p. 446).[5]

But references to the Nāgamahāvihāra seems to be extremely rare, except for a single reference in the (*VbhA*. 407) which refers to an incident of cutting down of a *Nā* tree (iron wood) that annoyed deities. Thus in the Pali commentaries it is seen that the term Tissamahārāma gradually becoming vogue and the name Nāgavihāra getting obsolete. In Sinhala literary works Tissamahārāma is often mentioned. The *Pūjāvaliya*, Sinhala prose work of the 13[th] century says that King Kākavaṇṇatissa built Tissamahāvehera. The *Saddhammālaṅkaraya* of the 14[th] century contains several references to Tissamahāvehera and there is no reference to a Nāgavihāra in the South except for a Nāgamahāvihāra in the North. Possibly Nāgavihāra has merged with Tissamahāvehera.

A careful examination of the above divergent evidences, it is reasonable to arrive at the following assumptions. The shrine at present identified as Tissamahārāma was originally built by Uparāja Mahānāga, second brother of King Devanampiyatissa, who fled to the south when he discovered the plot of Devanampiyatissa's queen to kill him, to make way for her own son to succeed King Devanampiyatissa. But the credit of developing it to the position of a great monastery complex should go to his great grand son Kākavaṇṇatissa. The kingdom of Mahāgāma Uparāja Mahānāga established appears to have been a comparatively small kingdom. The "ten brother kings" (Dasabhātika Khattiyā) were the masters of Rohana. It is difficult to think that Mahānāga had no resources – power, co-operation etc. to build a great monastery complex like Tissamahārāma. But by the time Kākavaṇṇatissa came to the throne things at Rohana were quite different. His father Goṭhābhaya managed to kill the ten brother kings of Rohana and become the sole ruler of Rohana. Thus he had all resources with him to undertake any great building programme. It was Kākavaṇṇatissa who developed Nāgavihāra or Nāgamahāvihāra built by his great grand father and brought it to the position of a royal monastery (Rajamahāvihāra) . His service to the monastery as stated in the Kirinda inscription of Mahinda Epa appear to be substantial. Even the great *thūpa* of the monastery (Tissamahārāma cetiya) has been added by Kākavaṇṇatissa according to this inscription. Thus, though the shrine was originally built by Uparāja Mahānāga, Kākavaṇṇatissa became the "defacto builder" in the minds of the people and Tissamhārāma became a synonym for Mahānāgavihāra. This appears to have been not due to a volitional effort on the part of some individual, but a natural transition among the ordinary Buddhist fold and it had not taken place instantly, but a gradual change that took place in the course of a long period. It is also clear from the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the inscriptions that Mahānāgavihāra and Uparāja Mahānāga did not fade away suddenly, but were still in use for several centuries. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* has preserved an ancient tradition. While giving prominence to Tissamahārāma it records Nāgamahāvihāra immediately after Tissamahārāma. But when it comes to the commentarial period Mahānāga vihāra has almost gone into oblivion making way for Tissamahārama. By the 10[th] century A.C., the tradition that Kākavaṇṇatissa built Tissamahārāma had firmly gained ground, for the Kirinda inscription (of Epa Mahinda) outright says that "King Kākavaṇṇatissa built Tissmahārāma adorned with sixty three cells. Therefore the present Tissmahārāma and the Nāgamahāvihāra are one and the same.

Some scholars consider that Tissmahārāma and Nāgamahāvihāra are two separate monasteries. Dr. P.A.T. Gunasingha (*Ancient Rohana Kingdom*, Dipani Press, Colombo 1968 p. 157, Sinhala Medium) basing his argument on the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter VL verse 58-60) reports how king Dappula of Rohana (7[th] century A.C.) granted two villages Kevaṭṭa Gāmbhīra and Kattikapabbata to Nāgavihāra and Tissavihāra respectively and states that they were two separate monasteries. King Dappula's granting of two separate villages to the Nāgavihāra and the Tissavihāra is no sufficient proof to consider them as separate monasteries. In great monastery complexes of Sri Lanka there had been several pirivena units within the same monastery limits. The Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura had Ganṭhākāra Pirivena, where Buddhaghośa stayed and translated Sinhala commentaries to Pali and D´ghasanda senāpati prirvena built by Kassapa IV (898-914 A.C.) for Pamsukula monks. Even at present the Malwatta temple in Kandy has separate units such as Tibbotuwāve Pansala, Welivita Pansala, etc. within the precincts of the Malwatta Mahāvihāra. Therefore it is not impossible that Tissavihāra and Nāgavihāra to be separate units within the same great Tissamahārāma complex. As per the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxii verse 28) there had been a similar unit (*pirivena*) named Silāpassa Pirivena within the Tissamahārāma complex. Therefore it is possible that king Dappula of Rohana set apart two separate villages for the sustenance of the Nāga and the Tissaa vihāras, possibly two establishments within the same Tissamahārāma monastery complex. Thus, Dr. Gunasinghe's argument does not hold ground. It is also important that, though this area has been opened up and reclaimed from the jungle since the mid 19[th] century, no ruins that could be identified as those of a separate Nāgavihāra has been yet discovered. A vihāra on the bund of the Yodaweva on the Tissamahārāma-Kirinda road, popularly called the Nāgavihāra has been correctly identified as the Mahāvāpi vihāra referred to in the *Rasavāhini* of the chief incumbent Ven. Ganegama Indasāra Nayaka Thero. The Ven. Thero has pointed out that the misidentification has happened at the hands of the late Mudlier of Māgampattu, the fore runner of the present Divisional

Secretary of the Tissamahārāma Division of the Hambantota District (*History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Walpola Rahula, Colombo, 1956, p. 269 - Foot note no. 7). Therefore it is clear that it is not possible to find the ruins of a separate Nāgavihāra, other than the Tissamahārāma.

The Relic enshrined in the Thūpa

There seem to be a serious ambiguity pertaining to the correct relic of the Buddha enshrined in this great thūpa. At present the Buddhist public believe that the 'Frontal Bone" (*Nalāṭadhātu* or *Lalāṭadhātu*) of the Buddha is enshrined in the Thūpa. Moreover the following stanza composed by an anonymous composer, for the devotees to recite when they adore the Tissamahārāma cetiya, speak of the Nalātadhātu glittering like the shape of the moon (*sasanka bimba saṅkāsa bhāsanta*) enshrined in it by King Tissa.

Nikkhippa sampuṇṇa sasaṅka bimba
Saṅkasa bhāsanta lalaṭadhātum
Akarayi tissa narissaroyaṃ
Thūpaṃ name tissamahā vihāre

But there is no basis for this belief. There is no documentary or inscriptional evidence relating to the enshrinement of the *Nalāṭadhatu/Lalāṭadhatu* in the thūpa. In fact the *Dhātuvaṃsa* (13th century written to give the history of the Frontal Bone Relic of the Buddha nullifies the popular belief that it is enshrined in the Tissamahārāma Cetiya.

According to the *Dhātuvaṃsa* of an anonymous author, *Nalāṭadhatu* of the Buddha was in the possession of the royal family of King Kākavaṇṇatissa. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* further says that Ven. Cullapiṇḍapātiya Tissa thera, a brother of Vihāradevi, having observed the waning life span of the king advised the king to enshrine it in a cetiya built on a water hole (*soṇḍiya*) named *Varāha* in the lake Seru, south of the river Mahāvāluka. Accordingly the king proceeded with his retinue to the spot and ceremoniously enshrined the Nalāṭadhātu in the Thūpa built on the spot. The *cetiya* concerned is identified at present as the Mangala Mahā Cetiya at Seruvila in the Trincomalee District. Thus there is a conflict between the popular tradition and the chronicle *Dhātuvamsa*. Consequently there has been a serious riddle as to which relic of the Buddha is enshrined in the Tissamahārāma Cetiya in the South.

Fortunately a pillar inscription discovered at Kirinda about six miles from Tissamahārāma, in Feb. 1960 provides vital information as regards the sacred relic enshrined in the Tissamahārāma Cetiya. The inscription referred to has been established by Epa Mahinda (Epa Mahin), son of King Abāsalamevan and queen Sang gon to record some grants made to Tissamahārāma, which belong to the 10th century A.C. (*Epigraphia Zelanica* Vol. V, Part III, p. 276 f.). It reads as follows: ...*Epa Mikind'hu visin peretun, budun dā nindutanhi me apa goyum dasabui yati – vam dalada vasā (ma) ha tumbu kara tunsiya te set pirivenin lakarkot kāvantis maharad'hu tamā name kare de(ve ti) sa-ram-rad mahavehera (t)* ....

"Tis-aram-rad Mahavehera built by the Great King Kāvantis in his own name and embellished with three hundred and sixty monasteric cells (and) where he (Kāvantis) erected a great thūpa over the relic of the left tooth of the lower jaw of our Gotama, the Dasabala (Buddha) at the very spot where the relics of the three previous Buddhas were enshrined......".

The most important information contained in the inscription is (1) the relic enshrined in the thūpa is the Left Tooth Relic of the Lower Jaw of the Buddha, (ii) It was King Kākavaṇṇatissa who built the thūpa. The accepted tradition by the 10th century A.C. has been so. This completely rejects the popular tradition that the "Frontal Bone Relic of the Buddha (*Nalāṭa* or *Lalāṭa Dhātu*) is enshrined in the Thūpa. Also Uparāja Mahā Nāga has gone to oblivion and Kavantissa has been accepted as the sole builder of the Thūpa. The inscription also provides information that the relics of three former Buddhas, have been enshrined on the spot where Tissamahārāma cetiya stands. This information is not found in any other record.

It is also important that, according to the Kirinda inscription of Epa Mahinda, Sri Lanka had a Tooth Relic of the Buddha long before Hemamālā and Prince Datta brought the "Left Eye Tooth" relic of the Buddha to the island, during the reign of King Sirimeghavaṇṇa (301-328). The Somawathie Cetiya too is supposed to have been built over the right eye tooth relic of the Buddha. Thus apparently Sri Lanka should possess three teeth relics of the Buddha" with the tooth relic supposed to have been enshrined in Tissamahārāma.

It is not possible to trace the origin of the belief that Tissamahārāma cetiya was built over the *Nalāṭa* or *Lalāṭadhātu* of the Buddha. Possibly it is due to a misunderstanding or misidentification on the part of somebody who has not seen the *Dhātuvaṃsa*. Apparently this wrong impression has been formed soon after the *cetiya* was reclaimed from the jungle for the pilgrims nearly 200 years ago, after centuries of abandoning.

Land grant of King Mahānāma. Tissamahārāma slab inscription of Mahānāma (406-28 A.C.) (*Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, E. Muller, London, 1883 page 76, Inscription No. 67, Translation p. 111) now kept in the Colombo Museum, records a land grant made to Tissamahārāma. It is important that this inscription refers to Tissamahārāma as "Raja Mahā Vihāra of Māgama". Accordingly king Mahānāma has altogether made a land grant of 9000 "karisas". As per the Pāli lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, a *karisa* is equivalent to four "amunas". An "amuna" is roughly two acres. Thus the king has granted a land grant nearly 72,000 acres for the supply of the Four Requisites to monks living in the *Padhānaghara* of Tissamahārāma.

Tissamahārāma was the Mahāvihāra in the South. Although the chronicles have paid the least attention to Tissamahārāma in the South, there seems to be sufficient evidence to conclude that it was the centre of Buddhism in the South, similar to the Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura. Pāli and Sinhala literary works, specially the Pāli commentaries, provide a wealth of information pertaining to Tissamahārāma. According to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*DA*. II. 581), in ancient Sri Lanka there has been two annual congregations of monks before and after the Rainy Retreat (*vas*). One congregation was at the Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura and the other was at Tissamahārāma. The monks to the North of the river (Mahaveli) used to assemble at the Lohapāsāda (of Mahāvihāra) and the monks to the South of the river used to assemble at Tissamahārāma. They assembled before the *vassa* season to clean and white wash the "Cetiya" and also to meet celebrated Mahātheras and obtain topics of meditation. After the *vassa* season they met again to announce their spiritual attainments during the *vas* season and also to recite and revise their learning of the *Dhamma*. Those who learnt the text (Pāli) recited same and those who learnt commentaries (*Aṭṭhakathā*) rehearsed *Aṭṭhakathās*. The selection of Tissamahārāma for the annual meeting clearly indicates that it was the Headquarters of the religion in the South.

The Kataragama Pillar inscription of Dappula V. of the 10th century A.C. (*Epigraphia Zelanica* Vol. III p. 219 ff) refer to Tissamahārāma as the Mahāvehera adorned with three hundred and sixty three cells, in the province of [Rohana] (*Tunsiya te set pirivenin lakar Mahaveher*). This shows it was the chief monastery in Rohana (This inscription originally was not at Kataragama. It has been brought from Detagamuwa forest by the Chief Priest in 1916).

The *Sammohavinodanī*, the *Vibhaṅga* commentary (*VbhA*. p. 446) provides similar information regarding Tissamahārāma. At a particular time there were 12,000 monks living at Tissmahārāma. At the Cittalapabbata, too, there were 12,000 monks living. Both monasteries had sufficient barns of paddy to feed monks for three years. When the famine "Brahmana tissābhaya" set in, the stocks of grains at both monasteries were destroyed by rodent rats. When the monks of Tissamahārāma discovered that their stock of paddy has been eaten up by rats, they proceeded to Cittalapabbata because they knew that there were sufficient stocks there. In the same way the resident monks of Cittalapabbata having learnt that their barn of paddy, too, was destroyed, set forth for Tissamahārāma in order to sustain themselves with the stocks of paddy there. It is said that both parties met at the bank of the river Gambhīrakandara. Having learnt that the plight of both parties was the same, they are supposed to have attained *parinibbāna* there itself. This shows that Tissamahārāma was large enough to accommodate 12,000 monks. At the same time there were sufficient stocks of food to feed them for three years. This shows that Tissamahārāma was a massive monastery complex and was self sufficient like the Mahāvihāra complex of Anuradhapura. Further Cittalapabbata was its forest resort. The monks who wanted solitude appear to have been staying at Cittalapabbata. Specially young monks studying and under training appear to have been at Tissamahārāma with their preceptors. The eminent Mahātheras such as Ven. Dhammadinna of Talangāratissa pabbata was often invited to Tissamahārāma to instruct young monks (*MA*. I. p. 184). The *Manorathapūranī* (*AA*. II. 249) relates how a young monk of Tissamahārāma went all the way to listen to the Mahājātakabhānaka

Thera who was reciting the *Mahāvessantara Jātaka*, comprising of one thousand *gāthās*.

The *Manorathapūrani* (*AA*. I, p. 40) records how Mahāsiva thera of Gāmantapabbhāra taught texts (Pali) and commentaries (*Aṭṭhakathā*) to eighteen chapters of monks (*aṭṭharasa Maha gane*) at Tissamahārāma. It is also said that thirty thousand monks attained arahantship abiding in his advice. A preceptor at Tissamahārāma prevented his young pupil who wanted to disrobe himself by delaying tactics. The story of the preceptor and the pupil is found in the *Papañcasūdani* (*MA*. II, p. 91).

In the light of the above evidence it is possible to assume that Tissamahārāma was the main educational centre in the South, similar to a University. The Udakisa pirivena referred to in the Mailagastota inscription and Kapugampirivena referred to in the Kataragama pillar inscription of Dappula V. appear to have been affiliated educational centres of the main educational centre at Tissamahārāma.

Restoration of the Tissamahārāma Cetiya. Due to foreign invasions, the Malaria epidemic and the collapse of the irrigation system, the population gradually migrated to the south western region of the island and the ancient Rohana kingdom became depopulated and gradually became covered with thick forest, infested with beasts. Tissamahārāma and the other shrines went into ruin as a result of centuries of neglect. Inspite of the above mentioned hardships, there seems to have been some sporadic human settlements around the small village tanks. Important shrines like Tissamahārāma were not completely forgotten. It is recorded that King Viraparakramabāhu Narendrasinghe (1707-1739 A.C.) of Kandy made a land grant to Buddharakkhita Navaratna Ganinnānse to renovate the dilapidated Tissamahārāma cetiya in 1725 A.C. under the signature of his Minister Ranmolaka Samaradivākara Wickramasinghe Mudiyanse. The same grant has been re-issued in 1732 under the king's seal written in an olā leaf[6] (*Tissamahārāma* by Tirānagama Ratanasāra Thero, Saman Press, Maharagama, Colombo, 1956; p. 73 f. Sinhala Medium)

The restoration of the Tissamahārāma Cetiya was commenced by an energetic novice Vepataira Sumana who came with a group of pilgrims in 1853 A.C. It is said that the Sāmanera Sumana was moved by the sorry state of the dilapidated thūpa and put up a hut near the thūpa and commenced to clear the debris while the other pilgrims returned. The restoration work of the thūpa has been commenced in 1857. In spite of the difficulty to transport materials through the jungle by bullock carts, the work of the thūpa progressed steadily due to the enthusiasm of the Buddhists.

In the meantime the British colonial government in 1876 took a laudable step to dam Kirindioya at Ellagala and divert the waters of the Kirindioya to the drought stricken Tissamahārāma and adjoining areas. The major tanks of the region such as Ridigama Weva, Wiravila Weva, Tissa Weva and Yodakandiya wewa and many small tanks were filled with waters of Kirindioya. Thus was the beginning of the golden era of Tissamahārāma and before long the area became a prosperous area. This expedited the restoration of the thūpa.

The Tissamahārāma restoration society was able to restore the *thūpa* up to the dome within sixteen years. The pinnacle for the *thūpa* was cast at the work shop of the Walkers Company, Colombo. It is said that the pinnacle weighed sixty cwts. and was eleven feet high and was fitted with a red diamond, imported from Bohemia, Austria. The pinnacle was transported in a caravan of bullock carts in great pomp from Colombo to Tissamahārāma along the western coast. Each village and town along the road is said to have received the caravan bearing the pinnacle, in a grand scale. It is said the journey took one month to reach Tissamahārāma, going through the beast infested jungle towards the end of the route. The pinnacle was mounted on 12th June 1900[7] at the auspicious moment, after a grand ceremony, attended by hundred thousand devotees from all parts of the country. Unfortunately the energetic monk Wepataira Sumana who braved to commence the gigantic task of the restoration of the *thūpa* did not live to see the culmination of his dream because he died in 1873. The remaining work of plastering went on till 1914.[8] After the restoration the height of the *cetiya* is said to be 186 ft. and the circumference at the bottom 560 ft.

The restoration work of the *thūpa* was started long before the establishment of the Archaeological Department. Therefore it was not possible to subject the *thūpa* to an archaeologica. excavation, prior to the

restoration. With the result valuable archaeological evidence had been damaged or lost at the hands of those who have no sense of archaeological value of ruins. Land with ruins have been given to farmers and have been converted to paddy fields. Ruins are today seen in the land owned by private parties. The whole of the present Tissamahārāma township appear to have been ancient vihāra premises. The great Tissamahārāma *vihara* complex where 12000 monks lived is now reduced to twenty acres, including the *thūpa*.

New inscription installed after the restoration.

The white marble inscription installed at the base of the dome in July 1917 to commemorate the restoration of the *thūpa* by the Tissamahāvehera restoration Society reads as follows:

"The great dāgoba which was built in his own name in the city of Māgama by the king called Kāvantis who was the supreme ruler in the great country of Ruhuna in Ceylon, between the years 315-369 A.B. and in which was placed the forehead relic of Sakyamuni, having fallen into decay for want of care and attention, the jungle around it cleared and its restoration undertaken in the year 2390 A.B. by the Sāmanera Wepata Ira Sumana". This restoration was completed and the pinnacle was placed on the Dāgaba in the year 2443 A.B. by the Tissamahāvehera Kiriya Sādaka Society, headed by Walpita Medhankara Thero, Joseph Aranolis Amarasinghe and Charles Francis Sudhira Jayawickrama. Sudhira Jayawickrema Mr. P.D. Ratnatunga in this context correctly points out that this inscription which outright says "Frontal Bone Relic" of the Buddha enshrined by King Kāvantissa would be a puzzle to the future historians and archaeologists (*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* 1919-20 Vol. V part iii, p. 138 ff. *Largest Dāgeba at Tissmahārāma* by P. D. Ratnatunga).

After the lapse of nearly one and half centuries, after the renovation cracks started appearing in the dome, which the engineers thought would ultimately lead to the collapse of the *thūpa*. On this advice an iron jacket was put covering the entire dome to prevent further damage. See PLATES XXVI – XXVII.

K. Arunasiri

References

1. Ellawala Medhānanda Thera says that the Cetiya at Seruvila (Maṅgala Mahā Cetiya) has been once known as Tissamahāvehera. He bases his argument on an inscription he discovered on a rock near Seruvila Cetiya, assigned to the reign of Kassapa V (914-923) *King Kāvantissa and Vihāramahā devi – Parents of a hero king*, Ellawala Medhānanda Thera, Colombo, 2001, page 47 (Sinhala Medium)
2. Gunapala Senadhira argues that the Mahāgāma that was associated with the present Tissamahārāma was not the Mahāgāma connected to the kings Kākavannatissa, Duṭṭhagāmini etc. referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. He says the original Mahāgāma was around Lahugala about eight miles on Monaragala Potuwil Road. He further says that Mahagama near Tissmahārāma had been subsequently established near Kājaragāma (Kataragama) for political and administrative reasons. An inscription of 5[th] century, A.C. discovered in this region refers to it as "Akuja" Mahāgāma in order to distinguish it from the original Mahāgāma near Lahugala. Mr. Senadhira brings in Sound archaeological evidence to prove his thesis (Asian Heritage 1973-1) "*where was the Māgama kingdom of Kākavannatissa* by Gunapala Senadhira p. 22-39 _ A Sinhala Journal published by Asian Cultural Organisation Edited by A.V. Suraweera.
3. Dr. Goldschmidt was the first European scholar to visit the ruins. Later when Henry Parker went, the inscription was not visible. Parker has published a report on the ruins of Tissamahārāma in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, VIII, No. 27, 1884 p. 96 f.
4. P.D. Ratnatunga (*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* 1919 -20 Vol. V. Part III) Notes "Kāvantissa's Tissamahārāma does not appear to have been identified by any responsible authority with the Dāgeba recently restored. (p. 139). But the inscription of Ilanāga appears sufficient enough to dispel any doubt about the identification.
5. Ellawala Medhānanda Thera points out that the Vihāra originally known as Nāgamahā vihāra came to be popularly known as

Tissamahāvihāra by the time Pali commentaries were written. (Ellawala Medhānanda, loc. cit. p. 43).

6. In 1738 "a tudapata" given describing the boundaries of the land granted, read as follows: "Kirindioye nakhā amunen pahalath Muhunguruwā toṭin udath akurugoda palugasvalin etulatath Tamaḍa gaswala saha tisaweva etulu mema vihara game....." "Below the Nakhā Amuna of Kirindioya , beyond the Muhunguruwā ford including the Palu trees of Akurugoda and also including Tamadagaswala and Tisaweva..... is this vihāragama (Tissmahārāma by Tirānagama Ratanasāra, Saman Press, Maharagama Colombo 1956 p. 74 (Sinhla Medium)

7. The top of the thūpas in the South differ from those of the rest of the island (which have a spiral column over the "Devatā koṭuwa" (Square platform on the dome) up to the brass pinnacle. But the Tissmaharama cetiya also Kirivehera and other southern thūpas, have conical shape domes on the devatā koṭuwa up to the brass pinnacle.

8. Sir James Robert Longdon, the Governer General of Ceylon (1877-84) is reported to have visited Tissamahārāma in 1882,when the restoration was in progress . It is said the Governer General was pleased with the work and granted Tissamahārāma and the Sandagirivehera to Syāmopāli Mahānikāya and confirmed the appointment of Ven. Walpita Medhankara as the Chief incumbent (Tirānagama Ratanasāra loc.cit. p. 40

TŌDAIJI. Tōdaiji is the headquaters of the Kegon-shū sect of Japanese Buddhism. Emperor Shōmu is credited to have erected it around 724 A.C in the then capital Narā in Japan. Its first abbot was the renowned scholar-monk of the Kegon sect, Ryōben (689-773 A.C).,whose statue is found in the Kaisando (the founder's hall) of the temple.

Tōdaiji is particularly famous for its colossal gilded bronze statue of the Buddha erected in 746 A.C. This gigantic image seated on a lotus flower is popularly known as the Daibutsu (great-Buddha) at Narā. Measuring 15.9 metres in height. It represents the Buddha Vairocana (Jap.Birushana),who is venerated as the cosmic central Buddha by the Kegon sect. The statue, which had been damaged severely on many occasions due to civil strifes, was restored several times.Daibutsu,as it stands now, dates back to 1692 A.C.

The temple which originally located at Shigaraki, was known as Kinshōji, and after renovation it was renamed as Konkōmyōji.When Narā was made the capital,it was removed there and with the construction of major buildings it came to be referred to as Tōdaiji since 747 A.C.

When the daibutsu-den (the great Buddha hall),which houses the daibutsu was completed in 752 A.C.its consecration ceremony was held in an extremely grandeur fashion. Former emperor Shōmu and the then empress Kōken had participated in that solemn ceremony, attended by 10,000 monks and a multitude of foreign Buddhist dignitaries.

In 754 A.C, a Chinese monk named Ganjin (Chinese: Chien-chen), who had been invited to introduce orthodox higher ordination procedure practised in China,has conducted that ceremony at the Tōdaiji.Generous contributions from the imperial family enabled to accomplish the enormous construction work of the temple by 798 A.C. It is recorded that 50,000 carpenters, 3,70,000 metal craftsmen, 21,80,000 labourers were engaged in its construction which created a heavy burden on the imperial treasury. In consequence, it is said, that Japan was virtually reduced to bankruptcy.

When the war between Taira and Minamoto factions broke out in the 12th century, Tōdaiji temple sided with the Minamoto family,thereby antagonizing Tairo no Shihira. Victorious Tairo, in retaliation, burnt down the temple in 1180 A.C. He was, however, defeated in the following year and the reconstruction of the temple began under the guidance of its abbot Shujōbō Chōgen (1121-1206 A.C), who devoted 25 years to complete its reconstruction.Tōdaiji suffered again in 1567 A.C, when general Matsunaga Hisahide, in consequence of hostilities, burnt down the daibutsuden and several other buildings. In 1692, under the inspiring leadership of Tokugawa Shogunate, most of he damaged buildings were renovated. However, the present daibutsuden, the reconstruction

of which was completed only in 1709, lacks its pristine symmetrical harmony and refinement in style. This massive edifice is amongst the largest wooden structures in the world.

C.S.Ranasinghe.

TÔFUKU-JI, located in south-east of Kyōto, Japan, is the headquarters of the Tōfuku-ji branch of the Rinzai sect.

It was founded in 1236 A.C. by the imperial regent Kujō Michiie on the site of the ruins of the Hosshōji temple and he had taken nearly 20 years (1231-1255 A.C) to build it. Priest Ben-En (Shōitsu-Kokushi) was its first superior or head priest. As Michiie died in 1255 before the completion of the temple, it was left to Ichijō Senetsune to complete its construction. The name Tōfuku-ji is formed by combining the names of two temples-Tōdaiji in Nara and Kōfuku-ji in Kyōto.

A good part of the temple was burnt down by fires in 1319 and 1334 respectively. However, the *butsuden* (Buddha hall) was rebuilt in 1347. Similarly, the other edifices too were rebuilt in the subsequent years by several dedicated Buddhist benefactors like Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu.Tōfuku-ji possessed a Daibutsu, 15 metres high and for a long time it remained the most beautiful temple in Kyōto till fire destroyed it once again in 1881.The temple was gradually reconstructed in the subsequent years and completed with the erection of a new *butsuden* in 1934.

It is recorded that Tōfuku-ji once claimed 53 subsidiary temples known as *tatchū* in its complex. However, since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, that number dwindled and only 25 of those are to be found to-day.

Amongst the notable buildings in the temple complex are the *butsuden* (Buddha hall), *Zendō* (meditation hall) *hōjō* (the residence of the head priest) and the *sammon*(the main gate).The *sammon*,which is supposed to have been erected in the 14th or the 15th century, is cherished as a National Treasure.Tōfuku-ji also claims several magnificent structures, including *tōsu* (toilet) and *yokushitsu* (bath house) which are regarded as important cultural properties. Both these anciliary buildings signify the importance of daily hygiene in practising Zen.

Tōfuku-ji is also renowned for some masterpieces of art and sculpture as well as valuable documents and manuscripts.

C.S.Ranasinghe.

TOLUVILA. An ancient Mahayana monastery complex now in ruins lying about half a kilometre to the north-east of the new town of Anurādhapura, an ancient capital of Sri Lanka. This too belongs to the *pabbata-vihāra* (Sk. *parvata-vihāra*) group of monasteries of the Mahāyānists, that flourished somewhere between the 4th and the 9th century A. C. But the plan of the Toluvila *ārāma* complex is unique in its consisting of two squares, one sacred and the other secular, about 100 meters apart and connected by a straight pathway about 3 meters wide. The sacred square containing the *caitya*, the *bodhiveśman*, the image-house and the chapter house (*sabhā*) is in the north and the secular square lies to the south of it. A moat ran right round the two squares and the low-lying area, which is now in a ruinous state. The main entrances to the sacred square and secular square are from the north and the plan of the sacred square slightly differ from that given of the Hastyārāma layout with the main entrance as described in the *Mañjusrī vāstuvidyāśāstra*, according to which the *caitya*, the *bodhiveśman*, the *pratimālaya* and the *prāsāda* occupy the *koṣṭhas* Aditi, Vāyu, Vitatha and Rudra respectively. Here with the exception of the *bodhiveśman*, the locations of the other edifices vary slightly from the above scheme as they stand today.

The other square lying to the south of the sacred square has been identified by some as a *bodhiveśman*. Although there is no doubt that there was a *bodhi*-tree in the center, with an image of a seated Buddha installed underneath, the ruins of the buildings lying scattered around it reveal that it had been a residential complex probably with the living quarters for the chief incumbent of the monastery. Among the ruins there are traces of living quarters, a refectory, a kitchen, a bath-house and a urinal. The positioning of these buildings is in total agreement with the plan set out in

the *Mañjuśrī-vāstuvidyāśāstra*. The seated Buddha image kept under the *bo-* tree must, therefore, have been used by the resident monks for their daily rites of worship. This Buddha image bearing a great resemblance to the famous *samādhi*-image in the Abhayagiri-*vihāra* precincts at Anurādhapura is now kept in the Colombo Museum right at the entrance to the building.

It is sad to note that serious damage had been done to this very important *ārāma* complex by constructing a highway running between the two squares and cutting the entire *ārāma* into two halves. We are at a loss as to what the Department of Archaeology of Sri Lanka was doing when all this happened some seven of eight years ago. See PLATE XXVIII.

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E. W. Marasinghe.

TRENCKNER, V. Trenckner (1824-1891) was a Danish scholar reckoned as a pioneer in Pali lexicography.

Trenckner was born on 26 February 1824 to a family of German descent domiciled in Denmark. Though his full name was Carl Wilhelm Trenckner, he always preferred to call himself V.Trenckner Having attended a German middle school in Copenhagen, he subsequently received private tuition and matriculated at the university of Copenhagen in 1841.It was there that he first developed an interest in classical philosophy. He mastered a good number of western and oriental languages including English, Latin, Greek, Italian,Spanish, Sanskrit, Pāli, Burmese ,Persian and Arabic. He commenced his Indian studies under the guidance of another distinguished Swedish scholar, N.L. Westergaard.

In 1861, he secured a modest-post in the Copenhagen Orphans' Asylum as instructor, where he worked until his death, educating poor children in Danish and elementary history and geography. At the same time "he also acquainted himself with Fausbøll's transcripts of Pāli texts, which he copied for himself, correcting them by collating the originals. Later on, he made transcripts on his own account of most of the Pāli manuscripts in the Copenhagen collection and some others lent from London" (ed.D.Anderson et al, *Critical Pali Dictionary*, Vol I, Copenhagen,1924, p.iv).

Trenckner's mammoth contribution to Pali began with a critical edition of *Abhidhānappadīpikā* appended with an alphabetical index and he worked on it from 1854 to 55. Between 1856-57 he had transcribed the first two volumes of *Dīgha Nikāya* (chapters i– xviii) and the rest from 1867-68. He transcripted the whole *Milindapañha* (1857-59) and prepared a clean copy for printing in 1860.When it was published in 1880, his contemporary scholars, including R.C.Childers, acclaimed it as a 'masterly edition'. "From the sixties are his transcripts of *Majjhima Nikāya* and *Papañcasūdanī*... *Atthasālinī, Sārasaṅgaha* and *Sutta Nipāta*, further the whole *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and perhaps also the *Aṅguttara Nikāya, Manō rathapūraṇī*... from the year 1870-79 dates his transcripts of the *Payōgasiddhi*, the *Jātaka,Paramatthajōtikā, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Parivāra*, part of *Paramatthadīpanī* and finally a volume containing *Udāna,Itivutthaka, Sutta Nipāta, Buddhavaṃsa,Caryāpiṭaka, Thera-* and *Therī-gāthā*" (*ibid*, p.vi). His *Pali Miscellany* (1897), yet- another of his notable contributions, was an outcome of about 25 years of dedicated work on Pāli manuscripts. In his last ten years he embarked on the monumental edition of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, but he could not live to see the end of it.

The Critical Pali Dictionary initiated by him can be considered as his *magnum opus* the editing of which had been posthumously undertaken by the scholars in the calibre of Dinesh Anderson, Helmer Smith and Hans Hendrikson. The references given therein "begin with *Abhidhānapp*... next follow passages quoted from Trenckner's own transcripts, sometimes having the signature of the Palm-leaves or referring to printed... editions"(*ibid*, p vii). The publication of this monumental work has been undertaken by the Royal Danish Academy with international support and collaboration. Besides his lexicon, he was working on a complete Pali Grammer (morphology, phonology and prosody) and *Majjhima Nikāya* and its commentary at the time of his demise.

Paying him a glowing tribute Dinesh Anderson, another eminent Pāli Scholar comments that his "name deserves to be deeply inscribed in the history of Pāli philology and his work ought not to be forgotten or lost..."(*ibid*, p.viii). See PLATE XXIX.

C.S.Ranasinghe.

TUCCI, G. Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984), an Italian orientalist, hailed as a doyen of modern scientific studies, specially on Tibet. For many years, he held the chair of professor of religions and philosophies of India and the Far East at the University of Rome. He also taught at the University of Calcutta and Shāntiniketan in India at the beginning of his academic career.

Born on 5th June 1894 in Italy, Tucci graduated from the University of Rome. In the World War I, he fought as a soldier. Later he joined the university first as instructor, then became Associate Professor and finally the fully fledged professor.

The vast number of publications that stand to his credit in varied fields ranging from religion, philosophy, history and literature to art and culture bear ample testimony to his versatile and penetrative scholarship. Among his major research publications are: *La storia della Filosotia Chinese Antica* (1922), *Buddhhismo* (1928), *Pre-Dinnaga Buddhist-Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (1929), *Indo-Tibetica* (Vol.7 from 1932-1942), *Cronache della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale del* (1933-1935), *Santi e briganti nel Tibet Ignoto the Travels of a Buddhist Pilgrim in the Swat Valley* (1941), *Teoria e Practica del Mandala* (1949), *Italia e Oriente* (1949), *Preliminary Report on two scientific expeditimes to Nepal* (1956), Minor Buddhist Texts (part I, 1956; part II, 1958), *Storia della Filosofia Indiana* (1957), *Tibet, the Land of Snows* (1968) and *I trono di diamante* (1968).

Tucci devoted much of his time on studies relating to Tibetan Buddhism. He has made six expeditions to Nepal and eight expeditions to western and central Tibet. In his last visit to Tibet, he secured the services of Tenzing of Mt.Everest fame, to disover a 2000 years old manuscript written originally in Turkestan language on a bark of a free. His firm belief was that it lies hidden among other manuscripts in the monastery called Ghangar. Even the lamas of that monastery were quite unaware of the existence of such an important manuscript in their repository. Tucci, after combing thousands of dusty manuscripts, finally managed to discover it. Lamas of the monastery were so delighted that they presented it to him without accepting any money that Tucci offered them.

In recognition of the esteemed service he rendered for the advancement of scholorship, particularly in less trodden fields like Tibetan Buddhism and Iranian studies, he was awarded doctorates *honoris causa* by the universities of Kolosvar,Delhi and Teheran. Italian Republic honoured him by bestowing on him Gran Croceal Merito as a mark of respect for his outstanding academic achievement. He was also the recipient of several honorific titles such as, the Decoration of Humayun II, Iran; the Honorary Order of the Sacred Treasure of Japan;the Rising Sun,Japan; the Order of the White Elephant, Thailand, and Ital-i imtiaz, Pakistan.

Tucci was the president of the Italian Institute for Middle and far East; and Honorary President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Argentina; a member of the Society Asiatique of Paris; Royal Academy of Sciences, Turin, the National Academy of St.Luca, the High Council of Archaeology, Iran and the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

C.S Ranasinghe.

TUṆHĪBHĀVA, stands for the maintenance of "silence". In a debate situation in the ancient Indian setting at the time of the Buddha, such silence was a sign of defeat, indicating that the opponent was unable to reply. The discourses vividly depict such defeat with the opponent being reduced to silence and seated in dismay, with shoulders drooping and head hanging down, depressed and unable to speak (e.g. *D.* III, 53). Silence in a debate situation could also be an attempt to evade defeat by avoiding to answer a question. Yet, one who maintains silence when asked a rightful question up to the third time by the *Tathāūgata* risks that his head will split into pieces (*D.* I, 95).

Here it needs to be noted that the famous silence of the Buddha in regard to a set of proposals that appear to have been a frequent topic of debate and discussion among his contemporaries, the unexplained questions (See AVYĀKATA), was not really a true silence, since he did answer by refusing to take any of the stances inherent in these questions. An occasion when the Buddha did maintain silence was in reply to a query after the existence of the self by the wanderer Vacchagotta (*S.* IV, 400). In this case the Buddha's silence was a teaching strategy, as he explained to Ānanda once Vacchagotta had left, since a reply given to that question would have only increased the confusion of Vacchagotta.

Another discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* reports that the Buddha remained silent when being reviled by a Brahmin. The Brahmin concluded that this silence was a sign of defeat, thinking that he had achieved victory over the Buddha (*S.* I, 163). But the Buddha explained that his silence was not a sign of defeat, being rather an expression of his aloofness from anger. On another occasion, the Buddha's silence in reply to a question by a wanderer was apparently also in danger of being misunderstood as a token of defeat, causing Ānanda to intervene in order to clarify that the Buddha's silent reaction was not due to any inability on his part to answer (*A.* V, 194).

Not only can one be reduced to silence in a debate situation, but also when being in the minority. Thus when evil monks are in the majority, well behaved monks will keep silent (*A.* I, 68). On one occasion Sāriputta, on being publicly contradicted by another monk three times and finding that the other monks did not support him, remained silent (*A.* III, 194).

Silence can act as an expression of disagreement, such as when King Ajātasattu did not approve of proposals made by his ministers (*D.* I, 47). The same sense of disagreement recurs when Raṭṭhapāla silently refused to give up his plans to become a monk in reply to the entreaties of his parents (*M.* II, 58); or when the Buddha silently refused to perform an act considered auspicious by his host (*M.* II, 92). Another occasion where the Buddha expressed disapproval through silence was when an evil monk was seated amidst the order on the night of the observance day, at the time when the code of rules was to be recited (*A.* IV, 204).

Silence could also be an expression of anger. A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* describes an angry Brahmin who approached the Buddha and stood in front of him in silence, presumably so upset as to be unable to speak (*S.* I, 164). Similarly, when the Buddha addressed Potaliya with an epithet that the latter felt to be inappropriate, the latter reacted by expressing his irritation about the Buddha's mode of address through silence (*M.* I, 359). A monk who is reproved might also vex the order through his silence (*A.* IV, 194).

To remain silent can also be just an expression of distance, such as when a group of visitors approaches the Buddha and, while others pay their respect or proclaim their names, some just silently sit down to one side (e.g. *D.* I, 118). On other occasions, silence can express approval and agreement, perhaps mixed with a nuance of embarrassment, such as when monks remain silent on being asked by the Buddha if they have any doubts (*A.* II, 79), or if they delight in the holy life (*M*, I, 463). The most common occurrence of silence as an expression of agreement is when an invitation is accepted by remaining silent (e.g. *D.* I, 109).

Silence can become an aspect of proper monastic conduct, such as when a monk stands silently in front of a house when begging (*S.* I, 174). Silence also forms part of proper behaviour in general, since when being in any assembly one should know when it is time to just keep silent (*A.* IV, 115). After partaking of a meal, the Buddha would remain seated for a short time in silence (*M.* II, 139).

The disciples of the Buddha were known among their contemporaries for the high regard they had for silent behaviour (e.g. *M.* I, 514), and the *Kandaraka Sutta* reports how a visiting wanderer expressed his admiration for the silence of the congregation of monks (*M.* I, 339). The silent behaviour of the Buddhist monks caused suspicion to arise in the mind of king Ajātasattu, who on being led to the vicinity of a large assembly of Buddhist monks feared being ambushed, as he could not imagine that such a great congregation could maintain total silence. On finding out that his suspicions were unfounded, he was so impressed by the silence of the monks that he wished for his son to be endowed with similar calmness (*D.* I, 50).

Even the gods knew about the reputation for silence of the disciples of the Buddha, and on one occasion Sakka praised the Buddhist monks as wise and silent ones, *dhīrā tuṇhībhūtā* (*S.* I, 236). Such silent behaviour of the Buddhist monks would have been in accordance with an injunction by the Buddha that they should either converse on the Dhamma or else keep noble silence, *ariyo tuṇhībhāvo* (*M.* I, 161). "Noble silence" in its true sense, however, would require attaining the second *jhāna* (*S.* II, 273), since it is only when the last vestige of mental activity has been abandoned through overcoming initial and sustained mental application, *vitakka* and *vicāra*, that total inner silence has been attained.

Yet, silence for its own sake was not approved of by the Buddha. According to the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya*, he criticized a group of monks for having spent the three months of the rainy season together in silence, comparing their behaviour to dumb sheep (*Vin.* I, 159). This passage needs to be examined in conjunction with the *Cūḷagosiṅga Sutta* and the *Upakkilesa Sutta*, two discourses in which the silent cohabitation of a group of monks met with the Buddha's explicit approval (*M.* I, 207 and *M.* III, 157). This shows that it was not the fact of observing silence as such that the Buddha found objectionable in the case of the monks in the *Mahāvagga*. A helpful detail is provided by the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, according to which these monks had taken a vow to live together in silence in the sense that they would not criticize each other even in the case of a breach of conduct (*T.* XXIII, 1044c16 or Derge *'dul ba ka* 222a1). This suggests that the Buddha's criticism was directed against the foolish idea that to live together in harmony is to simply turn a blind eye on improper behaviour.

What becomes clear from the criticism voiced in the *Mahāvagga* is that the observance of silence needs to be paired with wisdom, a requirement that also becomes evident in the circumstance that, according to the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, clear comprehension should be practised when keeping silent (*M.* I, 57). As a verse in the *Dhammapada* points out, one does not become a sage by dint of mere silence (*Dhp.* 268).

Though silence undertaken just for its own sake and without wisdom was not encouraged, silence as an expression of deeper realization was certainly valued in early Buddhism. A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* reports the complaints of a deva that a monk, who earlier was regularly reciting the Dhamma, had fallen silent. In reply, the monk explained that he had stopped reciting because he had reached realization (*S.* I, 202). According to another discourse in the same collection, a group of monks had come to the Buddha and complained that a newly ordained monk was keeping silentl to himself, without taking part in communal activities such as sewing robes. The Buddha exonerated the monk, explaining that he was an arahant and was spending his time attaining *jhāna* (*S.* II, 278). Abiding in such a mental condition, the monk in question would have indeed reached what according to early Buddhism is silence in its ultimate sense.

Anālayo.

U BA KHIN, 1899-1971, a Burmese lay meditation teacher and government official. Through the efforts of his student S. N. Goenka, the *vipassanā* meditation taught by U Ba Khin has by now become one of the most widely practised forms of insight meditation in the world.[1] In courses taught on a pure *dāna* basis, meditators from any cultural, religious or social background are at first taught mindfulness of breathing to develop mental tranquility, followed by instructions in contemplating bodily feelings in order to develop insight into the impermanent and therewith unsatisfactory and selfless nature of all aspects of experience.[2]

Anālayo.

References

1 A survey of locations at which courses are conducted can be found at www.dhamma.org/alphalist.htm

2 For a more detailed account of this meditation practice cf. J. Kornfield: *Living Buddhist Masters*, Kandy: *BPS* 1993, pp 234-255, or A. Solé-Leris: *Tranquillity & Insight*, Kandy: BPS 1992, pp 136-152.

UBBĀHIKĀ - A committee of the Saṅgha formally approved by a resolution, put to the Saṅgha, followed by one repetition (*ñattidutiya-kamma*), to which a dispute unable to be resolved by the whole Saṅgha is referred to for settlement. The names of the referents also have to be formally put to the Saṅgha and approved by them. However, once the committee starts its work, if any of them is found wanting in any quality expected from them, the committee members can propose to the Saṅgha to remove him and, once it is done, continue with the work assigned to them. The point cited is that of a monk who is well conversant with rule (*sutta*) but not with its analysis (*sutta-vibhaṅga*) and, therefore, interprets a rule merely on the letter of the law without considering the deeper implications.(*Vin*.II.95 *ff*).If the committee is unable to resolve the dispute handed over to them they should hand it back to the Saṅgha who can then try to settle it with the method of majority decision (*yebhuyyasikāya ibid* 97 *f*.).

The Buddha, in laying down the rules regarding the referendum, also enumerated ten qualities expected to be possessed by the referents appointed by the Saṅgha.He should be " one who is moral in habit, who lives restrained by the restraint of the *Paṭimokkha*,who,possessed of good conduct, sees danger in the slightest faults, who takes up and trains himself in the rules of training, who has heard much, an expert in the heard, a storehouse of the heard; those things which, lovely at the beginning, lovely in the middle, and lovely at the ending, declare with the spirit, with the letter the Brahma-faring utterly fulfilled, wholly purified-things like this are much heard by him, learnt by heart, repeated out loud, pondered upon, considered carefully, well penetrated by vision; both the *Pāṭimokkhas* are properly handed down to him in detail, properly sectioned, properly regulated, properly investigated clause by clause as to the linguistic form; he comes to be clever in discipline, unperturbable; he comes to be competent in convincing both of those who are hostile about the matter, in wining them over, in making them consider, in understanding, in reconciling them; he comes to be skilled in settling a legal question that has arisen; he knows what is a legal question; he knows the uprising of a legal question; he knows the stopping of a legal question; he knows the course leading to the stopping of a legal question".[1]

In addition to these ten qualities the *Parivāra* (*Vin*.V. 197*f*.) also gives thirty others in six groups of five. But as four in the last two pentads are common, there are altogether twenty six in this collection.viz. a monk should not be selected if he is not skilled in meaning, in Dhamma, in language, in syllables, in what precedes and what follows. Further he should not be selected if he is angry, overcome by anger, if he is harsh, overcome by harshness, unmerciful, overcome by unmercifulness, envious, overcome by envy, infected by worldliness, grasping it tightly and not letting go of it easily.He also should not be selected if agitated, malevolent, offers resistance, causes anger, intractable and incapable of being instructed. He is also not fit to be selected if he is one who confues the mind and does not make remember, if he is a teacher who has not obtained leave, if he reproves not according to Dhamma, not according to discipline, not according to the offence; if he carries out not according to Dhamma, discipline or the offence and he is an expounder not in accordance with right view. Further one should not be selected if one follows a wrong course from partiality, hatred, confusion, or fear and if one is unconscientious and not skilled in *Vinaya*.On the other hand if these negative qualities are absent in him and he possesses the opposite positive qualities he may be agreed upon for a referendum (*Vin*.V.197*f*)[2]

If a legal question settled by means of a referendum (*ubbāhikāya*) is once again opened up by those who carry it out, it becomes an offence of expiation (*Pācittiya*) (*Vin*.II.95).

An historic occasion of the application of this *ubbāhikā* method is seen in the account of the Second Buddhist Council, held at Vesali, one hundred years after the Buddha (*ibid* 304 *ff*). When at this Council the

general assembly of monks, said to have been seven hundred Arahants, could not come to a settlement regarding the ten controversial points, they finally decided to hand it over to a committee to resolve it. Eight well-qualified elders, four each to represent the two regional grouping of the then Saṅgha, were selected by them to find a solution. These eight Elders, with a ninth as the provider of facilities, withdraw to the quietness of the Vālikārāma and, led by the two Elders Sabbakāmi and Revata, examined each coutroversial point in the light of the accepted rules of discipline and finally resolved the legal dispute. Nine of the ten points were totally rejected and only one was partially accepted. The final solution was then put to the full assembly and was unanimously accepted.

References

[1] *Book of the Discipline*, *PTS*, Vol.V. 128 *f*
[2] *ibid* Vol.VI.p.317

C.Witanachchi.

UDĀNA stands literally for "breathing out" and thus, in an applied sense, for an "in-spired saying" or a "solemn utterance". Such inspired utterances occur repeatedly in various discourses.[1] The term *udāna* also features in a listing of altogether nine *aṅgas* of early Buddhist texts (e.g. *M.* I, 133; see also AṄGA). According to the commentarial explanation, *udāna* here stands for the textual collection known as the *Udāna*, found as the third book in the fifth *Nikāya* of the Pāli canon (*MA.* II, 106; see also KHUDDAKA-NIKĀYA). It is with this textual collection that the present article is concerned.

The Pāli text of this textual collection has been edited by Steinthal,[2] and has been translated into the following European languages: into English by Strong, Woodward, Ire-land and Masefield;[3] into German by Seidenstücker and Schäfer;[4] into Italian by Filippani-Ronconi; and into Spanish by Dragonetti.[5] The commentary on the *Udāna* by Dhammapāla, which forms part of the *Paramatthadīpanī*, has been edited by Woodward and translated by Masefield.[6]

The Verses in the Pāli *Udāna* Collection

Each of the discourses contained in the *Udāna* collection contains a prose section that leads up to and provides the background to the actual *udāna*. This *udāna* is invariably introduced by the statement that the Blessed One, in relation to the significance of the particular event or occasion under discussion, "breathed forth" or gave expression to an inspired utterance, *imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi*. The commentator Dhammapāla explains that just as oil might overflow when a container is too small to hold its quantity, or as water may overflow a reservoir, so an *udāna* is the overflowing of joy in the heart (*UdA.* 2).

The *Udāna* collection comprises eight chapters, each of which contains ten discourses, thus amounting to altogether eighty discourses. This count differs from the description of the *Udāna* collection given by Buddhaghosa, according to whom the *Udāna* contains altogether eightytwo discourses, *soma-nassañāṇamayikagāthāpaṭisaṃyuttā dve-asīti suttantā 'udānan'ti veditabbā* (*MA.* II, 106). Not only does the count not fit the actual collection, but the *udānas* are also not all in verse, hence Buddhaghosa's qualification of the *udāna* discourses as being accompanied by *gāthās* would not be appropriate for all of them. A case in point are the first four *udānas* in the eighth chapter. These are not in verse, being more of the nature of doctrinal statements on the nature of *Nibbāna*. Notably, one of these *udānas* (8.3) recurs in the *Itivuttaka* as part of a prose introduction that is followed by a set of verses spoken by the Buddha (*It.* 37). While the verses have not been included in the *Udāna* collection at all, the corresponding prose statement on the nature of *Nibbāna* is treated as an *udāna* in its own right.

The first chapter of the *Udāna* collection, the *Bodhivagga*, starts off with three discourses that describe how the recently awakened Buddha contemplated dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*). By placing these verses at its beginning, the *Udāna* sets out with what, both chronologically and doctrinally, forms the very foundation of Buddhism. The theme of awakening recurs towards the conclusion of the same first chapter, whose last discourse reports how the non-Buddhist wanderer Bāhiya attained instantaneous full awakening after receiving an enigmatic instruction by the Buddha. This enigmatic instruction to some extent reminds one of the types of instruction given later in the Zen traditions. Other discourses in this chapter, however, do not bear any apparent relation to the chapter heading *bodhi*, such

as the tale of a *yakkha* who tried to frighten the Buddha (1.7). The chapter headings in the remainder of the *Udāna* collection also do not reflect the theme of the respective chapter, but are mostly taken from a particular discourse. This is often the first in the chapter,[7] while the title of the seventh chapter appears to be an expression of its comparatively small size, the *Cūla Vagga*.

Though the prose sections in the first chapter of the *Udāna* collection do not treat the same theme, the verses are closely related to each other, as they all refer to a "Brahmin". Not only does the word *brāhmaṇa* occur in each of the verses in the first chapter, but often verses of successive discourses are also related to each other by sharing other words in common. Apart from the case of the first three discourses, whose verses are nearly identical, the verses of the fourth and fifth discourse share a reference to *dhamma*, and the verses of the fifth and the sixth discourse have references to *khiṇa* in common. The verses of the sixth and seventh discourses refer to "not another", *anaññ a*, and to "one's own", *saka*, respectively. The verses of the ninth and tenth discourses share a reference to "water", (*udaka* and *āpo*). This indicates the existence of 'concatenation', a phenomena where a series of textual items to be memorized are arranged in such a manner that a word found in the preceding item also occurs in the following item, thereby facilitating recall in proper sequence.[8]

Such concatenation, however, would have its full effect only when the verses are memorized on their own, without the prose sections. Thus the existence of concatenation between the verses of the first chapter of the *Udāna* collection suggests that at an earlier point of time only the verses were in existence, to which the prose sections were added subsequently. This is, in fact, the position taken by most scholars, who comment that the verses in the *Udāna* probably belong to an earlier textual strata, whereas the prose would have been added later in the form of a commentary on the verses.[9] Here it is also noteworthy that the first chapter ends with the remark "this inspired utterance was also spoken by the Blessed One, so I heard", *ayam pi udāno vutto bhagavatā, iti me sutaṃ*, a remark not found elsewhere in the *Udāna* collection. This remark could be a remnant from a time when the *uddānas* still followed each other directly and were set apart from each other with the help of such a re-mark.[10]

In the second chapter, the *Mucalinda Vagga*, the connecting theme of the verses is "happiness", *sukha*, found in each verse except one (2.7). How this theme has influenced the structure of this chapter can be seen with the first discourse, which describes an occasion when the *nāga*-king Mucalinda protected the recently awakened Buddha from rain. In the *Vinaya*, this discourse follows right after the four discourses that in the *Udāna* collection stand at the beginning of the *Bodhi Vagga* (*Vin.* I, 3). Thus for the discourse on Mucalinda to be separated from this set and placed in a different chapter of the *Udāna* collection would be due to the fact that its verse does not refer to a *brāhmaṇa* and thus could not become part of the assembly of verses in the first chapter.

Several verses in the *Mucalinda Vagga* are also related by concatenation, as the first three verses share a reference to *kāma*, which unites otherwise quite different discourses that, in addition to the Mucalinda tale, depict a group of monks engaged in worldly talk and some youths maltreating a snake (2.2 and 2.3). Half of the verses of the fifth and sixth discourses are identical, whereas the respective stories differ considerably, the former being about a layman too busy to visit the Buddha and the latter about a wanderer who tries to get oil for his pregnant wife (2.5 and 2.6). The verses of the seventh and eighth discourses share a reference to *piyarūpa*. Here the respective stories are also related by content, both being on the theme of a son (2.7 and 2.8).

The theme that holds together the verses in the third chapter, the *Nanda Vagga*, is the *bhikkhu*. Here, too, verses belonging to rather different stories are related to each other by concatenation. Thus the verses to the second and third story share references to the *kāmakaṇṭaka* and have the same concluding line. The corresponding tales related differ, the former narrating how the Buddha promised his cousin Nanda heavenly nymphs in order to convince him to continue living the monastic life, while the latter reports how a group of noisy monks were sent away from the Buddha's presence (3.2 and 3.3; though a similar element in both cases is that Nanda as well as the noisy monks in the end become *arahants*). The verses of the third and fourth discourses are connected by *pabbata*, and the

fourth and fifth by *upaṭṭhita*. The seventh and eighth verses are nearly identical, and in this case the stories are also related, both taking up the topic of begging alms (3.7 and 3.8).

The verses in the fourth chapter, the *Meghiya Vagga*, all refer to the "mind", *citta/cetasa*. Here the second and third verses are related to each other by sharing *micchā*, though the respective stories have little in common, being about garrulous monks and about a cowherd killed right after having offered a meal to the Buddha (4.2 and 4.3). The third and fourth verses both refer to hatred or anger, *vera/kopa*. In the case of the ninth and tenth discourses the verses share a reference to *santacitta* and to *vikkhīṇo jātisaṃsāro*.

With the remaining chapters, a theme that holds together the verses is less apparent, though closer inspection suggests that in the case of the fifth chapter, the *Soṇa Vagga*, the connecting theme could be "evil", *pāpa*, which is found in several verses (5.3; 5.4; 5.6; 5.8). In the sixth chapter, the *Jaccandha Vagga*, several verses refer to "vision" or "views", *dassana/diṭṭhi* (6.4; 6.6; 6.8; 6.9; 6.10). The verses of the seventh chapter, the *Cūḷa Vagga*, relate in various ways to the theme water (7.1: *ogha*; 7.2: *saritā*; 7.3: *ogha*; 7.4: *maccha*; 7.5: *sota*; 7.9: *āpa*). Finally the theme that holds together almost all of the verses in the last chapter of the *Udāna* collection is *Nibbāna*, referred to in various ways (except for 8.7).

Thus the themes that hold together the verses in the *Udāna* collection appear to be *brāhmaṇa*, *sukha*, *bhikkhu*, *citta*, *pāpa*, *dassana*, *udaka* (and related terms), and *nibbāna*. These themes do in fact form distinct chapters in the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection, which contains a *Brāhmana Varga* (33); a *Sukha Varga* (30); a *Bhikṣu Varga* (32); a *Citta Varga* (31); a *Pāpa Varga* (28); a *Paśya Varga* (27); an *Udaka Varga* (17); and a *Nirvāṇa Varga* (26). Notably, the *Brāhmana Varga*, the *Sukha Varga*, the *Bhikṣu Varga* and the *Citta Varga* do indeed contain a considerable number of the parallels to the verses in the corresponding chapters of the Pāli *Udāna* collection.[11] Before, however, turning in more detail to *Udāna* collections preserved in other languages, the prose section of the Pāli *Udāna* collection needs to be examined.

In sum, while in the case of the first four chapters the relationship between the verses appears to be comparatively strong, as they nearly all share the same theme and are often interrelated by concatenation, in the case of the final four chapters the verses are less interrelated.

The Prose of the Pāli *Udāna* Collection

Conversely, while in the earlier chapters similar stories are often separated from each other, in the later chapters similar stories are treated together. Examples for similar stories that occur separately are the reports of how Kassapa goes begging (1.6 and 3.7); how monks chatter on trivial things (2.2 and 3.8);[12] how children harm an animal (2.3 and 5.4); how other recluses receive less gains than the Buddha and his monks (2.4; 4.8 and 6.10); and how Sāriputta sits in meditation (4.7 and 4.10).

In contrast, in the later chapters similar stories are often grouped together, thus three consecutive discourses in the sixth chapter have almost the same narration (6.4; 6.5 and 6.6), except that the first of these three delivers the famous simile of the blind men and the elephant and that the views mentioned in them differ. The first two discourses in the seventh chapter both report how the Buddha witnesses Sāriputta instructing Bhaddiya (7.1 and 7.2), and the third and fourth discourses depict the attachment to sensuality of the inhabitants of Sāvatthī in the same terms (7.3 and 7.4). The prose of the first four discourses of the eighth chapter is the same (8.1; 8.2; 8.3 and 8.4), and the narration of the last discourse in this chapter is but a repetition of the previous one (8.9 and 8.10).

Thus the relationship between the prose narrations of the earlier four chapters and the later four chapters appears to be the exact opposite to the relationship between the corresponding verses. That is, for the structure of the earlier chapters of the *Udāna* collection the verses seem to have played a prominent role, whereas in regard to the later chapters of the same collection the prose narrations appear to have exerted a stronger influence.

The themes broached in the prose narrations in the *Udāna* collection reflect what form the early Buddhists considered as inspiring enough to be the occasion for an inspired utterance, an *udāna*. Notably here the most prominent event is when someone is seated in

meditation. Altogether twelve occurrences of monks seated in meditation and another seven instances of the Buddha seated in meditation are the background to *udānas*, accounting for nearly one quarter of the inspiring instances recorded in the entire *Udāna* collection. This impressive percentage documents the importance of sitting meditation practice in early Buddhism.[12]

Other themes treated regularly are apparently inspiring because they provide a contrast rather than an example to be emulated. One such theme is wrong behaviour by monks. Several discourses depict monks engaging in unsuitable types of conversation (2.2; 3.8; 3.9); being chatty (4.2); noisy (3.3); or employing offen-sive language (3.6). Other instances of inappropriate behaviour are when Nanda wants to disrobe (3.2); when the monks Meghiya and Nāgasamāla, though being the Buddha's attendants, leave against the Buddha's will (4.1 and 8.7); when the presence of an immoral monk stops the Buddha from reciting the *pātimokkha* on the observance day (5.5); and when Devadatta announces his schismatic intentions to Ānanda (5.8).

A theme of nearly similar frequency is related to outside wanderers and ascetics. Their tendency to dispute is mentioned repeatedly (6.4; 6.5; 6.6), as well as their jealousy of the success of the Buddhist order (2.4 and 4.8), which in one instance even motivated them to kill the female wanderer Sundarī and hide her corpse in Jeta's grove in order to defame the Buddhist monks. Other discourses depict their fruitless ascetic practices (1.9) or show them from their ridiculous side, such as when a wanderer gets into trouble when trying to get oil for his pregnant female companion (2.6), or when a whole group of them turn out to be spies employed by the king (6.2).

Other themes are the various problems to be encountered predominantly in lay life, which in-volve the pains of pregnancy (2.8), or being subject to the king's decision (2.9). Lay people appear to be so encumbered by worldly affairs that they cannot even find the time to visit the Buddha (2.5), to say nothing of making up their mind to go forth (5.6). Instead, laypeople appear to be often under the influence of sensual lust (7.3 and 7.4), so much so that a group of people even come to blows over a courtesan, in-flicting injury and death on each other (6.8). Violence among laity also manifests when a cowherd is killed after listening to a discourse by the Buddha (4.3), or when Queen Sāmāvatī and her five hundred companions are killed in a fire which, according to the commentary, was the work of another jealous queen (7.10 and *UdA* 383). Thus while even as a king one has to be constantly surrounded by bodyguards in order to avoid becoming the victim of violence, once the same person becomes a monk he can live free and at ease (2.10). This particular story could be pointing to the theme that underlies this particular set of prose stories, in that the depiction of the disadvantages of lay life and society serve as an inspiration for living a monastic life.

Another source of inspiration are events from the Buddha's life, such as when he gave up his life force (6.1); when he took his last meal (8.5); or the fact that his mother died soon after giving birth (5.2). A related source of inspiration are the Buddha's miraculous abilities, such as when a well or a river become clean of their own accord for the Buddha to drink from them (7.9 and 8.5), or when the Buddha crosses a river by supernormal means (8.6). Inspiring backgrounds for *udānas* are also his teachings on the final goal (8.1; 8.2; 8.3; 8.4), and their potential to lead to the instant awakening of an outsider (1.10).

In sum, then, the topics that are particularly prominent in the narrations of the *Udāna* collection are meditation practice undertaken by monks or the Buddha; misbehaviour of monks and the foolishness of outside wanderers; the predicaments of lay life, the life and power of the Buddha; and the final goal of liberation. This choice of topics suggests that the *Udāna* collection would have had a more restricted purpose than the *Dhammapada*, which broaches a wider range of topics of a more general interest. The focus in the *Udāna* collection, in contrast, appears to be predominantly on what would inspire the monastic disciple. For this reason basic teachings on morality, such as found repeatedly in the *Dhammapada*, are not prominent in the *Udāna* collection. Due to its emphasis on the theme of inspiration, doctrinal themes are also not treated in the same detail as elsewhere in the *Nikāyas*, except for the final goal, since in as much as the nature of *Nibbāna* is concerned, the *Udāna* collection stands out for the depth with which it treats this subject. This is not surprising, in view of the fact that to arouse inspiration for the final goal would be a

central purpose of the material assembled in the *Udāna* collection.

Several of the narrations preserved in the *Udāna* collection seem to draw on ancient material, in fact some of the tales recur elsewhere in the four *Nikāyas*.[14] A considerable number of parallels to *Udāna* narrations are found in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* and in the *Vinaya*.[15] A comparison of such parallels indicates that at times the *Udāna* narrations could be the earlier version.

This is, for example, the case for the first three discourses in the *Udāna* collection (1.1-3), which describe how the recently awakened Buddha contemplated dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*. This set of three discourses is found similarly at the beginning of the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya* (*Vin*. I, 1-3). The respective narrations differ in so far as according to the *Udāna* collection the Buddha contemplated dependent arising in forward order during the first watch of the night, in backward order during the middle of the night, and in both directions during the last watch of the night. In contrast in the *Vinaya* account, he contemplated in both directions during each of the three watches of the night. The verses that accompany these three discourses in the *Udāna* collection and in the *Vinaya*, however, fit the *Udāna* account, as the first verse refers to the forward order, *yato pajānāti sahetudhammaṃ*, while the second verse refers to the backward order, *yato khayaṃ paccayānaṃ avedi*.[16]

Another case where the *Udāna* narration seems to be the earlier version can be seen in the account of the Buddha's last meal taken at Cunda's place, which is found in the *Udāna* collection as well as in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (8.5 and *D*. II, 126). The two narrations differ in so far as the *Mahā-pari-nibbāna Sutta* also records the episode with Pukkusa, who is converted after hearing how the Buddha once sat in such deep meditation that he did not even hear a great storm that killed several people (*D*. II, 131). Here the *Udāna* account, which does not record this episode, could well be the comparatively earlier version.[17]

Other narrations found in the *Udāna* collection, however, appear to show signs of lateness. One such sign appear to be magical events that in this form are not attested to elsewhere in the early discourses. Though it is standard in the four *Nikāyas* that the Buddha or monks endowed with meditative proficiency are able to transfer themselves to a heavenly world, the *Udāna* collection seems to be the only instance where the Bud-dha transports someone else to a heavenly world (3.2). Another unique instance is the selfcremation of the monk Dabba Mallaputta through attaining the fire element (8.9 and 8.10). Though tradition holds that the monk Bakkula passed away in the same manner, this is not reported in the *Bakkula Sutta* itself, but only in its commentary (*M*. III, 128 and *MA*. IV, 196).

Another possible sign of lateness is the reference to the craft of writing, *lekhā*, (3.9), a craft that otherwise appears to be mentioned only in the *Vinaya* (*Vin*. IV, 7). Another instance could be the streamentry of Suppabuddha. The attainment of streamentry during a discourse given by the Buddha is elsewhere often preceded by a gradual talk given by the Buddha. The account of the streamentry of Suppabuddha is unique in so far as it depicts that the Buddha, before giving the gradual talk, surveyed the assembly in order to discern if anyone present was capable of understanding the *Dhamma* (5.3). Such surveying of the audience is usually described only in the commentaries.

Though these are merely nuances suggestive of the presence of later elements in the prose sections, at times the background narrations in the *Udāna* collection do not really fit the corresponding verses, which further supports the impression that the prose could have been added to the verses at a later time. A case in point is the background narration to the following verse (7.9):

Kiṃ kayirā udapānena,
āpā ce sabbadā siyuṃ?
Taṇhāya mūlato chetvā,
kissa pariyesanaṃ care?

"What is the use of a well,
If water is there all the time?
Having cut craving at its root,
What would one go about searching for?"

The background narration to this verse then reports an occasion when Brahmins of a particular village blocked a well with chaff in order to prevent the

Buddhist monks from drinking. When the Buddha requested Ānanda to fetch some water from this well, the well by itself threw up all chaff and became filled with clean water up to the brim. As Pande remarks, "the author of the prose ... seems to have grossly misunderstood the final verse, which intends 'water' in no more than a merely figurative sense".[18] The counter-part to this discourse in the Chinese *Udāna* collection does in fact not mention the above event at all and instead accompanies its version of this verse with an interpretation of the well imagery (*T.* IV, 707c20).[19]

Another relevant case is the report of how a group of ascetics turn out to be spies employed by the king (6.2). The same story recurs in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, where it is, however, followed by verses that are entirely different from the *udāna* related to this tale in the *Udāna* collection (*S.* I, 79). The same is the case for an *udāna* that the Buddha is said to have made when seeing the monk Lakuṇ-ṭa-bhaddiya (7.5), which differs considerably from the two verses that according to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* were spoken by the Buddha on what appears to be the same occasion (*S.* II, 279). These cases indicate that the relationship between verse and prose in the *Udāna* collection is probably not always an original one.

In sum, the prose of the *Udāna* collection could be similar in kind to the narrative material provided in the *Vinaya*. In both cases an early text, the *udāna* verses or the *pātimokkha*, is imbedded in a later narration of a more commentarial nature that, however, has also incorporated early material.

The Sanskrit *Udāna* Collection.

The Sanskrit counterpart to the Pāli *Udāna* collection is generally referred to as the *Udānavarga*, though the proper title of this work seems to just be *Udāna*.[20] The Sanskrit *Udāna* collection appears to have developed from a similar starting point as the Pāli collection, to which subsequently a number of other verses that have their counterpart mainly in the *Dhammapada/Dharmapada* collections were added.[21] Tradition attributes this compilation to Dharmatrāta. As a result of this process of expansion, the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection now consists of altogether thirty three chapters that contain over a thousand verses. Unlike the Pāli *Udāna* collection, the verses in the Sanskrit collection are not introduced by prose. This further supports the suggestion made above that the Pāli *Udāna* collection may have originally been a mere verse collection, to which prose was added only at a subsequent stage.

For the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection to incorporate a considerable number of verses that are otherwise found in *Dhammapada/Dharmapada* collections is not surprising in view of the related nature of the verses collected under these two headings. In fact, the Pāli commentator Dhammapāla explains that, in addition to being assembled in the *Udāna* collection, *udānas* spoken by the Buddha were also collected by the reciting elders in the *Dhammapada* (*UdA.* 3). This indicates that from the perspective of later traditions the dividing line between these two collections was not a clearcut one. The same can also be seen in the fact that several works preserved in Chinese refer to the *Udāna* collection as a *Dharmapada*.[22]

Thus from an original nucleus of *udānas* two lines of development can be discerned, one of which leads to the *Udāna* now preserved in Pāli by adding a prose commentary to the *udānas*, while the other incorporated *udānas* from the *Dhammapada/ Dharmapada* collections, resulting in the *Udāna* collection preserved in Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit *Udāna* collection has been edited by Bernhard based on fragments found in Central Asia,[23] and has been translated into German by Hahn.[24] In a detailed study of this edition, Schmit-hausen has been able to show that the manuscripts belong to two different versions or 'recensions' of the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection.[25] The first of these two corresponds to the version that is quoted in the *Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa Sūtra*. The second corresponds to the version that is quoted in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, in the (*Mūla-*)*Sarvāstivāda Prāti-mokṣa Sūtra* and *Vinaya*, and in the *Divyāvadāna*.

***Udāna* Collections in Other Languages.**

The second version also corresponds to the *Udāna* collection preserved in Tibetan, translated by Vidyaprabhākara probably in the ninth century. The Tibetan *Udāna* collection has been edited by Beckh and Zongtse,[26] and trans-lated into English by Iyer, Rockhill and Sparham.[27] A commentary on the *Udāna*

collection has also been preserved in Tibetan, the *Udānavargavivaraṇa* by Prajñāvarman. This commentary, which has been edited by Balk,[28] offers background narrations and explanations of the verses in the *Udāna* collection. Both works were also translated into Mongolian as part of the translation of the Tibetan canon undertaken in the seventeenth century.

A similar collection of *udānas* has also been translated into Chinese by Zhu Fo-nian in the fourth century under the title Chu-yao jing, the *Udāna Sūtra*, Taishō no. 212, *T.* IV, 609b-776a). Similar to the Pāli *Udāna* collection, this Chinese version introduces its verses with prose narration. Another Chinese *Udāna* translation was undertaken towards the close of the tenth century by Tian-xi-zai under the title Fa-ji-yao-song jing, (Taishō no. 213, *T.* IV, 777a-799b).[29] Similar to the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Udāna* collections, this later translation contains no prose introduction, having only verses. This Chinese *Udāna* collection has been translated into English by Willemen.[30]

In addition to these two *Udāna* translations, the Chinese canon has also preserved two *Dharmapada* translations (See also DHAMMAPADA).[31] Due to the close relationship and considerable overlap between the non-Pāli *Udāna* collections and the *Dharmapada* collections,[32] these two translations need to also be briefly mentioned. The first of these two translations was already undertaken during the early parts of the third century by Zhu Jiang-yan under the title Fa-ju jing, *Dharmapada Sūtra* , (Taishō no. 210, *T.* IV, 559a-575b). Similar to the Pāli *Dhammapada* collection, as well as to the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* and the Patna *Dharmapada*,[33] this Chinese *Dharmapada* collection is entirely in verse. The nucleus of this work are twenty-six chapters that appear to be very close to the Pāli *Dhammapada* collection, to which at a later point another thirteen chapters were added. According to Willemen, these additional thirteen chapters with considerable probability derive from the *Udāna* collection,[34] which further reinforces the impression of the close relationship between *Dharmapada* and *Udāna* material. The more original twenty-six chapters of this Chinese collection have been translated into English by Dhammajoti.[35]

The second *Dharmapada* translation was undertaken towards the turn of the third to the fourth century by Fa-ju and Fa-li under the title Fa-ju-pi-yu jing, (*Dharmapada Avadāna Sūtra*, Taishō no. 211, *T.* IV, 575b-609b). This work combines a selection of verses from the *Dharmapada Sūtra* with prose narrations. An English translation of this *Dharmapada* collection has been undertaken by Willemen.[36]

In the final count, then, the Chinese canon has preserved two main works, an *Udāna* collection and a *Dharmapada* collection, and in each case there is one translation of the respective collection that contains only the verses, and another translation where the verses are embedded in a prose commentary.

Several verses of the *Udāna* collection have, moreover, been preserved in Tocharian and in Uighur.[37] In addition, parts of a commentary on the *Udāna*, the *Udānālaṃkāra* by Dharmasoma, have also been found among Tocharian fragments.[38]

The broad range of versions of the *Udāna* collections preserved in different languages testifies to the degree to which the 'inspired utterances' did serve their function as an inspiration for successive Buddhist generations, so much so that the basic set of verses was expanded in various ways, either by incorporating other verses or by imbedding the *udānas* in a prose commentary. In this sense, then, the *Udāna* collections contain indeed 'inspired' as well as 'inspiring' utterances, able to succinctly convey key aspects of the teaching in a poetic and thereby easily remembered manner.

Anālayo

References

1. *Udānas* spoken by the Buddha occur at *D.* II, 89 (= *Ud.* 90); *D.* II, 107 (= *Ud.* 64); *D.* II, 136 (= *Ud.* 85); *M.* I, 508; *S.* III, 55; *S.* V, 262 (= *Ud.* 64); *S.* V, 424; *A.* IV, 311(=*Ud.* 64). *Udānas* spoken by gods occur at *D.* II, 288; *D.* III, 218; *S.* I, 20-21; *S.* I, 27-28; *A.* III, 202; *udānas* by kings at *D.* I, 47; *D.* I, 50; *D.* I, 92; *D.* II, 186; *M.* II, 112; *S.* I, 82; by Brahmins at *M.* I, 177; *M.* II, 140; *M.* II, 209; *S.* I, 160; *A.* I, 67; *A.* III, 238; by

a warrior at *A.* III, 76; by a monk at *M.* II, 104; and by a wanderer at *M.* II, 40 (only listing instances that are explic-itly identified as *udānas*).

2. Steinthal: *Udāna*, London 1885.
3. Strong: *The Udāna or the solemn utterances of the* Buddha, London 1902; Woodward: *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon Part II*, London 1935; Ireland: *The Udāna, In-spired Utterances of the Buddha*, Kandy: 1990; Masefield: *The Udāna*, London: 1994.
4. Seidenstücker: *Udāna, Das Buch der feierlichen Wörter des Erhabenen*, Augsburg 1920; Schäfer: *Verse zum Aufatmen, die Sammlung Udāna*, Stammbach 2004.
5. Filippani-Ronconi: *Canone Buddhista I, Discorsi brevi*, Torino 1968: 149-254; Dragon-etti: *Udāna, La Palabra del Buda*, Buenos Aires 2002.
6. Woodword: *Paramattha-Dīpanī Udānaṭṭhakathā*, Oxford 1926; Masefield: *The Udāna Com-mentary*, Oxford 1994/1995 (2 vols.).
7. Variations from this pattern are the title of the *Nanda Vagga* (III), which is taken from its second discourse; the title of the *Sona Vagga* (V), taken from its sixth discourse; and the ti-tle of the *Jaccandha Vagga* (VI), taken from its fourth discourse.
8. For an example of concatenation in *pātimokkha* rules see von Hinüber: *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Delhi 1997: 12.
9. Abeynayake: *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikya*, Colombo 1984: 66; Ānandajoti: Udāna, *Exalted Utterances*, 2006: 10 (www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net); Ireland op. cit. 1990: 7; Nakamura: *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi 1999: 43; Norman: *Pāli Lit-erature*, Wiesbaden 1983: 61; Pande: *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allaha-bad 1957: 72; Seidenstücker: *Über das Udāna*, Leipzig 1913: 87; von Hinüber op. cit. 1997: 46; Win-ternitz: *Ge-schichte der Indischen Literatur*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1968: 67; Woodward op. cit. 1935: V.
10. Seidenstücker op. cit. 1920: XVI.
11. The *Brāhmana Varga* has counterparts to the Pāli *Udāna* verses 1.1; 1.2; 1.3; 1.4; 1.5; 1.6; 1.7; 1.8; and 1.9. The *Sukha Varga* to 2.1; 2.2; 2.3; 2.4; 2.5; 2.6; 2.9; and 2.10. The *Bhikṣuvarga* to 3.1; 3.2; 3.3; 3.4; 3.7; 3.8; 3.9; and 3.10. The *Citta Varga* to 4.1; 4.2; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5; and 4.6. The *Pāpa Varga*, however, has only three counterparts, namely to to 5.3; 5.6; and 5.8; the *Paśya Varga* has only two counterparts, 6.6 and 6.8; and the *Udaka Varga* has only a single counterpart to 7.9. This is in fact the only verse in the seventh chapter of the Pāli *Udāna* collection that employs the word water (though as *āpa* instead of *udaka*), while other verses in the same chapter only mention related terms such as *ogha, saritā, mac-cha, sota*. The *Nirvāṇa Varga* then has counterparts to 8.1; 8.2; 8.3; 8.4;and 8.9.
12. 3.8 is, however, followed by another discourse on the same theme, 3.9.
13. A monk seated in meditation is described in 3.1; 3.4; 3.5; 4.4; 4.6; 4.7; 4.10, 5.7; 5.10; 6.7; 7.6; and 7.8. The Buddha seated in meditation is described in 1.1; 1.2; 1.3; 1.4; 2.1; 6.3; and 7.7.
14. The narration of *Udāna* discourse 4.1 recurs at *A.* IV, 354; 5.1 at *S.* I, 75; 5.5 at *A.* IV, 204; 6.1 at *S.* V, 259 and *A.* IV, 308; 6.2 at *S.* I, 77; and 7.5 at *S.* II, 279 (slightly different).
15. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* parallels are the narration of *Udāna* discourse 6.1, which recurs at *D.* II, 102; 8.5 at *D.* II, 126; and 8.6 at *D.* II, 84. The narration of *Udāna* discourse 1.1-4 re-curs at *Vin.* I, 1-3; 2.1 at *Vin.* I, 3; 2.10 at *Vin.* II, 183; 4.5 at *Vin.* I, 352; 5.5 at *Vin.* II, 236; 5.6 at *Vin.* I, 194; 5.8 at *Vin.* II, 198; and 8.6 at *Vin.* I, 226. The relationship between the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*and the *Vinaya* is probably best understood in the light of the sug-gestion by Frauwallner: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome 1956: 42, who suggests that the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* may have originally been part of a continu-ous account of the history of the *Saṅgha*, whose other parts are still found in the *Vinaya*.
16. Seidenstücker op. cit. 1913: 64.
17. Seidenstücker op. cit. 1913: 68.
18. Pande op. cit. 1957: 75.
19. The verse also occurs in Divy 56 in relation to the Buddha's crossing of the river Ganges.
20. Bernhard: "Zum Titel des sogenannten 'Udānavarga'", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen-ländischen Gesellschaft*, 1969: 872-881; see also the discussion in Willemen: *The Chinese Udnavarga*, Bruxelles 1978: XXV and Dhammajoti: *The Chinese Version of Dharmapada*, Colombo 1995: 39.

21. Hinüber op. cit. 1997: 45 explains that "the Udānavarga originally was a text corresponding to the Pāli Udāna. By adding verses from the Dhp. it was transformed into a Dhp. parallel in course of time". Bernhard op. cit. 1969: 881 notes that while all the eighty verses of the Pāli *Udāna* collection are found in the Sanskrit collection, the same collection does not have counter-parts to about 8 % of the verses in the Pāli *Dhammapada*, moreover of verses that are missing in some of the recensions of the Sanskrit *Udāna*collection, over 72 % have a parallel in the Pāli *Dhammapada*, while none has a parallel in the Pāli *Udāna* collection. This indicates that the nucleus of the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection corresponds to the Pāli *Udāna* collection, to which subsequently other verses were added; cf. also Nakatani: "Remarques sur la transmission des Dharmapadas", in *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes*, vol. 2, 1984: 139.
22. For references see Dhammajoti: op. cit. 1995: 18 and Willemen: op. cit. 1978: XXII-XXIII.
23. Bernhard: *Udānavarga*, vol. 1, Göttingen 1965. The first publication of *Udāna* fragment material was by Pischel: "Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dhammapada", *Sitzungsbericht der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 39, 1908: 968-985; followed by de la Vallée Poussin: "Documents sanscrits de la seconde collection M. Stein, Fragments de l'Udānavarga de Dharmatrāta", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912: 355-377. In the same year a detailed study of the thirty-third chapter was published by Lévi: "Documents de l'Asie centrale (Mission Pelliot). L'Apramādavarga", *Journal Asiatique* 1912: 203-294. An edition of the fragments of the Pelliot mission together with a translation was then under-taken by Chakravarti: *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit*, Paris 1930; followed by publications by Pauly: "Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie (Mission Pelliot)", *Journal Asiatique* 1960: 213-258, 1961: 333-410. A recent publication is Nakatani: *Udānavarga de Subasi*, Paris 1987. Several relevant fragments have also been published subsequent to Bernhard's edition in the series *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Wiesbaden, see esp. VI (1989): 1274, 1293, 1470; VII (1995): 1680, 1715, 1786, 1795; VIII (2000): 1993; IX (2004): 2007, 2039, 2046, 2074R, 2077, 2078, 2079V, 2116, 2129, 2198, 2328c+d, 2483, 2484, 2489, 2496, 2499, 2500, 2505, 2510, 2528, 2547a+b, 2548, 2559, 2561, 2563, 2564, 2574, 2599, 2612, 2642, 2652, 2655, 2675, 2701, 2791, 2796, 2842, 2849, 2851, 2855, 2859, 2863, 2873, 2963 and 3013.
24. Hahn: *Vom rechten Leben, Buddhistische Lehren aus Indien und Tibet*, Frankfurt 2007 (in print).
25. Schmithausen: "Zu den Rezensionen des Udānavargah", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, vol. 14, 1970: 47-124.
26. Beckh: *Udānavarga*, Berlin 1911; Zongtse: *Udānavarga*, Göttingen 1990.
27. Iyer: *The Dhammapada with the Udānavarga*, New York 1986: 231-388; Rockhill: *Udāna---varga*, London 1883; Sparham: *The Tibetan Dharmapada*, Delhi 1983 (the title could be misleading, as the translation is of the *Udānavarga*, there being no *Dharmapada* in the Tibetan canon).
28. Balk: *Prajñāvarman's Udānavargavivaraṇa*, Bonn 1984. This edition was the basis for a detailed study of several *udānas* in Balk: *Untersuchungen zum Udānavarga*, Bonn 1988.
29. Nanjio: *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Delhi 1989: 318 reconstructs the title of this work as **Dharmasaṅgraha-mahārthagāthā-sūtra*; Willemen op. cit. 1978: XVII as **Udānavarga* [*Sūtra*], while according to Dhammajoti op. cit. 1995: 39 the title is simply a free rendering of * *Udāna* [*Sūtra*].
30. Willemen op. cit. 1978.
31. In addition to these two, another apparently apocryphal **Dharmapada Sūtra* has been preserved in Chinese (*T.* LXXXV, 1432b), together with its commentary (*T.* LXXXV, 1435c).
32. A concordance of the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection with the altogether four extant Chinese *Udāna*/*Dharmapada* translation and with the Pāli *Dhammapada* has been compiled by Wille---men: *Dharmapada, a Concordance to Udānavarga, Dhammapada and the Chinese Dharmapada Literature*, Bruxelles 1974. An early concordance of the Sanskrit *Udāna* with Pāli texts was published by de la Vallée Poussin: "Essai d'Identification des Gāthas et des Udānas en Prose de l'Udānavarga de Dharmatrāta", *Journal Asiatique*, 1912: 311-330. A survey of

the structure of the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan *Udāna* collection has been undertaken by Mukherjee: "The Dhammapada and the Udānavarga", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 11, 1939: 741-760 (esp. 750-751). A comprehensive concordance of the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection with other relevant Indic texts can be found in Bernhard: *Udānavarga*, vol. 2, Göttingen, 1968: 217-280.

33. Brough: *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London: 1962; Cone: "Patna Dharmapada", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, vol. 13, 1989: 101-217, or else Roth: "Text of the Patna Dharmpada", *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980: 93-135.
34. Willemen: "The Prefaces to the Chinese Dharmapadas", *T'oung Pao*, vol. 59, 1973: 210.
35. Dhammajoti op. cit. 1995.
36. Willemen: *The Scriptural Text: Verses of the Doctrine, with Parables*, Berkeley 1999.
37. Lévi: *Fragments de Textes Koutchéens*, Paris 1933: 41-56; Sieg: "Udānavarga-Ueber-setzun-gen in 'Kucischer Sprache'", *Bulletin of the School of Ori-ental Studies*, vol. 6, 1931: 483-499; Thomas: *Bilinguale Udānavarga-Texte der Sammlung Hoernle*, Wiesbaden 1971; Thomas: "Nachtrag zur Sanskrit-Udānavarga-Ausgabe", *Zeit-schrift für vergleichende Sprach--for-schung*, vol. 93, 1979: 242-246.
38. Gabain: *Türkische Turfan Texte VIII*, Berlin, 1954: 23-24 and 38-44.
39. Lévi op. cit. 1933: 72-77; Sieg: "Bruchstück eines Udānavarga-Kommentars (Udānālaṃ-kāra?) im Tocharischen", *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz*, Leipzig 1933: 167-173; Sieg: *To-charische Sprachreste, Sprache B, Die Udānālaṅkāra-Fragmente*, Göttingen 1949.

UDĀNAṬṬHAKATHĀ **See PARAMATTHA-DĪPANĪ**

UDĀNAVARGA. *Udānavarga* known also sometimes simply as *Udāna*, it is the Sarvāstivāda version of the *Dharmapada* (s.v *Dhammapada*). Commenting on the name, John Brough[1] states; " In its design and contents, the work is in every respect a *Dharmapada*, and we can hardly determine whether the title of *Udāna* is here the result of a genuine confusion between the two *Kṣudraka* titles in the school in question, or whether it was adopted of set intention, merely by way of rivalry with other sects". He continues to add that there is no reason to doubt that the text was the canonical (or paracanonical) text of the Sarvāstivādins and may well have been recognized so by various sub-sects into which the school was divided.

However some other scholars seem to indicate that the title *Udāna* is the older of the two names later changed to *Dharmapada* for some reason. The *Mahāprajñā Pāramitā Śāstra* has given three explanations to the term *Udāna*. Bhikkhu Dhammajoti[2] sums up these as follows.i .A spontaneous utterance by the Buddha, ii. a spiritually inspired exclamation and, iii. the poetical compilation of the Sarvāstivāda school in particular and any such compilation of 'wonderful things' in general. To go into little more detail regarding the relevant number, iii .Here, Nāgārjuna states, that after the Buddha's Nirvāna, disciples compiled the important stanzas. They put together, for instance, all stanzas on impermanence and made up the *Anityavarga*, and so on up to all the stanzas on the *brāhmaṇa* put together as the *Brāhmanavarga*.This compilation is called the *Udāna*.In addition all compilations on wonderful things is also called *Udāna*. Commenting further on this, Bhikkhu Dhammajoti sees in this a possible indication of the word *udāna* becoming a general appellation of all poetic compilations with a 'dharmic significance' in the northern tradition, though it refers in particular to the Sarvastivāda version of the *Dharmapada*.It is significant that in one of the Chinese translations of the *Udānavarga*, the word *udāna*, in the introductory stanza, is rendered as 'dharma-stanza?. Following an idea expressed by Yin Shun of the possibility of other *Vibhajyavāda* schools also using the appellation *Udāna*, Dhammajoti thinks that, in the development of the text, schools other than Sarvāstivāda changed the title to *Dharmapada* to correspond directly to the stanzas already recognized as *dharmapadāni*. It is also significant that in Yin Shun's opinion it is due to a later editorial effort that the Pāli *Khuddaka Nikāya* came to contain the *Dhammapada* in addition to the ' Spontaneous Utterances'— *Udāna*,divided into eight chapters and appended with introductory episodes. He concludes " It is inappropriate to take the Spontaneous Utterances of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* as the *Udāna* of

the *navāṅga*. '*Udāna*' is a compilation of spiritually inspired exclamations, the primitive form of *Dharmapada*.It is on account of its being most widely propagated and an early poetical compilation that all such poetic compilations came to be customarily regarded as *Udāna*". Thus this writer seems to think that the designation *Udāna* is older than the designation *Dharmapada (Dhammapada)*.

Dharmatrāta and theUdānavarga.

Sarvāstivādins attribute[1] the compilation of the *Udānavarga* to the Dārṣṭāntika master Dharmatrāta, one of the four great *ācāryas* of the Sarvāstivāda school.Thus the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* states that the Sthavira Dharmatrāta grouped (under different headings) *Udānas* found in various sūtras. In a preface to one of the Chinese translations of the *udānavarga*, the *Chu Yau Jing*[4], it is stated that the work was authored by Vasumitra's maternal uncle, bodhisattva Dharmatrāta. He adds that Dharmatrāta compiled one thousand verses and established thirty three chapters, called Dharmapada and transcribed the *Udāna* connecting them together to form a commentary called *Udāna*. Dhammajoti, however, comments that no other extant source confirms this assertion that the stanza portions of this Sarvāstivāda version, without the commentary, was called a *Dharmapada*. Yet when stanzas from this version were quoted by other schools, they are mentioned as being from the *Dharmapada*.In the view of Prof Brongh[5], however, Dharmatrāta was possibly the editor and the commentator of the anthology. He also credits him with the more responsible task of the fixing in definite form a *Kṣudraka* text on behalf of his own school which thenceforth was to recognize this work as its authoritative *Udāna* in contrast to the *Udānas* and *Dharmapadas* of other schools. Prof.Brough[6] also views that the three works, the Pāli *Dhammapada*, the *Udānavarga* and the *Gandhārī Dharmapada* originated fron a common stock of verses inherited from the period prior to the division of the Saṅgha into separate schools. But none of them, according to him, can be placed above the other two as the primitive *Dharmapada*.

The complete text of the Udānavarga is found in Chinese and Tibetan translations. But less than two-thirds of the text in Sanskrit has been recovered from Central Asian manuscripts[7]. An indication of the date of the Indian original of the Chinese *Udānavarga*, the *Chu Yau Jing* can be had from the names of some Buddhist masters mentioned in it. For instance the famous Buddhist poet Aśvaghosa is mentioned several times, especially in the *Anityavarga*.He belonged to the 1st century A.C. Among others mentioned are Saṅgharakṣa (1st century A.C) and Dharmanandi, a respected master of the *Mahā Vibhāṣā Śāstra*. Two masters of a slightly later date are Dharmaśri, author of the *Abhidharmahṛdaya* (middle of the 2nd century A.C) and Kumāralāta (around the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.C.).This naturally brings up the problem of the date of Dharmatrata, to whom the compilation of the text is attributed.One has to either assign him to a date as late as the latter past of the 3rd century A.C. or assume that the extant text has been revised with additions by later hands[8].

The title *Chu Yau* of this Chinese translation means literally ' the coming forth of sunlight'. That it renders *Udāna* is shown by the use of the same term in this work itself for the sixth *aṅga* of the *dvādaśāṅga*, the twelve elements, according to the northern Buddhist tradition, included in the Buddhist scriptures: " Sixth, ' *Chu Yau* '.This refers to (the text) beginning with *anitya* (*varga)* and ending with (*brāhmaṇavarga)*.It gathers the essential treasures of the *sūtras*, expounds and publicizes them in order to admonish the future (beings); hence its name '*Chu Yau*'. Dhammajoti suggests that the writer interprets *Udāna* (*ud+nan*) as 'coming forth of sunlight' symbolizing the fact that the essence of the Buddha's teachings so collected and preserved in the text will serve to instruct or admonish all those to come. If so, says Dhammajoti, the translation is not literal but interpretative. Mizuno suggests that the translator has here derived the word from *u+ṇdī* 'to shine forth'.

The second Chinese translation of the work is titled *Fa Ji Yau Sung Jing*, which, according to some scholars, is a rendering of the title *Udānavarga*. But Dhammajoti[9] who does not exclude the co-existence of the two titles *Udāna* and Udānavarga', thinks that the Chinese title is only a free rendering of the name *Udāna*. In the introductory stanza itself we find, corresponding to the Sanskrit *udānaṃ jinabhāsitaṃ*, 'The Fa sung (Dharma stanzas) spoken by the Buddha". It is therefore a free rendering of the name *Udāna* but actually a literal rendering of '*dharmapada*'.There is no word for *varga* in this

title[10]. This work consists of 920 stanzas divided into thirty-three chapters. The translator seems to have consulted the two earlier translations,viz. that of the *Dharmapada*,and the *Udānavarga (Chu Yau Jing)*.It is possible he has also consulted an Indian manuscript as well, which, according to Willemen, seems to be similar to the manuscript of the Tibetan *Udānavarga* and likewise belonging to the Mūlasarvastivāda.

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References

1. The *Gandhārī Dharmapada*, London Oriental Series, Volume 7,Oxford University press,London, 1962, p.40 *f*
2. Dhammajoti, Bhikkhu Kuala Lumpur, *The Chinese version of Dharmapada*, Postgraduate institute of Pāli and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, 1995, p 17 *f*.
3. *ibid*.18 *f yathāsthavira-dharmatrātenaudāna' anityābata saṃskāraity eramādikā vineyavaśāt tatra tatra uktā vargikṛtāḥ....*
4. *ibid* 17
5. *ibid* p.40
6. *ibid*.p.27
7. *ibid*.34 *f*
8. *Bhikkhu Dhammajoti ibid* p.31
9. *ibid*.*p*.39 *f*
10. Did the second component *varga* in the name *Udānavarga* originate from the idea of 'grouping' of stanzas (*vargikaraṇa*) in the compilation as indicated by Nagārjuna?

UDDAKARĀMAPUTTA. Uddaka, the son of Rāma (Bdst. Skt. Udraka Rāmaputtra and, at times, Rudraka Rāmaputra) was the second teacher, before his realization of Buddhahood, of the Sakyan Recluse, Siddhattha Gotama. Pāli sources do not carry much information about his personal life, religious affiliations or views. But the Buddhist Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu*. II. p. 120) states that he lived in Rajagrha, honoured, revered, respected and worshipped by seven hundred disciples. Strangely, it says that he taught his Jaina disciples (*Jinaśrāvaka*) the doctrine of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness (*naivasaṃjñā-nāsaṃjñāyatana*). It is not clear whether this is a doctrine attributable to Jainism. Udraka also is said to have exhorted his disciples thus, "see, see, renounce, renounce" and they responded, "we see, we see, we renounce, we renounce, we and others". There are also two discourses in the Pāli canon where the Buddha has criticized and rejected the view held by one Uddaka Rāmaputta, who could have been the same person as his former teacher.

Uddaka, says the Buddha, used to say "seeing he seeth not" and he said this with regard to a well sharpened razor. One could see its blade but not its edge. And this utterance of Uddaka on a mere razor, says the Buddha "is low, rustic, suitable for common people and unprofitable". Buddha rejects this as a useless statement and goes on to apply it to his noble *dhamma*, complete in every manner neither defective nor redundant. One could see it, but if one wants to take out any element from it to make it clearer that one cannot see. If any one wants to add anything to it to make more complete, that also one cannot see. (*D*. III. 126 f). In another discourse (*S*. IV. 83 f) Uddaka Rāmaputta is reported to have claimed to have attained the highest knowledge (*vedagū*), an all-conqueror (*sabbaji*) and one who has dug out the root of the imposthume (*gaṇḍamulaṃ*) not dug out before. The Buddha pooh poohed Uddaka's claims and says that he is claiming victories which he has never won. After giving his own interpretations to these terms the Buddha says that only a monk who has achieved these could possibly make such acclaim regarding oneself.

In a third discourse one Rāmaputta is presented in a very much more favourable light. Here we see a king named Eleyyaka and some dignitaries in his retinue are criticized as fools etc. by the disciples of the brahamin Todeyya for showing the greatest respect and honour to a recluse named Rāmaputta. One could not be very sure whether this was the same as Uddaka Rāmaputta or another of his co-religionists. However Prof. Malalasekera (*DPPN*. s.v. Uddaka) thinks he was identical with Uddaka Rāmaputta. The Buddha here absolves Eleyyaka and his aids saying they would have shown him such respect and honour because Uddaka was in fact superior to oneself in various positive qualities. Before making this, however, the Buddha ascertained the views of the minister Vassakāra who was at that time in conversation with him, on the character of Eleyyaka and his aids. They are wise men, granted Vassakāra. Among those superior in insight in deciding matters of dispute and in the

interpretation of terms they are superior, he admits. Thus Todeyya's disciples are being actually misled by him to censure Eleyyaka and others and through them Rāmaputta himself is censured (*A.* II. 180f).

Recluse Gotama Meets Uddakarāmaputta

After leaving Ālāra Kālāma (*Bdst. Skt.* Ārāda Kālāma), his first teacher, the Recluse Gotama, in his quest for the wholesome (*kiṃ kusalagavesi*), in his search for the peerless, matchless state of peace, approached Uddaka Rāmaputta, and informed of his desire to lead the noble religious life in his dispensation (*M.* I. 165). Giving a much more developed idea the *Lalitavistara* (*Lal.* p. 181) says that the Bodhisattva inquired from Rudraka who his teacher was and whose teaching he was preaching. Rudraka replies that he has no teacher and that he has realized this by himself (*na me mārṣa kaściccāstā apitu khalu svayameva mayedaṃ samyagadhigatamiti*). However what he had realized is the same as given in other sources. But his assertion that he has no teacher is belied by his very name Rāmaputta and the details we could gather from the Pāli discourses.

The name Rāmaputta could indicate a biological relationship as father and son between Rāma and Uddaka or a teacher pupil relationship between them. Very often, in ancient India, the disciples of a teacher were referred to as his sons. The very well known illustration is the term Sakyaputtiyā samaṇā, 'Recluses, the sons of the Sakyan', by which term Buddhist monks were often designated. Thus Uddaka could have been either a son or a disciple of a Rāma, probably the latter. Referred to above was a person called Rāmaputta, possibly the same Uddaka or another disciple of Rāma. If it were so we could surmise that Rāma's disciples were known as Rāma's sons.

Once he was permitted to follow his teachings, the Recluse Gotama mastered them in a very short time. However he was not ready merely to master the teachings and proclaim that he has a thorough knowledge and a firm grounding in them like many as himself want to do. He thought, "Surely Rāma (not 'Uddaka, Rāma's son as rendered by I.B. Horner)[1] did not declare merely out of faith that 'I, having realized through super-knowledge by myself, entering on it, am abiding in it'. He went to Uddaka and inquired as to how much of his teachings had been realized by Rāma and he replied that Rāma had proclaimed the realization of the state of 'Neither perception nor non-perception'. Then the Recluse Gotama thought, "It was not only Rāma who had faith (*ahosi saddhā*),I too have faith (*atthi saddhā*). It was not Rāma alone who had energy... awareness... concentration.... wisdom, I also have energy, awareness, concentration and wisdom and, decided to strive for the realization of what Rāma declared to have realized by himself and abided in. Before long he realized his goal and inquired from Uddaka whether it was to this extent that Rāma had declared himself to have realized the *dhamma*. Receiving an answer in the affirmative, Gotama revealed that now he also had achieved the same goal. Uddaka was very happy that one of his co-religionists (*sabrahmacāri*) has achieved the realization which Rāma had achieved. He said "this *dhamma* which Rāma did know (*aññāsi*) that *dhamma* you (now) know (*jānāsi*). As Rāma was so are you (now)". Thus the Buddha says that Uddakarāmaputta being his co-religionist (or co-disciple of Rāma) placed him in the position of the teacher (*acariyaṭṭhāne ṭhapesi*) and honoured him with the highest honour and requested him to look after the company of pupils (*imaṃ gaṇaṃ parihari*). But Gotama was not satisfied with what he achieved for what he was seeking was nothing less than Nibbāna, the Summum Bonum (*M.* I. 165 f).

From the Pali text of the *Majjhima Nikāya* discourse it is quite clear that Uddaka Rāmaputta and who is referred to as Rāma in it are two distinct persons. As shown above, Rāma was probably the teacher of Uddaka, the son of Rāma. Gotama, from the very outset, has shown his awareness of this. Inquiring after the spiritual heights realizable through his teachings he wanted to know from Uddaka how much Rāma had realized and not how much Uddakarāmaputta has realized. Throughout the story the two characters are kept separate. The story the two characters are kept separate. The verbal forms used in referring to Rāma are always in the past tense third person singular. An exception, of course, is found when a direct statement about his attainment is declared by Rāma. It is put in the first person, present tense singular e.g. *Rāmo..... sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā viharāmiti pavedesi*. This has apparently confused the translator, I.B. Horner. So even where the text says, *Yādiso Rāmo tādiso tuvaṃ*, she translates "As I am so are you". She should have rightly put it, "As

Rāma was so are you". There was no reason why Rāmaputta should have been called simply Rāma if the two names referred to the same person.

This confusion, however is not of recent origin. The *Mahāvastu* (p. 120) also has the words "Then Gautama, the *dharma* that the worthy Rāma knows (*jānāti*) that *dharma* the worthy Gautama knows (*jānāti*) too. In the *Mahāvastu* text too the two names Udraka Rāmaputtra and Rāma have been kept separate. Yet at times the use of a present tense verbal form as shown above seems to indicate some confusion. It is possible that an identification of the two persons going by these two designations has already begun. In the same context, after learning from Gautama that he also has realized the same attainment, Udraka is said to have made him a teacher on an equal footing with him himself. (*samānācāryasthāne sthāpaye*). This is how Jones[3] translates the Sanskrit phrase. But it is also possible what the text wanted to convey was that Udraka placed Gautama on an equal footing with his own teacher Rāma, for both of them were equal with regard to their spiritual attainments. This is also made clear from the fact that Udraka requested Gautama to take over the management of all his company of disciples. This is also the view of the Pāli text (*M.* 1. 165). Udraka did not intend keeping any responsibility for himself in this matter probably he has now found a person equal to his own teacher. This was quite different from the attitude of Ārāḍa Kālāma when he knew that Gautama has realized the same attainment himself. He proposed to manage the company of disciples jointly by the two of them. He placed Gautama on an equal footing as himself (*samānārthatāye sthāpaye Mvu.* 119) *samānārthatā*, Jones[3] explains as 'impartiality'. In the Pali text the expression used is *attano samasamaṃ* (*M.* 1. 165) which means 'one's equal'. Thus while Ālāra Kālāma recognized Recluse Gotama as his equal Uddaka Rāmaputta recognized him as his teacher Rāma's equal.

There is nothing in the Pāli discourse or the *Mahāvastu* to indicate that Uddakarāmaputta had realized any spiritual attainments. As indicated above the Recluse Gautama know this from the outset and inquired from him only about Rāma's attainments. But the commentator Buddhaghosa, taking a step forward states that Gotama viewed Uddaka as a person who had definitely realized the eight attainments (*addhā panesa aṭṭhasamāpattilābhīti*) and that he has not learnt them just orally (*MA.* II. 172 f). If he had realized all the eight attainments then, naturally, he would have to be reborn after death in a plane of existence corresponding to his highest attainment, i.e. the *Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana samāpatti*. The commentator actually says so in the same commentary (p. 186).

The Buddha, after his Awakening, and the final decision, after his initial hesitation, to proclaim to the world the truths he has realized, gave his attention to the problem of selecting the first person who should receive his message. He first thought of his former teacher Ālāra Kālāma as a suitable person capable of understanding his message. When he came to know that Ālāra is already dead, his second choice was Uddakarāmaputta. Of him the Buddha speaks in words of high praise. This Uddaka, Rāma's son is learned, experienced, wise and for a long time has had little dust in his eyes. Suppose that I were to teach *dhamma* first to Uddaka, Rāma's son? He will understand this *dhamma* quickly. But at that time certain deities came to him to inform that Uddaka had passed away the previous night. Knowledge of it also arose in him of this unfortunate event and he knew that Uddaka has suffered a great loss by not having the opportunity of meeting the Buddha and listening to his teachings (*M.* I. 170). This is all that the discourse reveals to us. It does not refer to Uddaka's rebirth in any particular divine abode.

The *Mahāvastu*, however has inverted the order of the two teachers. The Buddha first thought of Udraka Rāmaputtra as a person suitable for him to deliver his message of the *dhamma* but found him dead seven days earlier. His second choice was Ārāda Kālāma but found him dead three days (*Mvu.* III 322). Here too there is no indication of Udraka's attainments or the place of his rebirth after death. The *Lalitavistara* (p. 215) also states that Buddha's first choice was Rudraka Rāmaputra and found him to be dead seven days earlier. Buddhaghosa (*MA.* II 186), who says that Uddaka Rāmaputta was reborn, after death, in the *Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*, says that it was a great loss to him, as well as to Ālāra Kālāma, who had died seven days before, because their place of rebirth was what is called a 'wrong time' (*akkhaṇa*). Even if one were to go there and deliver a sermon on the *dhamma* he would not have the sentient organ of the ear (*sotappasāda*) to hear it. Nor would he have the feet

to come to a place of preaching the Dhamma. As such it was a great loss for both of them to have passed away before meeting the Buddha. Anyway, since there is no clear information about his spiritual attainments in the texts, these commentarial remarks could be regarded as later speculations based on the confusion with regard to the identity of Rāma and his son or pupil Uddaka. However there is always the possibility that Uddaka Rāmaputta attained the *Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* between the Recluse Gotama leaving him and his decision to proclaim to the world the truths he had realized with Buddhahood.

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References

1 *Middle Length Sayings* tr. I.B. Horner, Pali Text Society, London, 1976 Vol. I. p. 209

2 *Mahavastu*, tr. J.J. Jones, Pali Text Society London, 1976, Vol. II p. 117

3 *Ibid.* 1978 Vol. III. p. 115

UDDESAVIBHAṄGA SUTTA, the "discourse on an exposition of a summary", is the hundred-thirty-eighth discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* III, 223-229). The *Uddesa-vibhaṅga Sutta* begins with the Buddha announcing a summary and exposition. According to the summary statement, a monk should avoid being scattered externally or getting stuck internally in order to reach liberation. This summary statement by the Buddha then received a detailed treatment by Mahākaccāna, who explained that due to the gratification provided by sense-objects one might be scattered externally, and due to attachment to *jhāna* experiences one could get stuck internally. This explanation by Mahākaccāna was subsequently reported by the other monks to the Buddha, who expressed his approval of Mahākaccāna's exposition.

A slightly puzzling circumstance of this discourse is that according to the *Uddesa-vibhaṅga Sutta* the Buddha had announced that he would give the exposition himself, but then withdrew after giving just the summary statement. A similar situation recurs in the case of the *Mahākaccāna-bhaddeka-ratta Sutta*, where the Buddha was requested to teach a summary and its exposition, to which he agreed, but then withdrew after delivering only the summary (*M.* III, 192). In both cases, the Chinese parallels differ in that according to them the Buddha had not announced or agreed to teach an exposition (*T.* I, 694b16 and *T.* I, 697a13).[1] This leaves open the possibility that the contradictory situation in the two Pāli discourses could be the outcome of an error that occurred during oral transmission.

Whether the Buddha initially announced an exposition or not, the Pāli and Chinese versions of the *Uddesa-vibhaṅga Sutta* (and of the *Mahākaccāna-bhaddeka-ratta Sutta*) agree that the actual exposition of the Buddha's summary was given by Mahākaccāna, who according to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* was outstanding among the Buddha's disciples precisely in this respect, namely in the delivery of detailed expositions of short sayings (*A.* I, 23). The *Uddesa-vibhaṅga Sutta* can thus be seen as documenting an early beginnings of the commentarial tradition (See also AṬṬHAKATHĀ), in the sense of exegesis provided by the disciples of the Buddha. In the case of the *Uddesa-vibhaṅga Sutta*, through his approval the Buddha endorsed the commentary provided by Mahākaccāna with sufficient authenticity for it to be included in the canonical collection of discourses.

The case of the *Uddesa-vibhaṅga Sutta* shows the degree to which what originally was a comment by a disciple on a short saying by the Buddha was subsequently considered as canonical and included as a discourse in the Pāli *Nikāyas*. In fact, other discourses spoken by disciples were included even without having received an explicit approval by the Buddha, such as e.g. the *Mahāvedalla Sutta* (*M.* I, 292-298), a discourse that records the expositions given by one of the Buddha's disciples in reply to a series of questions by another disciple.

The pattern of following a summary with its exposition is a feature found regularly in discourses spoken in their entirety by the Buddha, such as the *Araṇa-vibhaṅga Sutta* or the *Dhātu-vibhaṅga Sutta*, two discourses that immediately follow the *Uddesa-vibhaṅga Sutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya* collection (*M.* III, 230-247). These discourses exhibit the same pattern as the *Uddesa-vibhaṅga Sutta*, with the

difference that the more detailed exposition is in both cases given by the Buddha himself.

The same pattern also recurs in relation to the *pātimokkha*, where the rules that come up for recitation at the fortnightly meeting of the monks on observance days are accompanied in the *Suttavibhaṅga* of the Vinaya by a commentary that itself has attained canonical status (*Vin.* III - IV). A similar pattern also underlies the *Jātaka* collection, where, however, only the verses themselves are canonical, whereas the tales that provide an exposition of the background to the verses have been assigned to the category of commentary. Thus the pattern set by the *Uddesavibhaṅga Sutta* of following a summary by the Buddha with an exposition by a disciple can be seen to highlight a significant stage in the development of early Buddhist exegesis and of the concept of canonicity in early Buddhism.

Anālayo

Reference

1 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

UDDHACCAKUKKUCCA, "restlessness-and-worry", (Skt. *auddhatya-kaukṛtya*), is the fourth in the standard listing of the five hindrances that obstruct the meditative development of the mind (See also NĪVARAṆA). The expression *uddhacca-kukkucca* actually covers two hindrances, one of which is restlessness, while the other is worry (*S.* V, 110). The rationale for treating them together as a single hindrance may be the similar effect that restlessness and worry have on the mind.

Restlessness

The first of these two, *uddhacca*, is "restlessness" in the sense of mental agitation, distraction and excitement, and thus by its very nature is the opposite of mental calm and tranquillity. According to the *Visuddhimagga*'s explanation, restlessness has lack of calmness as its characteristic, *avūpasama-lakkhaṇa*, its function is unsteadiness, *anavaṭṭhāna-rasa*, its manifestation is confusion, *bhantatta-paccupaṭṭhāna*, and its proximate cause is unwise attention to [things that cause] lack of calmness in the mind, *cetaso avūpasame ayonisomanasikāra-padaṭṭhāna* (*Vism.* 469).

Such restlessness can arise through excessive striving, a situation the discourses compare to a goldsmith who keeps on blowing on gold that is on the fire, as a result of which the gold will get burnt (*A.* I, 257). Here a less pushy approach would be the appropriate remedy, and perhaps also a less goal-oriented attitude. In fact, the discourses indicate quite explicitly that *chanda*, in the sense of "desire" for progress on the path, can be in excess, *atipaggahīta chanda*, and in such a case will cause restlessness (*S.* V, 277). The same is the case for excess of energy or of the other *iddhipādas*. Hence even though desire for progress or energy are required for the development of the path, if they become too prominent in the mind the hindrance of restlessness will arise and thereby obstruct further progress. As long as restlessness remains, it will be impossible to reach the final goal (*A.* III, 421).

The need for balance in this respect can be seen from the case of Soṇa, who had put forth excessive energy and was in a state of depression because he had not progressed. In order to drive home to him the lesson that the all important middle path of balance gets lost with too pushy an attitude, the Buddha employed the imagery of a lute, an instrument with which Soṇa would have been familiar from his earlier years as a layman (*A.* III, 375). Though the strings of a lute need to be taut in order to produce sound, if they are over tight, the sound will become shrill. Just as the lute's strings need to be adjusted to a middle position between laxity and tension, similarly Soṇa had to find the middle point of balance between these two extremes in order to be able to progress. In his case this required giving up excessive striving and its resultant restlessness. It is perhaps no surprise that, after this clarification, Soṇa was soon enough able to reach the final goal, which earlier had eluded him due to his excessive striving.

A more mundane source for the arising of restlessness can be the speaking of provocative words (*A.* IV, 87), which lead to much talking and arguing, as a result of which restlessness will arise in the mind and concentration will be lost. Restlessness could also arise in relation to begging alms, as on receiving nothing

because people have been too busy to notice that someone has come, a monk might become restless and wonder who caused rift between him and his supporters (*A*. IV, 87).

The presence of restlessness makes it difficult to develop the inspiration to visit noble ones and hear their teachings, and also to overcome a fault-finding disposition (*A*. V, 148). A central means for overcoming restlessness is the practice of mental tranquillity, *samatha* (*A*. III, 449). Restlessness is a blemish to be avoided for one who dwells in forest seclusion (*M*. I, 470); and to be obsessed by restlessness will cause decline in the teaching and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata (*A*. V, 163). Hence a monk should regularly reflect in order to ascertain if restlessness is present in his mind (*A*. V, 93), and make a firm effort to overcome it. Yet, as *uddhacca* is the fourth of the five higher fetters (*D*. III, 234), the total removal of the last and most subtle traces of restlessness will only take place when final liberation has been attained.

A noteworthy usage of *uddhacca* occurs in the *Yuganaddha Sutta*, which speaks of *uddhacca* in relation to one of the ways to attain final liberation (*A*. II, 157; See also YUGANADDHA SUTTA). According to this discourse, to reach the path that leads to final liberation can take place when someone's mind is under the influence of restlessness related to the Dhamma, *dhamm'uddhacca*. Once the mind settles down and becomes concentrated, the path will be experienced. The *Paṭisambhidhāmagga* explains that this description refers to the arising of illumination, *obhāsa*, one of the imperfections of insight (*Ps*. II, 100). Not understanding this to be an imperfection and failing to notice its impermanent nature then leads to the arising of restlessness. An alternative interpretation would be to take *dhamm'uddhacca* to stand for "mental distress brought on by eagerness to realize the Dhamma, a state of spiritual anxiety that sometimes can precipitate an instantaneous enlightenment experience",[1] such as apparently was the case with Bāhiya (*Ud*. 8).

Worry

In addition to restlessness, the hindrance *uddhacca-kukkucca* also covers the effect of "worry", *kukkucca*, on the mind. According to the *Visuddhimagga's* explanation, worry has subsequent regret as its characteristic, *pacchānutāpa-lakkhaṇa*, its function is to sorrow about what has been done and what has not been done, *katākatānusocana-rasa*, its manifestation is remorse, *vippaṭisāra-paccupaṭṭhāna*, and its proximate causes are deeds and omissions, *katākata-padaṭṭhāna* (*Vism*. 470).

Due to its close relation to deeds and omissions, the theme of *kukkucca* is a recurrent topic in the *Vinaya*. The background stories to numerous rules report that monks were experiencing *kukkucca* in regard to certain actions and would only undertake them once explicit permission by the Buddha was given. Worry in this respect was apparently such a common phenomena that some monks would on purpose try to arouse worry in others, so that a regulation had to be promulgated to stop such mischief (*Pācittiya* rule no. 77; *Vin*. IV, 149). The relative frequent arising of worry among monastics is also reflected in the circumstance that one of the qualifications for acting as a preceptor for other monks, or for giving dependence to a junior monk, is an elder monk's ability to dispel worries in a rightful manner (*A*. V, 72 and 73).

Not all worry, however, is something to be dispelled, since at times worry may be quite appropriate. Just as for those who worry about unnecessary things the influxes grow, so too the influxes grow in the case of those who do not worry about things that should be worried about (*A*. I, 85). The worry that arose in the monk Sudinna after he had engaged in sex with his former wife was quite appropriate (*Vin*. III, 19), in fact it would have been better if worry had arisen earlier and prevented him from committing such a misdeed. But even in regard to minor matters worry would be appropriate, such as when a monk was aroused by worry to approach the Buddha and make a formal confession that on an earlier occasion, when the Buddha had been giving a talk on the importance of observing the precepts, this monk had disapprovingly thought to himself that the Buddha was too exacting (*A*. I, 237).

A verse in the *Sutta Nipāta* relates the removal of worry to the diligent practice of meditation in secluded spots (*Sn*. 925). Another verse in the same collection mentions freedom from worry together various aspects of restraint in regard to speech, which cover being free from anger, boasting and arrogance, as well as the use

of moderate words (*Sn.* 850). Though these verses do not establish an explicit relation between the removal of worry and these other qualities, the fact that they are presented together is suggestive and one would indeed expect that the inner certitude gained through meditating in seclusion and observing such restraint in regard to speech would go a long way in preventing the arising of *kukkucca*.

At times, *kukkucca* can also stand for uncertainty in regard to the teachings. This is the case in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which reports how the Buddha visited a monk and inquired whether that monk had any worries (*S.* IV, 46; cf. also *S.* III, 120; *S.* III, 125 and *S.* IV, 48). The monk replied that he indeed had considerable worries, but clarified that there was nothing blameworthy in regard to ethics for which he felt regret. Questioned on the source of his worry, the monk then asked for clarification on some subtler aspect of the teaching. In such instances *kukkucca* is no longer related to moral regret and stands for a type of worry that is concerned with the wish to properly understand the teachings.

Restlessness-and-worry

To overcome the hindrance of restlessness-and-worry requires developing a mind that is internally calm, *ajjhattaṃ vūpasanta citta* (e.g. *D.* I, 71). A telling illustration of the agitating effect of *uddhacca-kukkucca* on the mind describes how one might attempt to see the reflection of one's own face in a bowl filled with water that is stirred by wind and full of ripples and waves, making it impossible to properly see the reflection of one's face (*S.* V, 123 and *A.* III, 232). Similarly, the hindrance of restlessness-and-worry stirs the mind and causes such mental ripples and waves that to see and know according to reality becomes impossible.

A rather stark imagery of the effect that *uddhacca-kukkucca* has on one's mental freedom is provided in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, which compares being under the influence of restlessness-and-worry to slavery, a condition where one is utterly dependent on others and unable to go where one would like (*D.* I, 72). This imagery draws out the degree to which the hindrance of restlessness-and-worry can control the mind and keep it in its grip, making it dependent on externals as inner stability has been lost, and throwing it into endless activity and agitation.

Another simile compares the presence of the five hindrances to various metals that corrupt the purity of gold. Here *uddhacca-kukkucca* corresponds to lead, whose presence will cause the gold to become corrupted, rendering it brittle and unfit for being employed by the goldsmith as it has lost its malleability and radiance (*S.* V, 92 and *A.* III, 16). In a similar way, due to the influence of restlessness-and-worry the mind becomes unfit for work. Due to the presence of *uddhacca-kukkucca* in the mind one becomes unable to recognize one's own benefit or that of others, or to keep in mind even what has been memorized for a long time (*S.* V, 123).

The hindrance of restlessness-and-worry stands in particular opposition to the awakening factor of tranquillity, *passaddhisambojjhaṅga* (*S.* V, 104). Other awakening factors whose development is recommendable at a time when the mind is restless are concentration and equanimity (*S.* V, 114). In this way, restlessness can gradually be overcome, similar to throwing water and earth on a great fire in order to extinguish it. According to the analysis given in the *Visuddhimagga*, the *jhāna* factor of happiness, *sukha*, stands in direct opposition to *uddhacca-kukkucca* (*Vism.* 141). Other factors that according to the commentaries are helpful to overcome restlessness-and-worry are a good knowledge of the teachings together with clarification of these through questioning others, *bahussutatā paripucchakatā*; to be well versed in matters related to *Vinaya*, *vinaye pakataññutā*; and to frequent elders and associate with wise friends, engaging in suitable types of conversation, *vuddhasevitā kalyāṇamittatā sappāyakathā* (*MA.* I, 285).

The need to remove *uddhacca-kukkucca* could even arise at a comparatively high level of development. This can be seen in a discourse that records an instruction given by Sāriputta to Anuruddha. The latter had complained to his friend that in spite being in the possession of unshaken energy, well-established mindfulness, bodily tranquillity and mental one-pointedness, he was unable to reach liberation from the influxes (*A.* I, 282). In reply, Sāriputta dryly remarked that Anuruddha's obsession with having energy, mindfulness, tranquillity and one-pointedness of mind was simply a manifestation of restlessness, and his concern about not having reached the destruction of the influxes was just worry. Being

helped to recognize how restlessness and worry were obstructing him in this way, Anuruddha was soon enough able to break through to final liberation.

Anālayo

Reference

1 Ñāṇaponika & Bodhi: *Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*, Delhi 2000: 295 note 69.

UKKHEPANĪYA KAMMA: *Ukkhepanīya kamma*, 'the disciplinary act of suspension (*Bdst.Skt.utkṣepanīyaṃ karma*), is one of the five disciplinary acts, not derived directly from the disciplinary rules in the *Pātimokkha* code, met with in the *Kammakkhandhaka* of the *Cullavagga* (*Vin*.II. 1 *ff.*). This act of suspension has been laid down by the Buddha for the three offences of i. refusal to admit, or lit. to see (*adassana)* an offence, ii. refusal to make amends for an offence (*āpattiyā appaṭikkame*) and, iii. not giving up a wrong view (*pāpikāya diṭṭhiyā appaṭinissagge)*. Taking them as three separate rules sometimes the disciplinary acts are taken to be seven. Of these threefold acts of suspension the first two were originated to indisciplinary behavior of a monk named Channa (*ibid*. 21,25) and the third due to a pernicious view held by a monk named Ariṭṭha, the former vulture trainer's son (*gaddhabādhiputta)*. The act of suspension has to be imposed with the approval of a complete Order carried out by a motion followed by three repetitions (*ñatticatuttha-kamma)*. The motion also contains two additional clauses that the punished person should not eat with the Order (*asambhogaṃ saṅghena)* and that it should be proclaimed in all residences so that the intended boycott should be total.

Conduct of a Suspended Monk. Once a monk is punished with a disciplinary act of suspension he is expected to conduct himself properly. There are forty-three observances (*tecattārīsa-vatta)* to be kept by such a monk. Of these eighteen are common to all disciplinary acts including those derived from the *Pātimokkha* code. According to Prof. Deerasekara[1] these conditions can be broadly classified as follows. 1-5 involve a considerable reduction in the power and prestige enjoyed by the monk in daily life. During the term of the penalty he has to renounce his authority over his pupils and decline services normally offered to him by them. He has to inform them as well as nuns, who come for instruction, of the penalty he is undergoing. Numbers 6-8 reiterates the old ideal of safeguarding against future recurrence of offences one is punished for. 9 and 10 are meant to safeguard the power of prosecution held by the members of the Order. 11-17 concern the proper and fair conduct of the exercise of disciplinary power. The monk who is undergoing punishment is debarred from exercising such power. Number 18 prevents the suspended person from quarreling with other members and inciting them against one another. This is to safeguard against any embittered party trying to distrupt communal harmony of the Order.

Besides these eighteen common observances there are twenty-five more observances specially meant for those undergoing the penalties of suspension for not admitting an offence and for not making amends for an offence. These include, broadly, the following: Declining to accept the customary courtesies as greeting, standing up in respect from the seat, salutation etc., normally extended by juniors to seniors, from any regular monk (*pakatattassa bhikkhuno)*; refraining from criticizing any regular monk for falling away from moral hibits, good habits, right views or right mode of livelihood; causing a monk to break away from another monk; refraining from wearing the habit of householders or members of other religious sects; refraining from associating members of other sects but associating Buddhist monks; training himself in the training of a Buddhist monk; refraining from dwelling in a monastic residence or a non- monastic residence with a regular monk; to get up from the seat in the presence of a regular monk but refraining from upbraiding a regular monk(*Vin*.II.22 *f.*).

However it is intriguing to see why these twenty-five observances are not made binding on one undergoing the third type of suspension, viz, suspension for not giving up a pernicious view. Yet the commentarial view is that all the forty-three observances are binding on them as well (*VinA*.VI. 1159).

Validity or Non-Validity of an Act of Suspension. Considerable pains have been taken to determine the legal and disciplinary validity or

invalidity of an act of suspension and how it becomes easy to settle. The *Cullavagga* states that there are twelve cases of the act that are not legally valid and twelve that are legally valid. The reasons for the invalidity can be enumerated as follows: The act is carried out not in the presence of *(asammukhā katam)* the accuser and the accused; without interrogation; without an acknowledgement by the accused; without an offence; without an offence leading to confession; with an offence already confessed; without a reproval; without making the accused to remember; without accusing him of the offence; if done not according to rule and, done in an incomplete assembly. If the opposite qualities are present the act is legally valid. (*Vin*.II. 22; 28 *f*); see also *Vin*.I chaps IX and X.

The *Cullavagga* (*ibid*.22; 4 *f*) also enumerates a number of monastic failings which would lead to the imposition of an act of suspension if the Order so desires. They are of three groups as follows[2]:

A. 1. when a Bhikkhu is a maker of strife, quarrelsome, a maker of disputes, given to idle talk and raises legal question in the *Saṅgha*.

2. When he is ignorant, unaccomplished, full of offences and heedless of injunctions

3. If he lives in company with householders, in unbecoming association with householders.

B. 1. If in regard to moral habits he comes to be fallen away from moral habits.

2. If in regard to good habits, he comes to have fallen away from good habits.

3. If in regard to right views, he comes to have fallen away from right views.

C. 1. If he speaks in dispraise of the Buddha
2. If he speaks in dispraise of the Dhamma
3. If he speaks in dispraise of the Saṅgha.

According to the commentary an offender has to be accused of offences committed based on any of the above and, if he fails to admit, make amends or abandon a wrong view, he could be penalized (*VinA*. VI. 1159).

Revocation of a Suspension. It is said that Channa the miscreant, once the act of suspension was carried out against him, went from the residence where he was to another and then to another and so forth but was not revered, respected, esteemed or honoured by any of the members of the Order. Finally he returned to Kosambi where he conducted himself properly, was subdued and mended his ways. Appraised of the situation the Buddha ordered the revocation of the suspension and the Order carried it out and rehabilitated him. However it is emphatically stated that if the forty-three observances enjoined on a suspended person are not kept the disciplinary act of suspension should not be revoked. This procedure for revocation of a suspension applies to all the three types of suspension (*Vin*.II.23 ff, 28)

The Act of Suspension for not Giving up a Wrong View. Of the three types of suspension this third one falls into a special category. Prof. Dheerasekara,[3] agreeing with the Commentator Buddhaghosa, states that the role of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* is to discipline the Buddhist disciple only in terms of word and deed. The discipline of the mind, therefore, falls into the domain of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* only helps to augment it but does not replace the contents of the *Dhamma*. Therefore one could argue that by legislating against holding of wrong views under the *ukkhepanīya- kamma*, the *Vinaya* is infiltrating into the domain of the *Dhamma*. But, here too, points out Prof. Dheerasekara, this offence also seems to fall into the category of verbal offences. In the *Pācittiya* rule 68 of the *Pāṭimokkha* code same offence is declared to be so only after the wrong view is stated and affirmed and the offender refuses to desist from doing so. In the imposition of the *ukkhepanīya kamma* too the offender is first asked to refrain from giving expression to false views and there by make groundless charges against the Buddha. If he continues to do so inspite of these requests he could be punished by imposing an *ukkhepanīya kamma*. When members of the Order hold fast to such pernicious views and give expression to them it would adversely affect the beliefs of others and also discredit the Order in the eyes of the public. Buddhaghosa also sees here the relevance of the act to maintain concord in the monastic community. He defines the word *diṭṭhi* here as views leading to factious and disturbances in the Order.

As referred to above the *Pācittiya* rule 68 in the *Pāṭimokkha* code also deals with the same offence of

holding to a certain false view without abandoning it when requested to do so. The Buddha made it a Pācittiya offence to hold on to the view expressed by the monk Arittha thus: "As I understand the Dhamma taught by the lord, it is that in following those things called stumbling blocks by the lord, there is no stumbling block at all". From the text that follows, and the manner in which the fellow monks of Arittha and the Buddha explained matters to him, this pernicious view was with regard to indulgence in pleasures of the senses *(kāmā) Vin.* IV.133 *ff.)* The same episode is employed in the *Cullavagga* (*ibid.*II.25 *ff.*) with reference to the laying down of the *ukkhepaniya kamma* on non-abandoning of wrong views (*pāpikāya diṭṭhiyā appaṭinissagge*).In the *Suttavibhaṅga* this particular view is referred to in the rule itself and the non-abandoning of it is declared a *Pācittiya* offence. But in the *Cullavagga* Ariṭṭha's offence leads to the laying down of the *ukkhepaniya kamma* which is stated in general terms as "*ukkhepaniya kamma* on non- abandoning of a wrong view".

It is therefore not clear from the *Cullavagga* whether this disciplinary act can be used in the punishment for non- abandoning of any false view and not only the specific one held by Ariṭṭha. But the possibility exists that while the *Pācittiya* rule is confined to this particular offence in the *ukkhepanīya kamma* the scope has been widened to cover all pernicious views (*pāpikā diṭṭhi)* Prof. Dheerasekara[4] has also drawn attention to the fact that, although the *ukkhepanīya kamma perse* is not mentioned in the *Paṭimokkha* in connection with the *Pācittiya* 68, the rule which immediately follows shows that the offender is in actual fact subjected to the provisions of the *ukkhepanīya kamma* and punished with a total boycott. By this rule 69 a person who " knowingly eat together with or be in communion with or lie down in a sleeping place with a monk who talks thus, who has not done according to the rule, who has not given up that view, there is a *Pācittiya* offence"[5] *(Vin.*IV. 137). The words 'who has not acted according to rule' *(akatānudhamma)* is interpreted in the *Suttavibhanga (ibid.)* as 'suspended, not restored (*ukkhitto anosārito)* showing that the suspension envisaged in this disciplinary act was already in vogue at the *Pāṭimokkha* stage. According to the *Ukkhittānuvattika Pārājikā* rule of the *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* a nun who follows a suspended *(ukkhitta)* monk is guilty of a *Pārājikā* offence (*ibid.* 218). The fact that a monk so punished is called an *ukkhitta* shows that the *ukkhepanīya kamma* was known at that stage.

Miss Horner[6] also seems to have suspected a degree of increase in the severity of the punishment between the *Pācittiya* offence of the *Suttavibhanga* and the *ukkhepanīya kamma* of the *Cullavagga*. In the former, she observes, the offender is given a chance to renounce the wrong view while he is being admonished up to the third time. It is only after this, if he still clings to the offending view, that the *Pācittiya* offence is incurred. But in the *Cullavagga*, according to her, no such final chance to renounce the wrong view is given. If he is found to cling to his view the Order is asked to carry out an act of suspension against him. But it is clear from the *Cullavagga* that the punishment is given only if the offender does not abandon the pernicious view (*pāpikāya diṭṭhiyā appaṭinissagge*). This presupposes that a chance, although not specifically stated in the rule, has already been given to abandon it. Prof. Dheerasekara[7] also says that the miscreant is first asked to refrain from giving expression to false views and make groundless charges against the Buddha. Only if he continues with the false view is he punished under the act. Thus, in this respect, not much change appears to have occurred in the rules between the *Pāṭimokkha* and the *Cullavagga*.

Revocation of the Act of Suspension for not Abandoning a Wrong View.

Like in the case of the other two types of suspension this also could be revoked if the suspended monk acts in complete accord with the eighteen observances expected from him *(Vin.* II.27 *f.*). However an intriguing point regarding the revocation of this penal act has drawn the attention of scholars. According to the *Cullavagga* text, Ariṭṭha, who was suspended for not giving up a wrong view, immediately left the Order (*vibbhami).* When the monks brought this to the notice of the Buddha, he condemned Ariṭṭha's behaviour in no uncertain terms and asked the Order to revoke the act of suspension (*saṅgho ..... ukkhepaniyakammaṃ paṭippassambhetu Vin.* II.27 b.). Strangly the commentator has maintained complete silence on the matter. But Oldenberg, commenting on it, remarks, "We should expect *mā* (or *na*) *paṭippassambhetu* 'let not revoke' " here.[8] He also refers to a parallel case in relation to the act of banishment *(pabbājanīya- kamma)* in the same chapter of the *Cullavagga (Vin.*II.14). In this case when the

act of banishment was imposed on the followers of Assaji and Punabbasuka, they went away (*pakkamantipi*) or left the Order (*vibbhamantipi*). Then the Buddha instructed the Order not to revoke the act of banishment (*saṅgho pabbājaniya kammam na paṭippassambhetu*). This appears to be the logical step that is expected in such a case from the Buddha who was a strict disciplinarian. Miss Horner[9] also remarks on this supposed revocation;

"This would not only be an uncharacteristic weakness but it does not fit the context". Of course there is always the possibility that it was an unintentional error committed either by the early reciters (*bhānakā*), or those who reduced the texts to writing or some later copyist.

Re- admission of a Person who has left the Order. There are several references to this act in the *Mahavagga*. In one of them provision for the re-admission of a monk who has left the Order on suspension are referred to (*Vin.I.97 f.*). A promise to admit the offence, or to makes amends to the offence or to give up the wrong view has to be extracted from him at several points in the process, viz, before admission (*pabbajjā*), before higher ordination (*upasampadā*) and before restoration (*osāraṇā*). Each step is taken only if the promise is given. After restoration he should be asked to comply with the promise. If he fails he could be suspended again but only if unanimity can be reached in the Order. If not there is no offence in eating with him (*anāpatti sambhoge*).

C.Witanachchi.

References

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2. Dheerasekera p.118
3. *Ibid*.p.109
4. *Ibid*.
5. Book of the Discipline pt.3 p.276
6. *Ibid*. pt.5 p.VI
7. Dheerasekara,*ibid*. 108*f*.
8. Book of the Discipline pt.5, p.39 n.1
9. *Ibid*.p.vi

ULKĀ-MUKHA SERVICE. The Ulkā-mukha service is a Buddhist ritual for giving food to hungry ghosts (*pretas*),performed according to the rules prescribed in the *Jvara-praśamanī-dhāraṇī* (translated by Amoghavajra, Taishō No. 1313). The origin of this performance is related in this *sūtra* like this: Once, when the Buddha was dwelling in the Nyagrodha Saṃghārāma, Kapilavastu, preaching the *Dharma* to the *bhikṣus* and *bodhisattvas*, Ānanda betook himself to a solitary place to practise meditation. At midnight there appeared before him a *preta* named Ulkā-mukha (Chinese; Yen- kuo or Flaming Mouth).It was an ugly creature, seared and lean, with flames shooting forth from its mouth, and its gullet was as narrow as the tip of a needle. Its bushy hair, sharp nails and protruding fangs made a spectacle that was extremely horrible. Planting itself in front of Ānanda, it said, "Three days after, your life shall come to an end you shall be born among the *pretas*." Ānanda, overwhelmed with fear, asked whether he could do anything that would save him from that doom. "Tommorrow" said the *preta*, " if you can provide the numberless *pretas* and Brahman *ṛṣis* with sufficient food to the quantity of one Magadha bushel for each and at the same time make offerings for my sake to the *Triratna*, in that case the span of your life will be lengthened and I too shall be delivered from the sufferings of being a *preta* and be born to the heavens". Ānanda hearing this, hastened to the Buddha, related the event and begged for advice. Thereupon the Buddha taught him the most powerful *Dhāraṇī* of limiteless virtues and sovereign light, saying that by reciting this *dhāraṇī*, the numberless *pretas* and Brahman *ṛṣis* would all be satiated with the most delicious foods and drinks and that,by such performances, one's felicities, merits as well as one's life would be greately increased. The procedure was described as follows: Use a clean bowl at any convenient time; fill it with pure water in which are put some rice or crumbled grain, some pastry or similar kinds of food;cover the bowl with the palm of the right hand and recite the afore-said *dhāraṇī* seven times, followed by invocations of the names of the four Tathāgatas (viz. Prabhūtaratna,Surūpakāya, Vipulakāya, Abhayaṁkara); and then lift up the bowl and pour its contents into the clean ground. By virtue of this ritual, each of the numberless *pretas* will obtain seven times seven Magadha bushels of food.In case of performing for Brahman *ṛṣis*, the *dhāraṇī* should be recited twice seven times and the contents of the bowl poured into a clean running stream. In this way, they

would be transformed into nice food for *devas*. If the *dhāraṇī* be recited thrice seven times in dedication to the *Triratna*, then the food thus consecrated would became offerings in the form of supreme celestial delicacies.

The introduction of this performance dated from the reign of Empress Wu of the T'ang dynasty, when Sikṣānanda translated the *Jvara-praśamanī-dhāraṇī* (Taishō No.1314) in 1 fascicle and the *parimita-guṇānuśaṃsā-dhāraṇī* (Taishō No.1317) in 1 fascicle. The *mantra* formulated in the former *sūtra* is styled as the *mantra* for transforming food, and that in the latter as the *Amṛta mantra*, so named because each drop of the water thus sprinkled in the air after being consecrated by reciting this *mantra* ten times will turn into ten bushels of *Amṛta*. Later the Tripiṭaka-master Amoghavajra produced his translation of the *Jvara-praśamanī dhāraṇī*, which is a different version of the same text with the above-mentioned translation of Śikṣananda. Amoghavajra also translated the *Sūtra on the ceremonial Rules of the Ulka-mukha Dhāraṇī for Saving Ānanda in the collection of important Articles of Yoga*, the section on the cause of the preceding sūtra, i,e. the first half of the preceding work taken as a separate book relating the cause of the sūtra), and the *Ceremonial Rules of Consecrating the water and Giving Food to Pretas*. Besides these, there is preserved in Japan a *Sūtra on the Great Dhāraṇī of Amṛta Taste for Giving Food to Pretas* translated by Pa-to-mu-ho of the T'ang dynasty. According to Amoghavajra's translation of the Ceremonial Rules of the *Ulka-mukha Dharaṇī for Saving Ānanda*, the performance is prescribed in the following procedure: (1) *mantra* for breaking the hell, (2) *mantra* for summoning *pretas*, (3) *mantra* for exposing sins, (4) *mantra* for extirpating sins, (5) *mantra* for verifying *karmas*, (6) *mantra* for making confessions, (7) *mantra* for giving *Amṛta*, (8) *mantra* for opening the gullet, (9) the names of the seven Tathāgatas, (10) *mantra* for the resolve towards Bodhicitta, (11) *mantra* for communicating the *samaya* precepts, (12) *mantra* for giving food, (13) *mantra* for forming the milk-sea, (14) *mantra* for taking universal offerings, and (15) *mantra* for dismissing the ghosts. Thenceforth the service of giving food to *pretas* has become a regular performance everyday for the practitioners of Esoteric Buddhism. Many works on the food giving rituals were brought to Japan by Japanese Law-seekers during the T'ang dynasty. Kukai in his Record of *Esoteric Piṭaka* provides an explanation of the meaning of the five Tathāgatas mentioned in the ritual of giving food to *pretas*. Anzen's *Secret Records of the Right Masters* contains a piece of writing entitled the *Method of giving Food to Pretas* in which are enumerated eight works brought back to Japan by different masters. In China, however, amidst the troubled times of the late T'ang and five Dynasties, the ritual rules for giving food were practically lost in consequence of the extinction of the Esoteric Buddhism itself.

The masters of the Sung dynasty did not have sufficient knowledge about the food-giving rituals. Tsunshih's *Chin-Yüan-chi* contains a series of articles concerning this subject-e.g. the right meaning of food-giving, the method of food-giving, the liturgies used in food-giving service, the contemplation in performing food-giving service, etc. But these are by no means ceremonial rules according to Esoteric Buddhism, but rather *mantras* taken from *sūtras* and embellished with some *T'ien-t'ai* theory of meditation. For instance, in the article on the right meaning of food-giving, it says "Nowadays in the provinces of Wu-Yüeh, (i.e. modern Kiangsu and Chekiang), monasteries used to have special inclosures astablished for this purpose. Some of them are named as the Court of 'Water and Land'... some as the Court of 'Bushels of food... and some as the Court of the underworld. "The Bushels of Food" denotes the giving of food to Ulkā-mukha. The "underworld" indicates the Great Mass performed for the whole underworld generally practised in the T'ang dynasty which was also one of the rituals of Esoteric Buddhism. As for the Mass of the Water and Land, it was a performance newly formulated under the Sung dynasty. Obviously these three things had got mixed up at that time and indistinguishable from one another. Another work of this kind, *General Readings for Food-Giving Service* in 1 fascicle compiled by Tsung-hsiao, includes at the beginning two versions of the *Sūtra on Saving the Preta Ulkā-mukha*, next an extract from the *Parinirvāna -Sūtra* (Taishō No.374) relating the story of the Buddha converting a demon of the wilderness, another extract from the Rules on *Miscellaneous Matters concerning the Vinaya* relating the story of the Buddha converting the goddess Hāriti, and a liturgy taken from the *Ratnamegha- Sūtra* (Taishō No. 659) which is to be used by a *bhikṣu* in giving food to ghosts and animals from his begging bowl. After that, there follows a collection of articles written by various past masters,

among which there is a work entitled *A Manual for Food-giving Service* composed by Jen-yo. This author, too, holds that all food giving services, whether done for the demon of the wilderness, the goddess Hāriti, or the preta Ulka-mukha, are one and the same. The only difference is that the service of the first two categories is taught to monks, the negligence of which would be a guilt; whereas the service of the last category is taught to laymen, the performance of which would bring them blessings. The *Right Line of Buddhist Teaching* in its Chapter on Benefiting living Beings (fasc.4) agrees with this view. All these evidences tell that the Sung masters were anxious to restore the rituals of the Ulkā-mukha Service, but they failed to find the way.

Under the Yüan-dynasty, following the arrival of Tibetan Lāmās in the Han region, Esoteric Buddhism, too, found its revival. In the Chinese Tripitaka there is a work entitled *Ceremonial Rules for Giving Food to theFlaming- mouth in the Collection of Important Articles of Yoga* in1 fascicle. The translator's name is not given, but judging from the Chinese characters employed in the transliteration of *mantras*, it may be ascribed to a Yüan translator. The procedure of the performance prescribed thereof roughly accords with *Sūtra on the ceremonial Rules of the Ulkā-mukha Dhāraṇī for Saving Ānanda*, translated by Amoghavajra. But a series of items are added before the *mantra* for breaking the hell i.e. the three surrenders, the *Mahācakra-rāja Mantra*, the *Dharma-cakrapravartana-bodhisattva Mantra*, the names of the 35 Buddhas, the *Bhadracari-praṇidāna -gāthā*, the making of offerings through mental visualization, food-giving in the name of the Triratna, and the entry into the *Avalokiteśvara- Samādhi*. At the end there are also added a series of times—i.e.*Uṣṇīsavijaya-dhāraṇī*, the Gāthā on the Six paths, the Gāthā on making vows and turning merits, the *Maṅgalagāthā*, the *Vajrasattva mantra* of 100 syllables, a prayer for the ten kinds of Ghosts and a *stotra* in praise of the *Triratna*.Since then, the Yoga rituals of food giving was re-established.

Under the Ming dynasty, the rules for giving food again got confused, owing to the divergences in traditions of different schools who were too apt to introduce new elements into the service to satisfy their own fancies. So far as we know, there was a book of Ming dynasty entitled *Yoga Rituals for Ulkā-mukha Service of Food-giving* composed by Hsing-fa.A later author, Ch'an- master T'ien-chi eliminated its superfluities and abridged it into his *Altar Rules for performance of Food-giving Service in the collection of Important Articles of Yoga* generally known in its simplified form as *T'ien-chi's Text of the Ulkā-mukha Service*. This book has been annotated by Ling-ta'an of T'ien-t'ai, who gave it another name as the *Practical Method of the Altar Rules for the Performance of the Food-giving Service in the collection of Important Articles of Yoga* in 2 fascicles. But the only alteration made is in the liturgy for summoning ghosts.Chu-hung alias Lien-ch'ih, made some revisions on T'ian chi's *Altar Rules* and reproduced it under the title of *Altar Rules for the performance and Conduction of the Food- giving Service in the Collection of Important Articles of Yoga* or simply *Rituals for Food-giving Service in the Collection of important Articles of Yoga*.An edition annotated by chu-hung himself is entitled the *Text of Food-giving Service Supplied with Annotations*. In the 6th year of T'ien-ch'i,1625),Fa-tsang composed *A Manual for Food- giving Service*.In the 32nd year of K'ang-hsi,1693) of the Ch'ing dynasty, Tê-chi of the Pao-hua Mountain again made revisions on chu-hung's text and re-named it as the *Collection of Important Articles of the Yoga Ulkā-mikha Food-giving Service*. Basing on this book, Fu-chü of the Pao-hun Mountain again produced the *Rituals and Contemplation for the Yoga Food-giving Service* in the 6th year of Ch'ian-lung ((1741). Another work, *A collection of Important Rules with Annotations for the Yoga Ulkā-mukha Service* was composed by Chi-hsien in the 14th year of K'ang-hsi (1675).In the edition of the *Ceremonial Rules for the Performance of Food-giving Service in the Collection of Important Articles of Yoga* published in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi, there is a remark in the post-script, saying, "As a rule, each master accepts exclusively what is handed down by his own school. This eventually results in the wide divergences among the circulating texts, making such a perplexing situation that people can hardly decide which way to choose." This is a general survey of the history of the compilations and revisions of the rules for the Ulkā-mukha food-giving Service under the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties.

Chou-shu-chia.

ULLAMBANA CEREMONY. The *Ullambana* Ceremony is a Buddhist rite observed in the region of China on the 15th day of the 7th month of the year for the salvation of one's departed relatives. It has its scriptural ground in the *Ullambana-sūtra*(Taishō no.685) where the origin of this practice is related as follows: *Maudgalyāyana*, through the supernatural power of deva-eyes, perceived his deceased mother being born in the realm of *pretas* where constant hunger had reduced her to a bare skeleton with only skins on. Straightway he went to her with a bowl of food, which scarcely touched her lips,but turned into a lump of burning charcoal. Weeping bitterly with sorrow, he hastened to inform the Buddha of this event. Thereupon, the Buddha spoke to him about the method of delivering her from that misery by making offerings to monks of ten directions with food of one hundred delicacies contained in a *Ullambana* vessel on the 15th day of the7th month when the monks were passing the last day of their summer retreat. By virtue of this act, so said the Buddha, one's ancestors of seven generations as well as one's parents in this life would be released from all miseries, even from the utmost pains of the upside-down hanging *(Ullambana)* that they might have been suffering among the *pretas*, and be reborn to the realm of human beings or of *devas* graced with limitless happiness.

This *sūtra* was first translated in the Western Tsin dynasty by Dharmarakṣa (but. the *Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka* ascribes it to an unknown translator). The text consists of only eight hundred and odd characters. A different translation of the same text was produced in the Eastern Tsin by an unknown translator under the title of the *Fu-shuo-pao-ên fêng-pên-ching*, sūtra spoken by the Buddha on offering the vessel for compensating the favour, Taishō no. 686, or the *Pao-hsiang-kung-tê-chin* which is still shorter, consisting of a little over three hundred characters. Apart from these, the *K'ai-yüan Catalogue* mentions in its 18th fascicle (Record of doubtful Works to be Re-examined) a *Ching t'u-yü-lan-pên-chng*, or the *Ullambana* sūtra of the Pure Land, in 1 facicle of 5 sheets. This translation is lost, but quotations from it are found in the 62nd fascicle of the *Pearl Grove of the Garden of the Law* where it is mentioned as the *Ta-pên-ching – t'u- ching* or *sūtra* on the great vessel of the Pure Land, describing how the kings of sixteen kingdoms on hearing the Buddha's narration of Maudgalyāyana's story of releasing his mother from her sufferings, proceeded to make all sorts of precious vessels for offering food to the Buddha and monks.

Many commentary works have been written on Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Ullambana-sūtra*. Among them the following are extant: Hui-ching's, *Laudatory Record of the Ullambana-sūtra* in 1 fascicle, Tsung-mi's, *Commentary on the Ullambana-sūtra* in 1 fascicle,Yüan-chao's *New Record of the Commentary on the Ullambana-sūtra* in 2 fascicles, P'u-kuan's *A Collective Record of Ancient and Modern Writings on the Commentary on the Ullambana-sūtra* in 2 fascicles, Yü-yung's *Commentary on the Ullambana-sūtra Explained with a View to Filial Piety* in 2 fascicles, Ji-hsin's *Supplementary Explanations to the Commentary on the Ullambana-sūtra* in 1 fascicle, Chih-hsü's *New Commentary on the Ullambana-sūtra* in 1 fascicle, Ling-yao's *Reconciliatory Commentary on the Ullambana.-sūtra* in 1 fascicle, and Yüan-ch'i's *Brief commentary on the Ullambana sūtra* in 1 fascicle.

As regards the title of this *sūtra* in Chinese (i.e. *Yü-lan-pên-ching*, two interpretations have been suggested. According to one interpretation, "*yü-lan*" is the transliteration of the Sanskrit "*Ullambana*" meaning "hanging upside down", while *pên* is a Chinese word denoting the vessel used to hold the food in making the offering. For instance, in his *Laudatory Record of the Ullambana-sūtra*, Hui-ching, says, "The term. '*yü-lan-pên*' denotes the container of food… all sorts of delicacies are put in a vessel and offered to the Buddha and the Saṅgha so that one's departed parents might get released from the pain of being hanged upside down. Hence - the word 'pên' in the title -of the *Sūtra*." Tsung-mi of the T'ang dynasty says too in his *Commentary,yü-lan'* is a term of the West, meaning 'hanging upside down' while 'pên is a Chinese word denoting the utensil used in the rite for getting salvation. The full rendering should be 'the vessel used, for getting salvation from the misery of being hanged upside-down'. This interpretation has been adopted in *Chih-hsü's New Commentary*, Ling-yao's *Conciliatory commentary* and Yüan-ch'i's *Brief commentary*.

The other Interpretation holds that the three characters "*yü*", "*lan*" and "*pên*" as a whole form the transliteration of the Sanskrit, "*Ullambana*". In the

34th fascicle of the *Dictionary of the whole canon*, Hui-lin writes, "*yü-lan-pên* is an inaccurate transliteration. The precise representation of the original sound should be '*U-lan-p'o-na*' (Ullambana) which means in Chinese 'hanging upside-down'. As we know, it was a belief in the West that if a sinful and heirless mortal got no one to offer sacrifice for him after death, he would be doomed to the realm of *pretas* and suffer the pains of being hanged upside-down. Therefore the Buddha instructed people to prepare offerings for the Buddha and the Saṅgha on the last day of the summer retreat as a cultivation on the field of the Triple-gem, by virtue of which the departed would be released from the sufferings of hanging and hunger. The old interpretation of the term 'yü-lan'pên' as a container of food is a mistake about the transliteration." As a matter of fact, the use of vessel to contain the food is not explicitly stated in the first portion of the text of the sūtra. In his *Commentary on the Ullamban-sūtra with a Veiw to Filial piety*, Yü-yung (of Sung) writes, "The original title in Sanskrit reads '*Buddha-vācā-ullambana-muncana-sūtra*'. In Chinese it means 'The sūtra spoken by the Enlightened One on the vessel for relieving the pains of being hanged upside-down'. '*yü-lan-pên*'as I heard from the translators of the presnt time, is a corrupted and contracted imitation of the Sanskrit sound 'Ullambana'. The accurate representation should be '*U-lan-p'o-na*', meaning 'filial piety', 'offering making', 'good grace' or 'hanging upside-down'. '*Pên*' (vessel) is also the result of corruption and simplication. In the past, it was transliterated as '*pên-tso-na*'(*muncana*), and now as '*mên-tso-lo*' or '*mên-tso-nang*' meaning 'vessel for relieving'. The whole term put in right order should be 'the vessel for relieving the pains of being hanged upside-down'."This is the conclusion reached at by Yü-yung after consulting with the translators of the Translation institute that was operating at that time.

The observance of the instruction given in the *Ullambana-sūtra* in the form of religious performance was first initiated by Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty. *The Records of the Lineage of the Buddha and patriarchs* in 37 th fascicle mentions the emperor's personal presence in an Ullambana Ceremony performed at the *T'ung-t'ai* Monastery in the 4th year of *Ta-t'ung (588)*. In the 45th fascicle of I-chu's *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* too, an allusion is made to the *Hung-ming-chi* to the effect that the Emperor *Wu of Liang* used to make universal offerings to monasteries with vessels carried by carts on the 15th day of the 7th month according to the tradition of Maudgalyāyana and other saints. After that, the practice gradually developed into a custom unanimously observed by both monarchs and common people of succeeding ages in compensation for the graces of their ancestors. Tao...shih of the T'ang dynasty in his *Pearl Grove of the Garden of the Law* (face.62,chap.) On Sacrifice and Worship has a description of this custom, saying, "Every year, large monasteries of the empire, such as Hsi-ming'(Tz'ū-ên,etc. of Ch'ang-an, used to make quite a show with their vessels of offerings and all sorts of miscellaneous articles, their vessel-bearers and musicians, and attending officials of all ranks." Again he says, "Donators were also present, bearing their vessels, distributing offerings and bustling all about." Evidently, great importance was attached to this observance by the T'ang society. Later on, this ceremony was held with still greater magnificence. The *Records of the Lineage of the Buddha and Patriarchs* in fasc. 51 says, "Emperor Taitsung (of the T'- ang dynasty) ordered to have the Ullambana festival celebrated, in which tablets of the seven past emperors were to be borne in a parade through the streets". (A similar event appears in fasc. 41 under the' item of the 3rd year of Ta-li i.e. 768.) Again he writes, "Emperor Tê-tsung visited the An-kuo Monastery and made the Ullambana offerings". A similar event is recorded in fasc. 41 under the item' of the 15th year of Chên-yüan,i.e.799. A similar record appears in fasc.9 of the *Buddist Chronicles* where it is further stated that this practice eventually became a rule every year. Informations about this occasion are also found in Tsan-ning's, *Brief History of the Saṅgha Compiled under the Sung Dynasty* Item on the Palace Chapels in fasc. 2 where the vessels are described as to have been "particularly made and richly decorated with gold and emerald." The only difference is that, instead of sending the vessels to monasteries, later emperors had the performance conducted inside the palace and with much greater luxury lavished on the utensils.

At the same time, the observance of this ceremony among the common people was also growing in warmth. In Ennin's *Record of a Pilgrim's Trips in the T'angEmpire to search for the Law* (fasc. 4, item on the 4th year of Hui-ch'ang i.e. 844), this Japanese monk describes this occasion of that year as follows:

"On the 15th day of the 7th month, all monasteries of the city (of Ch'ang-an) observe the ceremony of offering making, vying with one another in the magnificence of their richly decorated candles, flowers-vases, artificial flower trees and fruit trees, etc. It has been a rule for them on this day to display offerings in front of the buddha-shrines, while the whole city would come out and share the entertainments in monasteries, altogether presenting very splendid spectacles. But this year the display of offerings seems to have even excelled those of past years." Not only were the lay devotees doing their best to make offerings to the Buddha and the Saṅgha, but sometimes monks too participated in presenting vessels and offerings out of their own purse. For instance, in the Preface, to his *Commentary on the Ullambāna-sūtra*, Tsung-mi has the following statement about himself: "On the last day of the summer retreat every year, four kinds of offerings are to be made to the Triple-gem. I myself have observed this rule for many years."

This custom continued to prevail under the Sung dynasty but 'with some reduction in the magnificence of the display. And the idea of making offerings to the Buddha and the Saṅgha seemed to have gradually given place to the purport of making sacrifices to the dead. The condition of this practice during the Northern Sung has been described by Mêng Yüan-lao in his *Reimniscence of the Happy Days of the Eastern Capital* (fasc.8, ,item on the Chung-yüan Festival , i.e. the 15th day of the 7th month), where he writes, "Printed copies of the *Uṣṇiṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* and the *Ullambana-sūtra* were on sale. Besides, people used to construct a tripod with bamboo sticks, ranging from three to five feet in height, holding at the top a bamboo-cradle made in the form of bowl.shaped oil-lamp which they called the Ullambana vessel. Over it were hung clothings and paper cash to be burned for the dead. As soon as the Double-seven Festival (i.e. the 7th day of the 7th month) was over, entertainment houses would begin to stage performances on the theme of Maudgalyāyana saving his mother, which generally attracted audiences twice as large as usual." Another description of the same custom appears in Lu Yu's *Jottingsof the Lao-hsjieh* 7 where he says "During the middle decade of the 7th month, people had a custom of preparing vegetarian dishes to fete the departed ancestors. In the meantime, a vessel-shaped container, made with bamboo.splints and fastened at the top of a bamboo-pole, was filled with paper-cash and set on fire. People believed that they could divine the weather from the direction in which the burned vessel fell from the pole. The falling toward the north, so they said, would foretell a cold winter and the falling toward the south a warm one; whereas the eastward or westward falling would mean a moderate season for them. This bamboo-cradle was called,the Ullambana-vessel."

This practice was reproved as an abuse by Kao-Ch'êng (of the Sung dynasty)in his *Origins of Practices and Things* ."According to the *Ullambana sūtra*",writes he, "*Maudgalyāyana's mother was reborn* after death to the realm of pretas. The Buddha said that it would require the influence of the Saṅgha of ten directions to save her. Therefore he taught people to prepare delicacies of one hundred tastes and five kinds of fruit, put them in vessels and make offerings with them to holy monks of ten directions on the 15th day of the 7th month. As time went on, people gave more and more to exaggeration and showiness and began to lavish workmanship on wood-carving, and bamboo-ware. To-day, they simply have a circular cradle made of bamboo-splints on top of which is placed a lotus leaf containing some sorts of eatables to be sent to the place of sacrifice, accompanied by a picture of Maudgalyāyana releasing his mother. Such a practice is by far too much a daviation from the original idea." This book, however, has not mentioned the act of burning the vessel and paper-cash for the dead. What Kao Ch'êng describes might have been the custom of the sourthern Sung. As for the custom of the Southern Sung, a description is found in the 4th fascicle of Wu Tzū-mu's *Reminiscence of Pien-liang* (i.e. of the old Capital *K'ai—fêng*). "On the 15th day of the 7th month ..., ",says he, "Buddhist monasteries used to hold Ullambana Ceremonies, during which donations in the form of cash or grain were received from those who wished to have some religious service performed for their departed relatives. Paper cloths for the dead were marketed, and sometimes vegetarian. salads, as well as all sorts of fried pastries, stuffed dumplings, cream-cakes, leavened cakes, etc. were also on sale."

From that time onwards, the Ullambāna Ceremony was definitely established as one of the important monastic activities in the year. Tê-hui, of the Yüan dynasty says in his *Recompiled Pure Rules of Pai-chang* (fasc. 7,. Chap. on the Festivals of the Seasons,

item of the necessary informations about the activities in different months). "Within the first decade of the 7th month, the monastic manager is to announce to the monks of all apartments the list of Scriptures to be read in the coming Ullambāna Ceremony, and at the same time to have contributions collected before-hand for preparation of the bushels of food to be offered as sacrifice. On the 13th, the Lêng-yen Assembly is to conclude, and on the 15th the summer retreat expires. In that evening, the Ullambāna offering is performed including recitation of Scriptures and giving of food (to ghosts)." Regulations for the same occasion are also found in the *Pure Rules of the Huan-chu Monastery* composed by Ming-pê of the Yüan dynasty, in which he writes, "On the 15th day of the 7th month, the summer retreat expires. In the evening the holy Ullambana Service is held to deliver the departed souls from the infernal regions in requital of the parental favours they have done us. The list of scriptures to be read in the ceremony should be announced before-hand so that monks may make preparatory perusals according to their convenience. The ceremony includes an altar-performance of nectar-giving which should be duly observed." All these records will attest to the fact that the principal items of the Ullambāna Service practised at that time consisted in the recitation of Scriptures and the giving of food to spirits.

This performance continued to prevail till the Ming dynasty. Chu-hung in his *Writings on the Rectification of Erroneous Practices* tried to set the thing straight. "People of to-day" writes he, "generally regard the Ullambana Ceremony held on the 15th day of the 7th month as a rite of giving food to ghosts and spirits. This is a mistake. The Ullambana traces-its origin to Maudgalyāyana. It was so prescribed because the 15th day of the 7th month is the day when the monks conclude, their summer retreat and begin to make confessions. Through the past three months of cultivation, there must be many who have achieved enlightenment. Cousequently offerings made on this day will reap hundred fold of bliss. It is not meant at all to give food to ghosts and spirits. The rite of food-giving has its own origin, that is, from Ānanda. Moreover, the time of its performance has never been fixed on the 15th of the 7th month, and the utensil to be used is the Magadha bushel, not the Ullambana vessel. The purport of the one is to serve the wise and the saintly, whereas that of the other is to deliver the *pretas*. The one is motivated by the sense of respect while the other by the sense of compassion. How should acts of so widely different causes be mixed up as the same thing" I-jun of the Ch'ing dynasty attempted to bring about a reconciliation by advocating a dual practice of offering the Ullambana vessel at day as a Pious service to the Triple-gem and giving the bushelful of food at night as a universal salvation to the ghosts and spirits. In the 8th fascicle of his *Record of the Ascertained Meanings of the Pure Rules of Pai-chang*, I-jun has an abstract of the important items of the Ullambana Ceremony given in details, saying that the full, text is to be found in the *Collective Manual of the Ullambana Ceremony*. The programme he formulated includes such items as the purification of the altar by chanting Scriptures in procession going around it, the presenting of offerings with the Ullambana vessel, the distribution of food among monks, and other rituals, with 21 regulations for the performance appended at the end. This prescription, however, has not been observed at large among monasteries. In the minds of common people in general, the offering of sacrifices to the departed and the salvation of the ghosts still remain the principal functions of the Ullambana performance. This is the condition that this age-long ceremony has eventually come to.

Chou Shu-chia

UPĀDĀNA stands for "taking up", "grasping", "clinging" and "holding on to", as well as for that which is clung to, in the sense of its "basis", "sub-strata", "supply" or "fuel". As the tendency of the mind to cling or grasp, *upādāna* constitutes the ninth factor in the twelve-link series of dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*, being the outcome of craving and leading on to becoming or existence, *bhava*.

As the conditioning force for *bhava*, *upādāna* stands for clinging to sensual pleasures, to views, to vows and observances, and to a doctrine of self, *kāmupādāna, diṭṭhupādāna, sīlabbatupādāna* and *attavādupādāna* (*M.* I, 51). According to the register of terms given in the detailed treatment of the four types of *upādāna* in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, the first of these four, clinging to sensual pleasures, is similar in nature to sensual desire, sensual lust and sensual craving, *kāmacchanda, kāmarāga, kāmataṇhā* (*Dhs.* 212). That is, whether manifesting as clinging, desire, lust or

craving, the pivotal role in regard to the dilemma of the first type of *upādāna* is infatuation with *kāma*, sen-sual pleasures.

Clinging to sensual pleasures

The lure of *kāma* causes the arising of sensual desire, *kāmacchanda*, which constitutes one of the lower fetters, (*D.* III, 234). The same lure is also responsible for sensual lust, one of the underlying tendencies, *kāmarāgānusaya*. This tendency is already present in a new-born baby (*D.* III, 254). The dire results of craving for sensuality, *kāmataṇhā*, are similar to the case of a leper who cauterises his wounds over a fire and scratches them, experiencing momentary relief through an act that aggravates his condition (*M.* I, 507; See also TAṆHĀ). Hence *kāmupādāna*, clinging to sensual pleasures, has a broad compass and its removal is a central task for being able to progress on the path to liberation.

A series of stark imageries in the *Potaliya Sutta* compares sensual pleasures to meatless bones that are not able to satisfy a dog's hunger; to a bird that is attacked by other birds because it has gotten hold of a piece of meat; to holding a blazing torch against the wind and therefore getting scorched; to being thrown into a glowing charcoal pit; to illusory images seen only in a dream; to borrowed goods that have to be returned to their owner; and to climbing a tree in search of fruit, only to find that someone else is cutting down the tree and one risks severe injury unless one descends quickly (*M.* I, 364). The predicament that results from sensual pleasures is also taken up in the *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta*, which depicts in detail the toil and suffering, as well as the quarrel and warfare, that result from the pursuit of their satisfaction (*M.* I, 85).

Clinging to views

The resultant evils of the second of the four types of *upādāna*, clinging to views, *diṭṭhupādāna*, are a prominent theme in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Sut-ta Nipāta*. The *Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka Sutta* highlights how attachment to one's own views makes it difficult to relinquish them (*Sn.* 781 and 785). According to the *Paramaṭṭhaka Sutta*, the cause for unending quarrelling is high esteem for one's own view and the consequent looking down on any other view (*Sn.* 796-797). Thus some will delight in verbal debate and treat others as fools, the *Pasūra Sutta* points out, hoping to gain victory and fearing defeat (*Sn.* 824-828). Yet, if one were a fool simply by dint of holding another view, the *Cūlaviyuha Sutta* remarks, then all debating recluses should be reckoned fools (*Sn.* 880 and 890). As the same discourse points out, such dogmatic upholding of one's own view is but a manifestation of conceit and lust for one's own view (*Sn.* 889 and 891).

The problem behind clinging to views is that "what incites a person to cling passionately to his own view is more often his consciousness and esteem of the self, rather than the consciousness of truth. The dogmatist wishes to safeguard his view at whatever cost, because the refutation of his views means to him defeat and self degradation".[1] Thus it is precisely the degree of clinging to and identification with a particular view that leads to dogmatic adherence and various measures to protect it, to unwillingness to let go of it even when faced with compelling evidence. As a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* explains, it is due to being bound by views and being obsessed by them that recluses continue to quarrel with each other (*A.* I, 66). Since to hold any view dogmatically will inevitably lead to conflict with those that have different views, the only solution is to let go of clinging to views (*M.* I, 499). The need to let go of clinging might even be of relevance in relation to right view, in the sense of letting go of any dogmatic adherence and identification with it.[2]

Clinging to vows and observances

The implications of *sīlabbata*, the object of the third type of *upādāna*, can best be ascertained by turning to the *Kukkuravatika Sutta*. This discourse describes contemporary ascetics that were engaged in behaving like a dog or a cow, the *kukkura-vata*, *kukkura-sīla* or else the *go-vata*, *go-sīla* (*M.* I, 387). Such and other types of vows and observances were apparently undertaken in ancient India in the belief that they would lead to purification or to rebirth in heaven.[3] However, in a verse in the *Dhammapada* the Buddha enjoined his own monks to go beyond vows and observances, which indicates that this type of clinging could also become a problem for Buddhist monastics (*Dhp.* 271).[4] In fact a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* points out that vows and observances in themselves can be either wholesome

or unwholesome (*A.* I, 225), hence here too the problem is to be found in the act of clinging to them.

Clinging to a doctrine of self

The fourth type of *upādāna*, clinging to a doctrine of self, *attavādupādāna*, is according to the *Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta* a mode of clinging and grasping that is beyond the ken of other recluses and Brahmins. Though these may recognize the predicament inherent in the other three types of clinging, the problem posed by clinging to a self is characteristic of the Buddha's teaching alone (*M.* I, 67). The exposition given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* explains clinging to a doctrine of self with the help of altogether twenty modes of construing a sense of identity, twenty modes also regularly listed in the discourses (*Dhs.* 212). These proceed by taking any of the five aggregates to be a self; the self to be possessed of the aggregate; the aggregate to be part of the self; or the self to be part of the aggregate (See SAKKĀYADIṬṬHI).

Within the context of the twelve-link scheme of dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*, the above listed four types of *upādāna* should account for any clinging that leads to any type of *bhava*. Yet, on closer inspection it seems as if the four types of clinging might not completely cover all types of clinging. Clinging to sensuality, *kāmupādāna*, would be left behind with the attainment of non-returner, when the fetter of sensual desire, *kāmacchanda*, will be eradicated. Clinging to views, *diṭṭhupādāna*, should according to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* be understood to stand for clinging to wrong views, *sabbāpi micchadiṭṭhi diṭṭhupādānaṃ* (*Dhs.* 212). Such clinging would thus be overcome already with streamentry. The same would be the case for clinging to vows and observances and for clinging to a doctrine of self, *sīlabbatupādānaṃ attavādupādānaṃ*, which with the removal of the two fetters of personality view and of dogmatic adherence to vows and observances would similarly be left behind at streamentry. From this perspective, then, it would seem as if a non-returner has already successfully overcome all four types of *upādāna*.

Hence "this traditional fourfold division of clinging is not quite satisfactory. Besides *kāmupādāna* we should expect either *rūpupādāna* and *arūpupādāna*, or simply *bhavupādāna*. Though the Anāgāmi is entirely free from the ... four kinds of *upādāna*, he is not freed from rebirth, as he still possesses *bhavupādāna*."[5] In fact, the remainder of *upādāna* of a non-returner comes up explicitly in several passages that depict how a certain mode of practice has the potential of leading either to non-returning or else to *arahant*-ship. Such passages indicate that in the case of a non-returner final knowledge here and now is not won since there is a remainder of clinging left, *sati vā upādisese* (e.g. *M.* I, 63).

A solution to this problem could be found by turning to the Chinese *Āgamas*. The Chinese parallels to the analysis of *upādāna* given in the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* and in the *Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta* differ in so far from the Pāli versions as, instead of referring to clinging to 'a doctrine of self', they simply speak of clinging to 'a self' (*T.* I, 463a7; *T.* I, 591a22; *T.* II, 644a16). Clinging to a self would indeed be a form of clinging that is only overcome with the attainment of *arahant*-ship. Thus on adopting the reading found in the Chinese *Āgamas*, which speak only of clinging to a self, the four types of clinging would cover all the forms of *upādāna* responsible for any type of *bhava*.

The persistence of a subtle type of clinging to a sense of 'I' even in a non-returner is the theme of the *Khemaka Sutta*, which clarifies that even though a noble disciple may have overcome the five lower fetters and thereby become a non-returner, still a trace of the sense of 'I' in regard to the five aggregates of clinging remains (*S.* III, 130). By way of illustration, this discourse describes how a dirty and soiled cloth can be cleaned with the help of cleaning salt, lye and cow dung. Though after rinsing the cloth in water it would be clean, yet, a remainder of the smell of the cleaning salt, lye and cow dung still pervades the cloth, and it is only after the cloth has been kept in a perfumed casket that this remainder will also disappear.

In addition to the simile of the cleaned cloth, the *Khemaka Sutta* also presents another simile to illustrate how a subtle clinging to a sense of 'I' can remain even when the selfless nature of each of the five aggregates is well understood and realized. This simile involves the scent of a lotus. Just as the sense of 'I' remains even though it cannot be identified as belonging to any of the five aggregates, so too the scent of a lotus cannot be identified as belonging to the petals or the stalk or the pistils, as it belongs to the flower as a whole (*S.* III, 130).

That even the most subtle sense of an 'I' should be reckoned as a form of clinging comes to the fore in another simile that forms part of a penetrative instruction that led to the stream-entry of Ānanda (*S.* III, 105). According to this instruction, the sense of 'I' arises only when there is clinging or grasping, *upādāya 'asmī'ti hoti, no anupādāya*, just as it is only by grasping a mirror that one is able to see one's own face. This simile conveys how "it is when one looks into a mirror that one suddenly becomes self-conscious .. one gets the notion 'this is me' ... the moment one looks into a mirror one is suddenly reminded of it, as if to exclaim: 'Ah, here I am!'"[36]

What is grasped or clung to, according to this discourse, are none other than the five aggregates of bodily form, feeling, perception, volitional formations and consciousness. This, then, discloses another important perspective on *upādāna*, namely its role in relation to the "five aggregates of clinging", or perhaps better the "five aggregates affected by clinging", *pañ c'upādānakkhandhā*.

Clinging and the five aggregates

The role of *upādāna* in the context of the *pañ c'upādānakkhandhā* is of considerable importance, since according to the standard definition of the first noble truth, these *pañc'upādānakkhandhā* are the succinct manifestation of the truth of *dukkha*. This is the case to such an extent that one discourse even dispenses with the other explanations usually given, according to which birth, old age, death etc. are *dukkha*, and simply states that the five aggregates affected by clinging are the first noble truth, *katamañca dukkham ariyasaccam? Pañc'upādānakkhandhā 'ti'ssa vacanīyam* (*S.* V, 425).

The eminent role of *upādāna* in this respect is reflected in some shortened versions of the dependent arising of *dukkha* that set in directly with clinging, without mentioning the preceding eight links and then follow up the chain of dependent arising through the remaining links of the series. A case in point is the *Māgandiya Sutta*, which takes off from grasping at the five aggregates and proceeds via becoming and birth to old age and death (*M.* I, 511). A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* begins by describing the arising of delight in relation to the five aggregates, followed by equating delight with clinging, *yā nandi tad upādānaṃ*, and then filling in the rest of the series (*S.* III, 14).

According to the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta*, *upādāna* is not the same as the five *upādānakkhandhas*, nor is it something apart from them. Rather, *upādāna* stands for desire and lust in regard to them, *pañcas' upā-dā-nak-khandhesu chan-darāgo tam tattha upādānaṃ* (*M.* I, 300). Another discourse introduces the five aggregates as "things that can be clung to", *upādāniya dhamma*, again explaining that desire and lust are what is meant by the term 'clinging' in this con-text (*S.* III, 167). This would make it clear that the expression *pañc'upā-dānak-khan-dhā* refers to five aggregates as the objects of clinging. In fact, aggregates such as the body would in themselves not be able to cling. As the *Vibhaṅga* points out, only the aggregate of volitional formations is capable of clinging, *upādāna*, while the other aggregates can only be clung to, *upādāniya* (*Vibh.* 67).[7]

Without such clinging, the *pañc'upādānakkhandhā* then become the bare five aggregates, *pañcakkhandhā*. The distinction between these two is made in the *Khandhā Sutta* in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which explains that the content of the *pañcakkhandhā* and the *pañ c'upādānakkhandhā* is the same, in as much as they cover any possible instance of bodily form, feeling, perception, volitional formations and consciousness (*S.* III, 47). What makes the difference between them is that in the case of the *pañc'upādānakkhandhā*, the five aggregates are clung to, *upādāniya*, and hence related to the influxes, *sāsava*.

According to the *Dhammasaṅganī*, the five aggregates are free from clinging and being clung to only at the time when someone experiences the supramundane paths and fruits, *apariyāpannā maggā ca maggaphalāni ca asaṅkhatā ca dhātu, ime dhammā upādānavippayuttā anupādāniyā* (*Dhs.* 214). From the perspective of this presentation, even the five aggregates of an *arahant* are related to clinging (since they can be clung to), as long as the *arahant* is not experiencing path and fruit. Conversely, already the five aggregates of a stream-enterer can be considered as free from clinging and being clung to when the latter is experiencing path and fruit. The *Atthasālinī* follows up this presentation in the *Dhammasaṅganī* by explaining that though an *arahant* will no longer cling to anything, others may cling to him or her (*DhsA.* 347). In contrast, the supra-mundane fruits and path, as well as *Nibbāna*, cannot become the object of clinging, just as a fly is not capable of settling down on a red-hot burning iron ball.

This mode of presentation seems to some extent to bypass the import of specifying the five aggregates as *pañc'upādānakkhandhā*, whose purpose is to reveal the predicament of one's own clinging to different aspects of oneself, not the problem of the clinging that others may have. Moreover, it is not entirely clear why the five aggregates cannot be clung to during the time of the experience of the supramundane fruits and paths. As long as an *arahant* can become the object of clinging during his or her everyday life, as envisaged by the *Atthasālinī*, why should it be no longer possible to cling to this *arahant* when he or she is experiencing the supramundane paths and fruits? The person who clings to the *arahant*, described in the *Atthasālinī* as entertaining such notions as "our senior Elder", *amhākaṃ mātulatthero*, stands little chance of knowing when this elder is experiencing the supramundane path and fruit and thus should no longer be clung to.

In regard to *Nibbāna*, one might also wonder why it should be impossible to develop clinging in regard to it. That outsiders had mistaken notions of *Nibbāna* and would cling to them can be deduced from the survey of views given in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, which counts altogether five modes of proclaiming the attainment of *Nibbāna* here and now, *diṭṭhadhamma-nibbāna-vāda* (*D.* I, 36). An instance of one of these mistaken notions is recorded in the *Māgandiya Sutta*, according to which a wanderer thought that *Nibbāna* stands for bodily health and wellbeing (*M.* I, 509). Not only such mistaken notions, but apparently even the Buddhist idea of *Nibbāna* might become an object of clinging. This much seems to be implicit in the exposition given in the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta*, according to which a disciple in higher training, a *sekha*, should take care to avoid conceiving *Nibbāna* in various ways typical for a worldling, and beware of appropriating it as 'mine' (*M.* I, 4). Though the commentary holds that the *Nibbāna* spoken about in this context refers to wrong notions held by outsiders (*MA.* I, 38), the fact that this instruction is given to a disciple in higher training, and thus to someone who has already had personal and direct experience of *Nibbāna*, makes it clear that this is not the case. A disciple in higher training would not need to be instructed on avoiding conceiving wrong notions of *Nibbāna*, which would not arise in the first place.

Hence it seems as if the gloss offered in the *Atthasālinī* is not entirely convincing. From the perspective of the early discourses, it appears more straightforward to assume that once an *arahant* has destroyed clinging, his or her five aggregates can be considered as bare aggregates, as just *pañcakkhandhā*, precisely because he or she no longer clings in any way at them. A disciple in higher training, in contrast, would fall under the heading of *pañc'upādānakkhandhā*, independent of whether this disciple is experiencing the supramundane paths and fruits or anything else.

A problem with this interpretation could seem to be found in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, according to which a worldling or any of the four types of noble ones should engage in the same mode of contemplation that reviews the five aggre-gates of clinging from a variety of perspectives, such as impermanence etc. (*S.* III, 167). The instruction given in each instance, even in relation to an *arahant*, speaks of contemplating the *pañc'upādānakkhandhā*. This appears to imply that even the aggregates of an *arahant* are *pac'upādānakkhandhā*, not just the five bare aggregates, *pañcakkhandhā*.[8] Yet, the instruction speaks throughout of "these five aggregates of clinging", *ime pañc'upādānakkhandhā*, without providing a direct grammatical relation to the different type of nobles ones mentioned as part of the instruction. Hence it would also be possible to interpret this passage to be intending the *pañc'upādānakkhandhā* of the monk to whom the discourse was given, who apparently had come for instructions on how to progress on the path.

Clinging and *Nibbāna*

Another passage of relevance to the theme of *upādāna* and the status of an *arahant* can be found in the *Itivuttaka*, which distinguishes between the *sa-upādisesā nibbānadhātu* and the *anupādisesā nibbāna-dhātu* (*It.* 38). The former, the "element of *Nibbāna* with a residue remaining", stands for the *arahant* while he or she is still alive. The latter, the "element of *Nibbāna* without residue remaining", refers to the passing away of an *arahant*. This much can be seen from the verses that accompany this discourse, which qualify the *anupādisesā nibbānadhātu* as being related to the future, *samparāyika*, when all forms of existence cease, *yamhi nirujjhanti bhavāni sabbaso*.

To appreciate the implications of the distinction drawn in this *Itivuttaka* discourse, it needs to be born

in mind that *upādāna* can also have the sense of a "basis", "substrata", "supply" or "fuel".[9] This sense comes to the fore in the context of a fire simile in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which indicates that fire burns only as long as it has some fuel or basis for burning, *saupādāno*, not without such fuel, *anupādāno* (*S.* IV, 399). The imagery is telling, since it is by 'grasping' its *updāna*, its 'fuel', that fire continues to burn. This sense of "substrata" or "residue" also underlies the very expression *saupādisesa* in the context of a simile of a doctor who treats a wound caused by a poisoned arrow, given in the *Sunakkhatta Sutta* (*M.* II, 257). Here *saupādisesa* refers to a "residue" of poison left in the wound.

Applied to the case of the above *Itivuttaka* passage, *saupādisesa* thus indicates that the 'substrata' of the five aggregates are still in existence. Though this 'substrata' is the product of former clinging, it continues in existence even when clinging itself has already been removed. In the case of distinguishing between a nonreturner and an *arahant*, however, the qualification *saupādisesa* does imply a remainder of 'clinging' (e.g. *M.* I, 63: *sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā*).

Freedom from clinging

A prominent method for developing freedom from clinging takes the five aggregates of clinging as its object. This mode of contemplation focuses on their impermanent nature in particular, on their arising and passing away, a mode of practice that re-sults in establishing a clear appreciation of the objec-tionable nature of any clinging, *pañcasu upādānakkhandhesu udayabbayānupassino viharato upādāne pāṭikkūlyatā saṇṭhāti* (*A.* III, 32).

To contemplate the rise and fall of the five aggregates is a mode of practice given considerable prominence in the discourses as a form of meditation that issues in awakening.[10] This may well be the reason why instructions on this form of meditation practice are reckoned to be the Buddha's lion's roar (*S.* III, 85). The same form of contemplation features among the mindfulness practices described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* as the direct path, *ekāyana magga*, to the final goal (*M.* I, 61). According to the *Ag-givacchagotta Sutta*, the Buddha's aloofness from views, *diṭṭhi*, was the direct outcome of his having seen, *diṭṭhaṃ*, the rise and fall of the five aggregates of clinging (*M.* I, 486). Even the former Buddha Vipassī reached awakening by contemplating the rise and fall of the five aggregates of clinging (*D.* II, 35).

The point behind this practice is that it directly undermines all clinging to a sense of 'I', *pañcasu upādānakkhandhesu udayabbayānupassino viharato yo pañcas' upādānakkhandhesu asmimāno so pahīyati* (*M.* III, 115). Once the sense of 'I' that lurks behind the *pañc'upādānakkhandhā* has been fully understood and abandoned, they stand, as it were, with their root cut, *pañcakkhandhā pariññātā tiṭṭhanti chinnamūlakā* (*Thig.* 106), the root being desire for them, *chandamūlaka* (*S.* III, 100). Such desire for the five aggregates of clinging can take various forms, as it could be directed to future instances of each of the five (*M.* III, 16), imagining the way one would like them to be. Through perceiving gratification in things that can be clung to, *updāniyesu dhammesu assādānupassino*, craving will grow, just as a fire will burn ever more when additional fuel is added to it, or as a tree will grow as long as it is well nourished through its roots (*S.* II, 85 and *S.* II, 87; see also TAṆHĀ). In short, one who clings is bound by Māra, *upādiyamāno bhaddho Mārassa* (*S.* III, 73).

Due to clinging to a world that is but the product of the six senses, one's experience of the world becomes subject to affliction, *channam eva upādāya, chassu loko vihaññati* (*Sn.* 169). Such clinging is the condition for becoming and thus for the perpetuation of *dukkha*, *upādānapaccayā bhavo, bhūto dukkhaṃ nigacchati* (*Sn.* 742). But those who see clinging as fearful, *upādāne bhayaṃ disvā*, will reach liberation through not clinging, *anupādā vimuccanti* (*A.* I, 142), attaining the internal freedom, *ajjhatta vimokkha*, of having destroyed all clinging, *sabbupādānakkhaya* (*S.* II, 54). To reach the destruction of all cling-ing requires to let go even of the most sublime type of experiences, such as the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, which can be reckoned supreme among objects of clinging, *upādānaseṭṭha* (*M.* II, 265).

Hence practising mindfully one should dwell free from any dependencies and from clinging to anything in the world, *anissito viharati, na ca kiñci loke upādiyati* (*M.* I, 56). In particular at the time of death it is of considerable importance to avoid clinging to any aspect of experience, be this any of the sensedoors or their

objects, any element or meditative experience, this world or another (*M.* III, 259). Freedom from clinging is freedom from agitation, *anupādiyaṃ na paritassati*, and will issue in liberation, *aparitassaṃ paccatta yeva parinibbāyati* (*M.* I, 67). One who has reached final liberation, has thereby fully understood the nature of clinging, *'pariññātaṃ me upādānan'ti pajānāti* (*S.* IV, 33). In fact, the total absence of clinging is the final goal itself.

"Having nothing, clinging to nothing ... This I call *Nibbāna*." *Akiñcanaṃ anādānaṃ ... nibbānaṃ iti naṃ brūmi* (*Sn.* 1094).

Anālayo

References

1. Premasiri: *The Philosophy of the Aṭṭhakavagga*, Kandy 1972: 21.
2. Ñāṇavīra: *Clearing the Path*, Colombo 1987: 481, however, comments that since according to *M.* I, 66 *diṭṭhupādāna* is a type of clinging that was understood by contemporary recluses and Brahmins, "if *diṭṭhupādāna* includes *sammādiṭhi*, then it is beyond the scope of outside *samaṇabrāhmaṇā* to teach *pariññā* of *diṭṭhupādāna*, since *sammādiṭṭhi* is found only within the Buddha's Teaching. From this one might conclude that *sammādiṭṭhi* is not to be reckoned as *diṭṭhupādāna* ". Yet, the passage at *M.* I, 66 may only intend the problem of clinging to one's own views. Thus the outside recluses and Brahmins would be able to understand the problem of *diṭṭhupādāna* within the scope of their own experience, without needing to be able to understand the problem of Buddhists clinging to their own (right) view.
3. Cf. e.g. *M.* I, 102: *iminā 'haṃ sīlena vā vatena vā ... devo vā bhavissāmi devaññataro vā*.
4. Akiñcano: "Wo das Herz hängen bleibt - Upādāna und die Folgen", in *Der Buddha und seine Lehre*, Konstanz 2002: 106, suggests that this type of *upādāna* could even be understood to cover clinging to a particular meditation technique or tradition, or else to opinions on the relative importance of *sīla* or of the ability to attain *jhāna* for progress on the path.
5. Ñāṇatiloka: *Buddhist Dictionary*, Kandy 1988: 216.
6. Ñṇananda: *Nibbāna - The Mind Stilled*, vol. 2, Sri Lanka 2004: 217.
7. Gethin: "The Five Khandhas: Their Treatment in the Nikāyas and Early Abhidhamma", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 14, 1986: 38.
8. Bodhi: "Aggregates and Clinging Aggregates", *Pali Buddhist Review*, vol. 1 no. 1, 1976: 94.
9. Rhys Davids: *Pali-English Dictionary*, Delhi 1993: 149, s.v. *upādāna* speaks of "substratum by means of which an active process is kept alive or going".
10. Gethin: *The Buddhist Path to Awakening*, Leiden 1992: 56, comments that "the practice of watching rise and fall with regard to the five aggregates of grasping seems to be particularly associated with the gaining of insight that leads ... directly to awakening".

UPAGUPTA. A great *arahant sthavira* with high psychic potency, famed as a great meditator, preacher of the *dharma* and instructor, said to have lived in a forest hermitage in Mathurā, one hundred years after the demise of the Buddha. Probably due to his capabilities he was able to excite the imagination of Buddhists, so that the name of Upagupta became the centre of a wide variety of legends around which grew up a vast literature, especially in the circles of the northern Buddhist tradition. But what is significant is that the name of Upagupta has been able to cut across the traditional divisions in Buddhism to penetrate into the Theravāda tradition in South East Asia with the Pali form of his name as Upagutta or its local derivative, Shin Upāgo, in Myanmar or Phra Uppakut in Thailand and Laos, and remain there up to date as an unorthodox cultic belief and practice in popular Buddhism.

Predictions of the Buddha

Once the Buddha, while on tour in the Śūrasena Janapada, arrived in Mathurā with Ananda thera. There pointing at the distant bluish forest line he told Ananda that, one hundred years after his demise, two brothers of Mathurā,Naṭa and Bhaṭa by name,will establish a monastery there on the Mount Urumuṇḍa, which will be named Naṭabhaṭika after them. It will be foremost among such institutions with facilities conducive for both tranquility (*śamatha)* and insight (*vipaśyanā)* meditations. Making a second prediction the Buddha told Ananda that,at the same period, will live one

Upagupta, son of a dealer in perfumes (*gāndhika)* named Gupta, who will be ordained by Madhyandina (also called Madhyantika in some other sources) a pupil of Ananda. This Upagupta, the Buddha predicted, will be the last *(paścimaka)* among instructors in the *dharma*, a Buddha without characteristic marks (*alakṣaṇaka Buddha*) who will perform the duties of a Buddha (*Buddha-kāryām)* one hundred years after his demise. The Buddha also told Ananda that each person who becomes an *arahant* under his instructions would throw a four inch wooden tally into a certain cave on that hill, eighteen cubits long, twelve cubits broad and seven cubits in height. When that cave is filled with arhat-tallies, Upagupta will pass away and will be cremated using these tallies. At the request of the monks the Buddha also related to them the story of a former life of Upagupta as a monkey in the same forest who led a group of ascetics, practising self mortification, on to the correct path of Buddhism. Thus even in former births he had been in service for the welfare of large numbers (*GM*.III.i p.2 *f*.). This shows that already by the time of the compilition of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* texts the name of Upagupta had passed into legend.

The *Divyāvadāna* gives a much more elaborate version of the story of Upagupta.After discovering the future father of Upagupta who would fit into the Buddha's prediction, Śanakavāsin (not Madhyandina or Madhyantika), another disciple of Ananda, converts him and gets an undertaking to make his son a 'recluse-follower' *(paścātśramaṇa)* of himself. But, after much vacillation, it was his third son who is ultimately allowed to be ordained by him. Yet this did not take place in Upagupta's boyhood. He continued to work in his father's shop but, meanwhile, following the instructions of his teacher, he trained his mind to entertain only wholesome thought processes by flushing out negative ones. By using black and white tallies respectively to take note of the negative and positive thoughts, he finally managed to be free of all negative thoughts and have only white positive ones. Thus already as a layman he became an honest trader. His service to others also starts while still a layman. The beautiful prostitute named Vāsavadattā made several overtures to him to visit her, which he politely turned down, saying it is not the opportune moment to do so. Finally one day, Vāsavadattā was accused of murdering one of her clients and was sentenced to death. The mere stump of her naked body, sans hands and feet, ears and nose, was dumped in the cemetery.Upagupta thought it the most opportune moment to visit her. Speaking to her on the impermanence and the foul nature of her body he gradually led her to become a Stream-winner (*Śrotāpanna)*. What is more, following his own lecture, Upagupta also became a Non- returner (Anāgāmin). With his father's permission he now becomes a monk and soon realizes arhantship.In the Buddha's prediction, given in the *Divyāvadāna*,Upagupta will be the foremost among his disciples who are expert instructors *(eṣāgro bhaviṣyatyavavādakānām yaduta upagupto bhikṣuḥ)* and by his instruction many monks will realize arhantship with the extinction of all defilements.(*Divy*.349 *ff*.).

Upagupta Binds Māra

The Buddha's defeat of Māra is generally interpreted to mean a psychical defeat of the evil forces of mental defilements *(kilesa)* which binds one to *saṃsāra*. Yet from the earliest times Māra is also often depicted mythically as a *devaputta*, also called Vasavatti Māra, who appeared in various disguises to various persons, either to disturb them mentally or make their lives physically uncomfortable. The Buddha and various disciples are also said to have had these experiences. But, when recognized, Māra is always said to have immediately vanished from the scene. However it was only a temporary defeat.Naturally, as Māra is said to exist wherever the five aggregates exist, early Buddhism never envisaged a world devoid of Māra or the concept of Māra. *(S*.III.189; IV.39)

However in certain Buddhist circles the possibility of a complete extinction or conversion of Māra, possibly as a person, seems to have been envisaged. The later popularity of the legend of Upagupta, seems to have been mainly due to his said accomplishment of this task of binding Māra.After his ordination Upagupta was reminded of the Buddha's prediction about him by his preceptor Śanakavāsin, who asked him to carry out his duty by the religion. Agreeing, he started to preach the *dharma*. Coming to know that a Buddha without marks is about to give a sermon, large numbers assembled to listen to him. But as he finished the preliminary talk and was about to commence his talk on the truths, Māra sent down a shower of pearls disturbing the minds of the audience. The same form

of disturbance took place in the following days, too. Happy at his success Māra tide a garland of flowers round the elder's head to express his glee.Upagupta, knowing it to be the work of Māra and, that the Buddha had left the task of taming Māra to him and declared him a Buddha without marks, decided to attend to the task of taming Māra himself. Taking carcasses of a serpent, a dog and a human being and turning them into garlands of flowers he went up to Māra with them. In glee Māra bent his body to receive the garlands. The dead serpent was tied to his head, the carcasse of the dog was hung round his neck and the human carcasse on his eares.Finding not even a god could remove them,Māra finally returns to Upagupta and falling at his feet pleads with him to free him from the mess he has given him.

Upagupta agrees to do so on two conditions. First as a duty by the religion, he should undertake not to harass any Buddhist monk.Māra gladly undertakes to abide by it. Secondly as a service for himself, he should create the physical form of the Buddha for him to see, for, although he has already seen the Buddha's body of the *dharma* he has not seen his physical form.Māra agrees on condition that the elder does not salute him, when he sees the beautiful form of the Buddha he has assumed.Upagupta, however, could not abide by his undertaking and fell down on his knees to salute the Buddha form. Reprimanded by Māra Upagupta replied that he only worshipped the Buddha, but not Māra.(*ibid.*356 *ff.*)

Upagupta and Emperor Aśoka

According to the Divyāvadāna (384 *f.*)it was the abbot of the Kukkuṭārāma, ven Yaśas who revealed to Aśoka of the Buddha's prediction of Upagupta as he had made a similar prediction concerning Aśoka himself. Desiring to meet him, Aśoka reveals his wish to go to see him at the Urumuṇḍa Mountain hermitage. He was, however dissuaded by his ministers for reasons of protocol. When he made a second attempt to visit Upagupta, the elder himself, who was informed of the king's wish, decided that instead of the king visiting him, which would cause great inconvenience to a large number of people, he himself should go down to Pāṭaliputra.Later he does this with, it is said, eighteen thousand arhant disciples, by boats sent by Aśoka, who personally welcomed the elder ashore at the capital. The whole episode of Upagupta coming by boat to Pāṭaliputra on the invitation of Asoka resembles the Pali *Mahāvaṃsa* story of Moggaliputta Tissa coming to Pāṭaliputra on Asoka's invitation and his welcome ashore by the king. Jhon Strong[1] has listed four important parallels in the two stories, viz; (a) Both Upagupta and Tissa are said to reside in a meditation hermitage, Urumunda and Ahoganga respectively, on the upper reaches of the Ganges; (b) both are invited to Pāṭaliputra by Aśoka and agree only after some hesitation; (c) both journey to the capital by boat and (d) both are personally welcomed by the king.

One of the religious activities of Aśoka said to have been done by him, in certain later sources, in association with Upagupta was the building of 84,000 stūpas to enshrine the bodily relics of the Buddha. On the advice of Upagupta Aśoka got the assistance of spirits to construct stūpas all over Jambudvipa to enshrine the relics. Once this was done the enshrinement was done at the same single moment by the spirits at a signal given by Upagupta himself by covering the disc of the sun with his hand[2].This signal was, however, given by ven Yaśas according to the *Divyāvadāna* (381). In the Sri Lankan Pāli chronicles and the Pāli commentaries it is a great Arhant thera named Indagutta, also a possessor of great psychic power like Upagupta, who assisted Emperor Aśoka in his construction of the 84,000 *vihāras*, and possibly the same number of *stūpas*[3].It is possible that all these stories originate from a common point.

Upagupta Leads Aśoka on Pilgrimage

At the request of Aśoka, Upagupta is said to have led him on pilgrimage to various places associated with the life of the Buddha from the place of his birth at Lumbini to his place of demise at Kuśinagari. Among the other places visited by them—not less than thirty two sites altogether—were Kapilavastu, Bodhgayā, Samath, Rajagrha, Sānkaśya and Sravasti.Under some of these names more than one site anociated with the life of the Buddha are actually named. This description of the pilgrimage (*Divy.*389 *ff*) seems to follow the biographical data found in such Buddhist Sanskrit works like the *Lalitavistara*. At some of the more important places the king made donations of 100,000 pieces of gold and also constructed memorials.

At the conclusion of this pilgrimage at Kusinagari the king expressed his wish to pay homage to the

relics of the Buddha's disciples declared by him to be foremost in certain virtues. All these stūpas shown to the king were at the Jetavana premises (*Divy.*395 *ff.*), viz the stūpas of Sāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda and Bakkula. At the end of the pilgrimage Aśoka prostrates himself at the feet of the elder Upagupta and declares his fortune in being able to profit so much from his human condition by making hundreds of offerings and ornamenting the world with hundreds of *caityas.* Here, probably, they parted company, but the account does not say what Upagupta did afterwards. Strong[4] suggests, he went back to Urumunda.

Connected with Upagupta's relations with Emperor Aśoka is his role as a narrator of edifying Buddhist stories mainly dealing with revealing *karmic* antecedents of the lives of various individuals, historical, semi-historical or legendary. What is significant here is the appearance of a series of collections of *avadānas,* designated Avadānamālā, under different names. In many of these Upagupta acts as the narrator of *avadāna* tales at the request of Aśoka. A later development of this literary practice is seen in some Mahāyāna and Vajrāyāna works of the same type. In them a king named Jinaśrī hears similar tales from an elder named Jayaśrī who narrates the stories the way Upagupta told them to Aśoka in days of yore. Thus it is clear, as suggested by Strong[5] that Upagupta had become a sort of legitimator of these extra canonical narratives. As he was accepted as a'Buddha without marks' and the 'binder of Mara', probably, he had come to be accepted as an authority on material not directly attributed to the Buddha as in canonical texts.

Upagupta in S.E.Asian Theravāda Lands

It is significant that the name Upagupta or any aspect of his legendary character or cultic practices connected to him have never entered the Pali or the Sinhala Buddhist literature of Sri Lanka. However, one cannot say that the historiography of Sri Lanka was entirely immune to the influence of the legendary narratives connected with Upagupta. Possibility of such influence has been detected from certain legends in Sri Lankan Pali sources[6]. But what is more significant is the strong evidence for the knowledge of the legend of Upagupta and its influence in popular Buddhism coming from Southeast Asian Buddhist lands like Myanmar, Thailand, Laos and certain parts of South China. In some parts of these lands, Lower Myanmar, North and Northeastern Thailand, Laos and certain areas in Yünan in South China, a cult of Upagupta, based on a Pali work named Lokapaññatti has survived upto present day. But even then the name of Upagupta (Pali Upagutta) is hardly known outside the area called by Strong Northern Southeast Asia. In, for instance, Central and South Thailand most people have not even heard of him. There is little evidence of the cult ever having existed in Cambodia or Vietnam. However, the survival of the cult of Upagupta in certain parts of Theravādin Southeast Asia shows that certain beliefs and practices of non- Theravādin origin, related to ideas based on Buddhist Sanskrit traditions, did exist in these countries at a certain period in history and continue to exist, with no sanction from the Theravāda orthodoxy, at a certain level, among the common people of these lands.

The Lokapaññatti

Written in the 11[th] or 12[th] century A.C. in Myanmar, the *Lokapaññatti* is a Pali work attributed to the authorship of a monk named Saddhammaghosa. The bulk of its contents come from a Sanskrit work on cosmology named *Lokaprajñapti.* But the author has also worked into it material taken from other sources. The latter includes a legend of king Aśoka and stories about Mahissara (Śiva) and Māra. Within the legend of Aśoka in the work is also included the story of Upagupta (Pāli Upagutta).

King Aśoka , who had discovered the secret deposit of relics of the Buddha made by king Ajatasattu and distributed them in the 84,000 stūpas constructed by him, was worried that Māra would try to distrupt their festival of dedication. He requests the Saṅgha to appoint a powerful monk to thwart any such attempts by Māra. But no senior member of the Order was ready to take up the challenge. The choice of the Order finally fell on a novice who had proved his psychic potency by saving a *Nāga* king from a *Garuda* king. But the novice preferred to invite the elder named Kisanāga Upagutta dwelling in meditation in a brazen palace under the Southern Ocean. Two monks were sent by the Saṅgha to invite Upagupta to the assembly of the Saṅgha. When the order of the Saṅgha was delivered he readily agreed to comply. In Pataliputra, Upagutta

was entrusted with the task of thwarting any efforts of Māra to distrupt the king's festival. But Aśoka who was not sure he could achieve it, confronted him with the state elephant in rut to test his powers. To prove his capability Upagupta surprised the king by turning the elephant into stone. Later, with Māra attempting to distrupt the festival as expected, Upagutta had to battle with him to curb his antics and was finally successful. It is quite interesting to see here how the cause and the manner in which Upagupta tamed Māra in Mathurā has completely changed in the present context. In the former it was to assist Upagupta's activities for the spiritual success of his adherents. But in the latter it is to assist his adherent, the king in his merit- making activities that Upagutta tames Māra.

Strong who takes the Upagupta stories centred round Aśoka as a separate cycle of legends from those centred in Mathurā, regards the Lokapaññatti cycle of legends as a combination of both. However it is quite reasonable to regard the latter as having come under the strong influence of the Pali chronicles, commentaries and other Pāli works of Sri Lanka.To a monk named Tuvatakanāga is attributed, in the *Sihalavatthupakaraṇa*, the thwarting of an attempt by Māra to distrupt a festival of lights, at the great Stūpa of Anurādhapura, by king Saddhātissa[7].In the *Mahāvaṃsa* king Aśoka commands the service of the Nāga king Kāla to create for him the personal likeness of the Buddha (*Mhv.87ff.*) by sending a gold chain to bring him shackled to him. At his coronation Aśoka's authority is said to have penetrated into the earth to a depth of one *yojana* and to the same distance above into the air. Everything within this came under his authority and command. The Saṅgha in Sri Lanka sent a sixteen year old novice named Soṇuttara to the Nāga world to fetch the relics to be enshrined in the great stūpa built by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. The novice had to retrive it from the belly of the Nāga named Vāsuladatta, nephew of Kālanāga. Gods assembled to watch the confrontation between the two Nāgas, the *bhikkunāga* Sonuttara and the real *nāga* Vāsuladatta (*Mhv.*31.1 *ff.*). In the Lokapaññatti, the Saṅgha having seen the psychic powers of a novice,selects him to confront Māra. A similar episode is found in the *Visuddhimagga* (p.155) where an arahant named Buddharakkhita saves a Nāga king from a Supaṇṇa (Garuḍa) king who was swooping down from above to seize the Nāga who was attending on a sick monk named Mahā Rohanagutta.The names of persons and activities attributed to them in the *Lokapaññatti* legend of Upagutta and the stories of the Sri Lankan Pali sources are so similar, one cannot resist the conclusion that the author of the *Lokapaññatti* has been influenced by these Sri Lankan Pali sources. One cannot also overlook the fact that the 11th and 12th centuries A.C., the period in which the *Lokapaññtti* was written, was also the period when relations between Sri Lanka and Myanmar had reached a special height. The Pali canonical works along with the commentaries and also other Pali writings were brought to Myanmar from Sri Lanka during this period.

While it may be accepted that Upagupta of the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition and Moggaliputta Tissa of the Pali tradition were two separate characters, the author of the *Lokapaññatti*, in his formulation of the character of Kisanāga Upagutta,must have come under the influence of the life of the elder Moggaliputta Tissa in the Pali chronicles.Myanmari Buddhists, coming more and more under the influence of the orthodox Sri Lankan Theravda tradition, also must have, in their minds, gradually identified the two characters. Thus the name Kisanāga soon gave way to Tissanāga and even the alternative Tissupagutta (ie.Tissa Upagutta). On a wall of the Kabyauk-gyi temple in Pagan, built by Rajakumar, son of king Kyansitta, is a frescos depicting,according to the inscription, Tisapagut discussing with king Dhammasok the broadcasting of the religion. There is no mention of any broadcasting of the religion done by Upagupta in the original sources. But the Pali chronicles attribute to Moggaliputta Tissa the sending out of Buddhist missions. Thus, obviously, the inscription shows the amalgamation of the characters and activities of the two elders taking place in the Myanmari minds[8]

Transformations in the Upagupta Life Story

A number of changes in the life story of Upagupta as known from Indian sources have been brought about in the Southeast Asian cycle of legends. In the *Lokapaññatti* he is a monk named Kisanāga Upagutta living in a brazen palace in the Southern Ocean. He is also portrayed as a monk, constantly in meditation, who has apparently prolonged his life beyond the normal human life-span.

John Strong[9] who has discussed various possibilities prompting the naming of Upagupta as Kisanāga or Tissanāga shows his preference to the use of the two names Nāga and Tissa at Upasampadā ceremonies as aliases for the novice candidate and his preceptor respectively. However, one has to be aware of the fact that the use of these names as aliases at the ceremony of higher ordination is only an adaptation of these names temporarily for the duration of the ceremony and are not expected to be kept for all time. Since Upagupta is given these names outside the ceremony, and they remain his names for all time, it is difficult to accept Strong's views on this. Therefore it is more reasonable to think that other names ending with the word *nāga* so common in Sri Lankan Pali literature, influenced the adaptation of this name for Upagupta. Being lean (*kisa)* in body and being antelope -ankled *(enijaṅga)* are sometimes given as characteristic marks of monks and recluses leading ascetic lives. Living absorbed in meditation all the time, with no concern for food, naturally Upaguptta must have been taken to be a lean person, and hence his name Kisanāga.

The possibility of living for a whole *kappa* (Skt.*kalpa*) by a person who has mastered the four bases of psychic power (*iddhipāda)* is admitted by the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D*.II 103). Although this has not become a common theme in Pali literature, in Buddhist Sanskrit literature arahants who have made use of this capability are often found. Instances of Mahākāśyapa and Piṇḍolabharadvāja can be mentioned[10]. Although the early Mathuran legend of Upagupta has no such view, the Lokapaññatti legend seems to have extended this concept to Upagutta as well[11]. But Strong seems to have completely misinterpreted his prolongation of life as 'remaining in *samsāra*'. He says[12] that "although Upagupta is an arhant, he is an arhant who chooses to remain in *saṃsāra*. He refrains from crossing the stream completely; having reached the other shore, he stays on the raft". An arahant is a person who has completely crossed the ocean of *saṃsāra*. After crossing he continues to live till the end of his life. But as shown above, he can, if he has mastered the bases of psychic power live on for a *kappa* or the remainder thereof (*kappāvasesa)*. The word *kappa* here is interpreted in Theravāda as a full lifespan of a human being, while some other schools interpret it to mean a *mahākappa*, or a full world-cycle (*UdA*.323 *f*.). In Sarvastivādin *Avadāna* literature Mahākāśyapa is said to live until the appearance of the Buddha Maitreya. Strong has also missed the true meaning of the term raft (*kulla)* when the Buddha asked those who have crossed over to abandon the raft. What he expected from his disciples was to give his teaching (*dhamma)* to others without keeping it for themselves only. In fact what Upagupta did, after becoming an arhant, was to preach the *dharma* to others and allow them to use it to cross over themselves. Unlike a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva, who is not yet a Buddha and hence still remains in *saṃsāra*, an arhant, who has ended the process of death, rebirth and death again, is not in *saṃsāra* but only in a prolonged state of his final life. However, unlike in the case of Mahakāśyapa or even Piṇḍolabhāradvāja, no specific reason for this prolongation of life is given. One has to imagine that it was as a support for Buddhists to carry out their meritorious activities without any hindrance from Māra that the *Lokapaññatti* author made this 'Buddha without marks' to prolong his life so that he can come to their assistance when invited to do so.

As pointed out above the name Kisanāga given to Upagutta in the Lokapaññatti may have been prompted by many names ending with the component *nāga* found in Pāli works like the *Mahāvaṃsa*. But why Upagutta was called a *nāga* may not be for any biological reasons. For according to the *Vinaya* rules of Buddhist monks neither a *nāga* nor any other animal can be ordained a Buddhist monk. But it is well known that Buddhas and arahants are referred to as *nāga*, figuratively, in Buddhist literature. It is interpreted as "he does no evil, hence a nāga" (*na āguṃ karotīti nāgo* (*Nd*.II 337) in the Theravada tradition. In the Vinaya commentary (*VinA*.I.58) Arhant Moggaliputta Tissa is called a samaṇa-nāga. So is the Arhant novice Soṇuttara is called *bhikkhnāga*. Therefore Upagutta also may have been called a nāga in the same sense. But the bigger problem is why the *Lokapaññatti* author made him to live in a submarine brazen palace. Naturally a person of this type who is supposed to have outlived one's natural span of life has to be found a secret hide out cut off from the common human habitat. Otherwise inquisitive types could try to locate the place and even cast doubts about the whole story. Mahakāśyapa is said to lie in a trance under the Kukkuṭapāda hill in India to be awakened only by the Buddha Maitreya. Both Upagupta and Moggaolīputta Tissa, according to Indian and Sri Lankan sources,

came to meet emperor Aśoka from their mountain meditation centres,by boat, down the Ganges. But the *Lokapaññatti* author made Upagutta to come to him from his watery abode in the Southern Ocean, a place more convenient to Buddhists in Lower Myanmar. From this watery abode Myanmari Buddhists could more conveniently contact Upagutta when they need and send him back to his abode down the river Irrawady. The belief in abodes of nāgas in rivers and the ocean also may have strengthened the *Lokapaññatti* story, for at least by name Upagutta is also a *nāga*. However this submarine abode of Upagutta Kisanāga seems to have led to further developments in the legend of Upagutta in Southeast Asian countries.

In several developments in Myanmar, Thailand and Laos[13] Upagutta- called Shin Upago in Myanmar and Phra Uppakut in Thailand and Laos- is presented as the result of a virgin birth caused without any sexual contact between the parents. In two versions from Myanmar he is the son of a beautiful girl named Macchadevī as she was discovered in the belly of a golden fish, caught by fishermen and, presented to the king of Rajagrha, who adopted her as his daughter. But, unable to remove the foul smell emanating from her body the king sent her drifting down a river on a raft.Picked up by a hermit named Upa, she later gave birth to a son resulting from merely the amorous thoughts she conceived for her protector. The child was called Upagutta as he was protected by Upa.Back to her foster-father the king, with the child, the childless king wished to make her son his successor. But Upagutta did not like this. A *deva* helped him to break away from the king by carrying him through the air to an unknown destination. Fearful of his unknown destiny Upagutta started to meditate on impermanence and became an arahant in mid-air. Later he settled down to live in a brazen pavilion on a raft in the ocean, created by his own past *kamma*.However, strangely, the story does not speak about his ordination as a monk.

In the second Myanmari version the father of Upagutta is a young, handsome student in a temple school. Seeing Macchadevi he falls in love with her. Later discovering the young man's interest in her the girl clutches his hand. It was this touch that impregnated her. The child born from this union was later dumped in a magical pond to decide who its real possessor should be, the king or the abbot of the temple school where the young man studied. From the magic pond the child emerged as a full fledged monk solving all problems. Leaving his parents and all, he flew away to take up residence in a brazen pavilion on a raft floating in mid-ocean. He is said to be still living there.

In the third version, from Northeast Thailand and Laos, the mother of Phra Uppakut is a mermaid or a female *nāga* (*nāgī*). He was later ordained a monk or novice, and, as the son of an acquatic mother, lives in the water. Here the fatherhood of Uppakut is attributed to the Buddha. Of course all Buddhist monks are generally regarded as sons of the Buddha (*Buddha-putta*). This could be an extension of this idea but with highly unorthodox overtones.

Upagupta Cults in India and Southeast Asia

The Chinese pilgrim monk Hsüan-tsang who visited India in the 7th century A.C reports of a Upagupta cult prevalent in Mathura in his time. He reports of what can be called the Upagupta cave piled high with the tally sticks tossed into it by those led to arhantship by Upagupta. But he says that in the cave are found only the tallies tossed only by married couples converted by him. No record exist of single persons led to arhantship, says the tradition. Since the early sources speak of the use of these tally sticks in the cremation of Upagupta's body, John Strong thinks a cult of throwing such tallies in honour of Upagupta may have existed long after his demise. Perhaps, he thinks, this was done with the hope of receiving guidance of Upagupta to Arhantship and to conquer Māra, the Evil One[14].

Whatever cultic practices, related to Buddhism, that were extant in India went into oblivion with the extinction of Buddhism in India. However, quite significantly, beliefs and cultic practices connected with Upagupta have survived in certain areas in the Southeast Asian Theravāda countries. Although not accepted by the orthodox Theravāda tradition of the Sīhala Saṅgha of Myanmar, Thailand and Laos, these Upagutta cults have managed to survive among certain groups of lay Buddhists in these countries. In the Irrawady and Salween valleys of Myanmar is found a cult with a seated image of Shin Upago in monastic garb taking a central position. The image, seated cross-legged, with the right hand dipped in the alms bowl placed on the lap, has the head turned sideways with

the eyes supposed to be gazing at the sun. Two explanations are given to this gazing at the sun. Upagutta, so conscious of the observance of the rules of discipline is watching, is the first explanation, whether the sun has passed the meridian. In the other, on the other hand, he is supposed to be using his psychic power to prevent the sun from passing the meridian before he finishes his meal. Such statues are found placed in a small shrine in major pagodas or in people's homes. They are also sometimes found placed floating on a raft in a tank at the pagoda premises. The statues are venerated and offerings of food, drinks, robes, etc are made to them with the hope of receiving protection, good weather and other boons from Shin Upago. An important feature of this cult is to send the image, after the conclusion of the ritual, floating down river on a raft, symbolically representing the return of the elder to his watery abode in the Southern Ocean. The raft, towed to the middle of the river, would be let loose to drift down of its own. But sometimes, some villagers down stream could intercept the raft and tow it back to the shore and carry the image to their village to perform the same form of ritual in their village. At the end it would be once again let loose on the river to continue its voyage to the brazen palace in the ocean.

In Northeast Thailand and Laos, where the use of iconic representations of Phra Uppakut is very rare, round stones picked up from a river or a swamp are used to represent the elder. The ritual is often performed to seek the assistance of Phra Uppakut to prevent Māra from distrupting a festival like that of the recital of the Vessantara Jātaka. A group of people, carrying various ritual objects like a set of a monk's robes and bowl, would go to the edge of a river or a swamp and, first perform a ritual of inviting Phra Uppakut. Round stones usually three, picked up from the bottom of the river or swamp, would then be carried to the venue of the festival and placed in a special shrine ceremonially. They are kept there for the duration of the festival with the usual offerings made to them and the cultic worship performed at the shrine. At the end of the festival the stones are returned to the river or the swamp indicating that Phra Uppakut has now returned to his watery abode[15]. It is possible that some of the changes in the ritual patterns may have been caused by the area in which they originated far distant from the ocean.

The Upagupta cults in Southeast Asian Countries have developed in a variety of directions. In whatever form they are expressed, iconic or aniconic representations, amulets, shells carved with the face of the elder, incantations, offerings of food, drinks etc, are all meant to enhance once mundane prosperity with the power of the elder. A chant used in the worship of Shin Upago in Myanmar amply demonstrates the belief of Buddhists of these areas in general. The Buddha, the Enlightened One, predicted:

"Upagutta the Arhat will, subdue Māra and his army". The Buddha, the Enlightened One, predicted: "Upagutta the Arhat will subdue Māra and his impediments". May the great saint dispel all calamities, all without exception. May the great saint be here, poised on my head, and may he repel all misfortunes let loose by Māra.

I now pay respects to the powerful reverend Upagutta with my head bowed down. May he grant us protection and repel all maladies[16]

Some Problems of History

The story of Upagupta probably has at its basis a kernel of historical facts mixed as time went on, with more legend and even myth, developing later into a cult, starting first in Mathura in North India, spreading to eastern India and thence to Southeast Asia. Different scholars have, from time to time tried to study and analyse various aspects of the Upagupta legend. However, the best, and the most comprehensive study so far has been made by John S.Strong in his very good, inspite of a few misinterpretations of the Buddha's teachings, work, the Legend and Cult of Upagupta. Much of the material used in this article has been collected from his work. He does not venture to pay very much on the historicity of the life and story of Upagupta. "If pressed", says Strong, "I could perhaps say, with a fair degree of accuracy, that historically Upagupta was a Buddhist monk who achieved some fame as a preacher and teacher in the region of Mathura in Nothern India , sometimes between the reign of King Aśoka (third century B.C.) and the first century of the Christian era. By inclination he was perhaps a follower of the Sarvastivādin School. He was probably a forest monk, and he very likely attracted to himself a number of disciples interested in meditation, although this did not stop him from engaging in contact with lay persons. He may have written one book, but this has not survived, and we

know almost nothing about it. After his death, his mountain monastery near Mathurā became a center of pilgrimage and remained so at least until the time of the Chinese traveller Hsüan-tsang (seventh century A.C.).Beyond this, however, I would probably not venture to say much, at least not with any confidence"[17].These comments by Strong quite convincingly prove the difficulty any one could face in trying to figure out the historical personage behind the Upagupta legend. However, as suggested by him, he must have been a Buddhist monk with a charisma and capabilities to have been considered by Indian Buddhists to be a suitable character to be developed into a legendary and even a mythical figure, 'a Buddha without marks'.

The work attributed to Upagupta's authorship, as referred to above, the *Netripada Śāstra*, is quoted in the Abhidharmakośa as asserting certain views held by "Western (*paścātya)* Sarvastivādins but rejected by Kashmirian Vaibhāsikas[18].If Upagupta to whom this work is attributed was the same as the elder discussed above, it is justifiable to accept Strong's view that he lived in the post-Asokan age. One cannot imagine how a work of this nature could have been produced at a time as early as the end of the first century after the Buddha when there was no Sarvastivāda to speak about, not to mention a Sarvastivāda School or any form of a developed Sarvāstivāda philosophy.

Another scholar[19], in a recently published paper has shown, quite correctly, that Upagupta who lived one hundred years after the demise of the Buddha could not have had any relations with emperor Dharmaśoka who, according to Sri Lankan sources and generally accepted by modern historians on other evidence, lived more than a century after this date. He proposes that King Aśoka with whom Upagupta had relations was the king who shifted the Magadhan capital to Pataliputta, viz Kālāsoka of the Sri Lankan sources, the same as Kākavamin of the Puranas,who reigned at the time of the Second Buddhist Council, held a century after the Buddha's demise. Among his other conclusions are also the following:-

i. Due to chronological factors Upagupta cannot be equated with Moggalīputta-tissa.

ii. The reason for his exclusion from the Pali records could be that he sided with the Vajji bhikkhus in the dispute over the ten controversial points of the Second Council.Kalāsoka also might have taken the side of the Mahāsaṅghikas after the schism

iii. Upagupta in all likelihood played a major role in the Mahāsaṅghika sect. He could have been the "High Priest" of Kālaśoka and what Nothern Buddhist records recall could be the close relations between these two.

iv. Upagupta's guided tour of sacred Buddhist sites and, stūpas built on his advice by Aśoka may have been infact the religious activities in which Kalaśoka was involved by Upagupta.

v. Upagupta acquired eminence in the evolving Mahāyāna tradition, especially in Aparanta, the Northwestern region as attested by Xuan-Zhang who was shown *saṅghāramas* and stūpas in Sindh commemorating Upagupta's sojourn in the region. Tibetan sources also suggest his association with Kashmir. It could be in this region that Upagupta acquired eminence as the fourth patriarch of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

However the writer has left for future research to find evidence for some of his speculative views. His view on the identity of Aśoka may be reasonable. But if credence is given to the date of Upagupta as suggested by Strong then this attempt at solving the problems involving Upagupta and the two Aśokas become meaningless. Moreover the statement attributed to the Buddha that Upagupta will be born one hundred years after his *parinirvāna*, according to Strong[20], should not be taken to indicate any chronological precision. It only means, says Strong, that Upagupta would live in a time well after the Buddha's demise when no human being who had known him would still be alive. In this same stereotypic way this round number is also used in indicating the times of Madhyantika and Aśoka.However whether the same criterion can be applied in case of chronological data found in Pali chronicles has to be solved by historians.

Strong[21] also clearly indicates the Sarvāstivāda leanings of Upagupta.He refers to the series of Masters of the Law (*dharmācārya)* in the Sanskrit Buddhist tradition, particularly in the Sarvāstivādadin tradition. It is in this series that Upagupta is placed the fifth patriarch after Madhyantika and

Sānakavāsin.Mahāyānists may have taken over this tradition of Dharma Masters from the earlier Hinayāna School and even extended it. Therefore to speak only of a Mahāyāna patriarchate does not give the whole picture.Mathura and Kashmir were the strongholds of Sarvastivadins before Mahāyāna became popular in this region.

The view that Upagupta sided with the Vajji bhikkhus and later supported the Mahāsaṅghikas and that Kālāsoka supported them is purely speculative.That Kālāsoka's change of heart to take the orthodox side is already noted. It is not believable that Upagupta, pupil of Sānakavāsi and an Arhant would repudiate his teacher's view and side with the heterodox faction. The Cullavagga (*Vin.*II 298 *f*) account of the Second Buddhist Council holds that a preliminary discussion of the ten controversial points was held at the Ahoganga (Urumunda?) forest hermitage of Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī with the participation of sixty Pātheyyaka and eighty Avanti Dhakkhināpathika monks, all Arhants. Sāṇavāsī belonged to the former group and if Upagupta was his pupil he also must have been there in this assembly. The account does not refer to any dissentient view expressed at this meeting. Therefore to say that Upagupta who was also an Arhant was a dissenter is not tenable. To take *ex silentio* Theravada sources excluded his name because he was a supporter of the controversial views and sided with Mahāsāṅghika is also not a strong argument. To take him to be a Sarvastivādin is a much more tenable view.

The author of this paper also refers to the acquisition of eminence by Upagupta in the evolving Mahāyāna tradition, especially in Aparanta.He cites in support Hsüien-tsang's (Xuan-Zhang) reference to his having seen *sanghārāmas* and stūpas in Sindh built to commemorate him. But Hsüien-tsang[22] says there were several hundreds of sangharāmas in Sindh occupied by about 10,000 Sammitiya monks who study the Little Vehicle.Sammitiyas were a school which branched off from the Vatsīyaputriyas who were a sub-school of the Sthaviravādins. Significantly he also refers to a group of people here who resemble Buddhist monks outwardly but also engage in ordinary affairs of lay life. He adds that "they hold to their narrow (little) views and attack the Great Vehicle". In the past they were a highly disciplined group of monks, converted to Buddhism by an arhat (was it Upagupta?) but have, as time passed, fallen to the present sorry state. There is no reference to any Mahāyānists or even Mahāsanghikas in Sindh. Anyhow all these discussions once more prove the enigmatic nature of the character represented by the legends, myths and cultic practices of the historical or the semi-historical person who goes by the name Upagupta.

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UPAJJHĀYA: The term *Upajjhāya,* Vedic and Buddhist Sanskrit *Upādhyāya*, is analysed as upa+adhi+ī, lit. 'one who is gone close up to', a spiritual teacher or preceptor (*PED.* s.v. *Upajjhāya.*). The term is also sometimes found in a shortened form as *upajjha* with the feminine *upajjhā*. But the Pali term for a female preceptor of a *bhikkhunī* is, significantly, *pavattinī* explained in the *Suttavibhaṅga* (*Vin. IV.*326) as *upajjhā (pavattinī nāma upajjhā vuccati).* In the Vedic tradition, the *upādhyāya*, different from *ācārya*, is a teacher of a branch of Vedic studies. Its feminine form *Upādhyāyinī* is the term used for the teacher's wife. Possibly this was the reason why Buddhists, to avoid any unwarranted connotations, avoided this term and used a completely different term to denote a female preceptor.

The preceptor—co-resident pupil (*upajjhāya-saddhivihārika)* institution with its twin teacher- pupil (*ācariya-antevāsika)* institution can be, in a manner, called the bedrock on which rests the continuity and stability of the Order of Buddhist monks. For it is the monks trained and guided in the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* by the preceptors and teachers who carry forward the torch of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* and the uninterrupted succession in the Order.

At the inception all admissions to the newly formed Buddhist *Saṅgha* were made under the direct supervision of the Buddha. Until the newly ordained monks reached sufficient spiritual maturity they remained under the Buddha's personal supervision. Only those who graduated to Arahanthood were sent out to the open world to take the new message to the public. Moreover most of those who sought admission to the Order at first were either educated brahamins or recluses with some form of religious training under some other religious tradition. But with the opening, so to say, of the portals of the Order to the masses (*bahujana)* and the extension of the facility of new recruitments to the members of the Order, candidates for admission to the *Saṅgha* started to increase. The Buddha could not possibly pay personal attention to the spiritual advancement and the disciplinary matters of all these. Naturally he had to seek the assistance of his senior disciples in the training and guidance of these new recruits. The necessity for such a scheme was very urgent as all the new recruits were not of the desired high calibre in intelligence and experience. One could often see references to monks and nuns described by the Buddha as unintelligent and inexperienced (*bālā avyattā).* There were also those who sought admission to the Order for reasons other than spiritual or religious. They came from all walks of life and from all stratas of society. Those coming from lower stratas of society were possibly uneducated and were not aware of even the basic rules of social ethics. Formation of the Order of nuns must have increased the problems.

The *Vinaya* account leading to the inception of the office of the *upajjhāya* states; "Now at that time monks without preceptors, not being exhorted, not being instructed walked for alms food wrongly dressed, wrongly clothed, not befittingly attired. While people were eating they held their alms bowls above the soft or hard food or above savary food and beverages for the remains (*uttiṭṭha- patta).* Having themselves asked for curry and rice they ate it. They made a loud and great noise in the refectory" (*Vin.*1.44)[1]. Probably this was only one sample of the lack of decorum and the lack of a proper training, as a Buddhist monk, of these new recruits to the Buddhist *Saṅgha.* The commentator explains the words "without a preceptor" (*anupajjhāyakā)* without a teacher who could judge properly and instruct (his pupils) in what is right and wrong (*vajjāvajjaṃ VinA*. V.977).

In another context, commenting on the act of making a candidate for higher ordination to select a preceptor, the same commentator states that those who do not get any service of a preceptor do not receive any favours either spiritually (*dhammato)* or materially (*āmisato*). Consequently they definitely decline but do not progress (*ibid* . 1025). Commenting on the word *upajjhāya*, used in a discourse in the context of the life of a layman, the same commentator Buddhaghosa says that friends and companions can be classified as *upajjhāyas* of a person as they have to consider or reflect upon his happiness (*sukha)* and pain (*dukkha*, *AA*.III.98). These are some of the duties that should be expected from a preceptor.

Mutual Duties of a Preceptor and a Co-resident Pupil

"A preceptor" says the Budddha, "should arouse thoughts of a son (*puttacittaṃ)* in the mind of a co-resident, and the latter should arouse in the mind of a preceptor thoughts of a father (*pitucittaṃ).* Thus these, living with reverence, with deference, with courtesy

towards one another will come to growth, to increase, to maturity in this *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*". Thus the benefits of the institution is not just one sided. Although it was instituted to train and guide the junior monks the benefits of the institution are mutual. As each new member has to be dependent (*nissaya* *Vin*.I.80) on a preceptor for at least five years, each member of the Order should derive its benefits for the betterment of one's religious life. On reaching maturity they also could in turn become guides to more new recruits to the Order.

The preceptor—co-resident institution was not, at its inception, linked to the ceremony of higher ordination. But soon it came to be so linked, for when a candidate is presented to the *Saṅgha* for higher ordination the name of his preceptor has to be invariably revealed to them. The senior monk who presents a candidate to the *Saṅgha* for higher ordination has to request them to grant him higher ordination with the monk of such and such a name as the preceptor (*itthannāmena upajjhāyena*. *Vin*.1.56). Since no candidate without a preceptor is granted higher ordination, a candidate has to, before being presented to the *Saṅgha*, seek the consent of a senior monk to be his preceptor. Only a monk of ten or more years of standing can be the preceptor of a junior. However mere seniority does not qualify one for preceptoship. In addition to his age he also should be experienced and competent (*vyattena paṭibalena*) to be a preceptor. For otherwise there could be preceptors who are ignorant, inexperienced, with little learning, and of poor intelligence while the co- residents are wise, experienced, much learned and intelligent, a situation that would be harmful to the organization of the *Saṅgha* (*ibid*.59*f*.) A junior monk was at first expected to live under the spiritual guidance (*nissāya vatthuṃ*) of one's preceptor for ten years. But later this was reduced to five years. But it has been laid down that an incompetent one may be expected to live dependent on his preceptor all his life time (*avyattenayāvajīvaṃ* . *ibid*. 60,62). This necessity to be under the guidance of a preceptor is seen in the services expected from the preceptor. It is said that he should be competent to develop his charges on the following lines:

1. To guide them in the discipline of decorum and propriety,
2. .... to guide them in the discipline leading to the attainment of the monastic ideal.
3. .... to regulate their life in terms of the Dhamma.
4. ... To regulate their life in terms of Vinaya.
5. ... to dispel any incorrect views they come to entertain by analyzing them in terms of the Dhamma' (*ibid*. 64 *b*.).

Once the senior monk accepts the request of the junior to be his preceptor the latter is duty bound to look after the physical needs of his preceptor meticulously. Diurnal duties of a co-resident pupil, from early in the morning until the time of going to bed in the night, are given in great detail. These include assisting the preceptor with his morning ablutions; at breakfast; at the alms round; if requested, even accompanying him at a respectful distance and, after returning, by keeping his cell and other monastic buildings and possessions clean and secure; assisting him at the bath, tending him in illness wishing for his recovery; washing and dying the preceptor's robes etc. In addition the co- resident also has to assist his preceptor spiritually and to regulate his life within the bounds of the ecclesiastical disciplinary rules of a Buddhist monk.

But these duties of the institution are not one sided but mutual. Above attention was drawn to the broad outlines of the services expected from a preceptor towards his ward. The preceptor has to assist his co-resident pupil with regard to his education, literally, by recitation (*uddesa*), by inquiry (*paripucchā*) to help him to clear his doubts, by exhortation (*ovādena*) to put him on the right track and instruction (*anusāsaniyā*). If the co-resident falls ill the preceptor has also to attend to his physical needs as the latter attends to the preceptor's needs in normal times. He also should assist him in securing his material needs like robes and bowl by giving him even an extra robe or bowl he has. To assist his pupil spiritually and to maintain his stand within the bounds of ecclesiastical rules and regulations also falls within the duties of a preceptor (*Vin*. I.44*ff*.). According to the *Vinaya* texts a teacher (*ācariya*)was appointed to be the guide of a young monk in the absence of a preceptor. But in actual practice in Theravāda countries today, the office of a preceptor has become an honorary one. The pupil, called an *antevāsika vis-a vis* an *ācariya*, actually lives with the latter and is guided and cared for by him. But according to rule the preceptor takes precedence over the teacher and when both are present at the same time the teacher has to surrender his duties to the preceptor. (*Vin*.I.62, *VinA*.V.988).

The *Mahavagga* gives five reasons how the dependence (*nissaya*) of a co-resident on a preceptor can be terminated, viz. on the latter's departure, leaving the Order, death, joining another religious group or at the express wish of the preceptor. In addition to these five reasons a sixth reason is given for the termination of the dependence of a pupil on an *ācariya*, viz. the presence of the preceptor whose authority supersedes that of an *ācariya (ibid.*62).In the case of Buddhist nuns it is said that it is a *Pācittiya* offence for one not to wait upon (*nānubandheyya*) for two years the female preceptor (*pavattinī*) who conferred higher ordination on her. The very moments he decides that she will not wait upon her for two years this nun becomes guilty of the offence *(ibid.*IV 326). It is also the duty of a woman preceptor who ordains one's co- resident nun (*sahajīvinim*) to help her or get another to do so (*anugganheyya)* for two years. This helping should be with regard to recitation, inquiry, exhortation and instruction. Not to do so or to decide not to do is a *Pācittiya* offence (*ibid.*325)

Penal Authority of a Preceptor

A co - resident who does not behave properly by fulfilling all his duties towards his preceptor is guilty of an offence of 'wrong-doing' (*dukkaṭa)*. If he does not correct his ways even with the imposition of this punishment the preceptor is authorized to give him a heavier punishment by 'turning away' or dismissing *(paṇāmetum)* him. Five qualities are given in the *Mahavagga* which make a co- resident suitable for such a punishment, viz i. he has no much affection for the preceptor, ii . has no much faith in the preceptor, iii. has no much shame towards him, iv. has no much respect for him and, v. has had no much development under him. The importance of such action to maintain monastic discipline is stressed when it becomes an offence for the preceptor not to punish a co-resident with such negative qualities. On the other hand he is prevented from overstepping his authority by imposing such punishment on well- behaved juniors who possess the opposite positive qualities. Thus steps are taken to prevent unjust action by senior members of the Order.

However, what is rendered into English as dismissal *(paṇāmana)* does not appear to be a permanent break in the preceptorā— co- resident relationship. It appears to be more a strong reprimand than a rupture of relations for good. For once the punishment is meted out the co-resident is expected to tender an apology to the preceptor. Not to apologize is also an offence of wrong-doing .What is more significant is that the preceptor who does not accept the apology tendered also is guilty of an act of wrong-doing. Thus the penal code of the *Saṅgha* does not allow the offences of any party to go unrecognized. Both the seniors and the juniors have to play their own roles in keeping the monastic atmosphere undisturbed. (*Vin.I.53 f.*).

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UPAKKILESA SUTTA, the "discourse on [subtle] mental imperfections" is the hundred-twenty-eighth discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* III, 152). The Pāli version of this discourse has a counterpart in the seventysecond discourse of the Chinese *Madhyama Āgama* collection (*T.* I, 532c).[1]

The *Upakkilesa Sutta* begins by reporting the Buddha's attempt to settle a quarrel among the monks at Kosambī, a quarrel also recorded in the Pāli *Vinaya* (*Vin.* I, 337).[2] As the monks of Kosambī were unwilling to follow the Buddha's advice, he decided to leave them and eventually went to visit Anuruddha and his companions, who described their meditative experiences to him. In reply to their description of the difficulties they had in their meditation practice, the Buddha gave an account of his own struggle to develop deeper stages of concentration during the time before his awakening. It is from this account and its treatment of a series of mental imperfections, *upakkilesa*, that the *Upakkilesa Sutta* takes its name.

The series of *upakkilesa* mentioned in the *Upakkilesa Sutta* differ from references to *upakkilesas* in other discourses, where this term stands for unwholesome states of mind such as anger, contempt, conceit and arrogance, etc. The *upakkilesas* mentioned

in the present instance are more specifically related to the development of deeper stages of concentration, covering doubt, lack of attention, sloth-and-torpor, fear, elation, inertia, excess of energy, lack of energy, longing, perception of diversity and excessive contemplation of forms (*M.* III, 158).

According to the *Upakkilesa Sutta* and its Chinese parallel, after overcoming all these mental imperfections the Buddha-to-be developed concentration with initial and sustained application of the mind, *savitakka savicāra*, an expression that stands for the attainment of the first *jhāna*. Next he developed concentration without the former but with a remainder of the latter, *avitakka vicāramatta*, and then concentration without both, *avitakka avicāra*, thereby covering stages of concentration that the more common mode of presentation in the discourses treats in terms of the second, third and fourth *jhānas*.

It is perhaps worthy of note that this alternative mode of reckoning the *jhānas* does not imply a substantial difference in regard to the actual experience, but only takes a different perspective on the same experience of gradually progressing through deeper stages of concentration. The mode of describing such progress in terms of the four *jhānas*, prevalent in the early discourses, emphasizes the affective tone of the different stages of such development. This more affectively oriented mode of description proceeds from the rapture and happiness of seclusion (1st *jhāna*), via the rapture and happiness of concentration (2nd *jhāna*), to happiness devoid of rapture (3rd *jhāna*), and then culminates in equanimity (4th *jhāna*).

The threefold presentation found in the *Upakkilesa Sutta*, a presentation referred to also in several other passages (cf. *D.* III, 219; *S.* IV, 360; *A.* IV, 300), instead places emphasis on the role of the mental factors *vitakka* and *vicāra*, initial and sustained mental application. This threefold mode treats the deepening of concentration from the perspective of the three stages when *vitakka* and *vicāra* are present, when *vitakka* is absent, and when both *vitakka* and *vicāra* are absent. The matching of these two modes could perhaps best be illustrated by setting them side-by-side:

1st *jhāna* = *savitakka savicāra* & *avitakka vicāramatta*
2nd & 3rd & 4th *jhāna* = *avitakka avicāra*

That is, the threefold mode of exposition treats the initial stages of progress through *jhānic* concentration in more detail, as it accords importance to a stage when *vitakka* has already been subdued, but *vicāra* is still present. The more affectively oriented mode of presentation underlying the four *jhāna* scheme does not need to take this interim stage into account, because it still falls under the category "rapture and happiness related to seclusion".

Conversely, the fourfold mode treats the more advanced stages of progress through *jhānic* concentration in more detail, according importance to the affective changes that occur when concentration that is without *vitakka* and without *vicāra* progressively deepens.

The *Abhidhamma* then brings both modes together, in order to provide a comprehensive account of the mental conditions during deeper concentration. The net result of this is a five-fold presentation, of which the first two stages correspond to the first *jhāna* of the fourfold mode found in the discourses (cf. e.g. *Dhs.* 33).

Another aspect of the *Upakkilesa Sutta* that is of relevance to the development of concentration is its reference to the "sign", the *nimitta*. According to the *Upakkilesa Sutta* and its parallel, Anuruddha and his companions had told the Buddha that they saw meditative lights and forms, but these soon disappeared. In reply, the Buddha explained that they should "penetrate that sign", *taṃ ... nimittaṃ paṭivijjhitabbaṃ* (*M.* III, 157). The use of the expression "sign" in the present context is to some extent ambiguous, as it could have a plain causal sense, simply indicating that they should understand the cause for the disappearance of their meditative visions. This is in fact the way the commentary understands the present passage (*MA.* IV, 207).

Alternatively, *nimitta* can also stand for a "sign" in the sense of the characteristics with the help of which perception recognizes an object. This meaning of the *nimitta* comes to the fore in the early Buddhist account of perception, and also in relation to the development of deeper stages of concentration (See also NIMITTA). To understand *nimitta* in the sense of a meditative sign would also fit the present context, which treats meditative visions and the development

of concentration. In fact, at a later point the *Upakkilesa Sutta* speaks of directing attention to the meditative experience of forms or to that of light in terms of the *rūpanimitta* and the *obhāsanimitta* (*M.* III, 161). This passage explicitly uses the term *nimitta* to refer to the vision of light and forms that Anuruddha and his companions had been unable to stabilize, a usage where *nimitta* unequivocally stands for something that is perceived.

From this it seems that the *Upakkilesa Sutta* could indeed be describing the development of the mental *nimitta* required in order to enter the first *jhāna*. This interpretation would also fit with the mental imperfections listed in the *Upakkilesa Sutta*, which do not mention the first two of the five hindrances, sensual desire and aversion. Their absence implicitly shows that the meditative development treated in the present discourse sets in at a more advanced stage, when these two comparatively gross mental defilements have already been successfully sub-dued and a basis of mental tranquillity has been established. It is precisely at this stage, when the gross hindrances of sensual desire and aversion have been overcome and the mind becomes increasingly concentrated that, according to the account given in the *Visuddhimagga*, the *nimitta* in the sense of a mental sign will manifest to the meditator (*Vism.* 125).

The commentary, however, takes the reference to seeing visions of forms to stand for the exercise of the divine eye (*MA.* IV, 207). This commentarial explanation is not convincing, since the progress described during this part of the discourse forms the precondition for the development of concentration with *vitakka* and *vicāra*, and hence only the first *jhāna*. For the exercise of the divine eye, however, the concentrative ability of the fourth *jhāna* would be required. Further on the commentary also suggests that the Buddha's pre-awakening progress towards attaining the three types of *samādhi*, described in the *Upakkilesa Sutta*, took place during the last watch of the night of his awakening (*MA.* IV, 209). This explanation is also not convincing, since the *Upakkilesa Sutta* quite explicitly reports that the Buddha to be developed each of these three types of concentration for a whole day, a whole night, and a whole day and night (*M.* III, 161), leaving little scope for associating this develop-ment with a single night.

Hence it seems that the commentary to the *Upakkilesa Sutta* is not particularly reliable and the implications of the discourse need to be explored with the help of other relevant passages. Judging from these it would seem that the *Upakkilesa Sutta* describes stages of development of concentration that involve the overcoming of a series of subtle mental imperfections (*upak-kilesa*) in order to stabilize the mental sign (*nimitta*) of meditative visions of light and forms that will eventually lead to *jhāna* attainment. Due to the emphasis given in the present discourse to the progress from an intermediate level of concentration to the attainment of the first *jhāna*, the whole range of *jhānic* experience is described in a mode that places emphasis on the role of *vitakka* and *vicāra*, the two factors characteristic of the first *jhāna*, instead of employing the more commonly used mode of description by way of the four *jhānas*.

The *Upakkilesa Sutta* concludes with the Buddha's proclamation that it was only after overcoming all these subtle mental imperfections and developing the three types of *samādhi* that he was able to reach awakening. The *Madhyama Āgama* discourse makes explicit what would be implicit in the Pāli version's presentation by indicating that, based on the three types of concentration, he developed the factors of awakening (*T.* I, 539b6). In this way the *Madhyama Āgama* discourse clarifies that the present passage is not meant to imply that concentration alone will suffice for reaching the final goal.

Anālayo

References

1. *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.
2. The same event is also recorded in *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse 24.8, *T.* II, 626b, and in the *Vinayas* of the Dharmaguptaka, Mahā--sāṅghika, Mahīśāsaka, and (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda traditions, cf. *T.* XXII, 879b; *T.* XXII, 333c; *T.* XXII, 158c; and Nalinaksha Dutt: *Gilgit Manuscripts, Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavastu, vol. III part 2*, Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1984: 177.

UPĀLI (1). The foremost among the masters of *Vinaya* in the Saṅgha, Upāli was, before ordination as a disciple of the Buddha, a barber (*kappaka*) of the

Sakyas of Kapilavatthu. Once, six Sakya young men, who had apparently decided to leave home life and join the Buddhist Sangha, went out to the pleasure garden, as they used to do even before, with the fourfold army. Their barber named Upāli also had accompanied them. They first dismissed the army who were sent back to the city. Having crossed over into a foreign territory, they took off all their ornaments and, bundling them in their upper robes, gave them to Upāli ordering him to return home and use all that for his livelihood. But, on his way back, Upāli had other thoughts. The Sakyas, he thought, are fierce and could even kill him, thinking, that he has made the young men to come forth (*nippātitā*). "Yet if these Sākya young men leave home life why should I not do the same"? thought he. Having untied the bundle he hung up the things on a tree and, saying "any one who sees it could take them to the Buddha who was at the time in the townlet of the Mallas named Anupiya.

When they met the Buddha the Sakyas requested the Buddha to ordain first the barber Upāli, their attendant for a long time. "We will greet him", they said, "rise up before him, salute him with joined palms, and do the proper duties. Thus will the Sakyan pride be humbled in us Sakyans"[1]. The Buddha too ordained Upali, the barber, first and the Sakya young men afterwards (*Vin.* II, 182f). This is all what one could glean from Pāli sources regarding Upāli's life prior to ordination, his social background and his ordination itself. The spiritual attainments of four of the Sakyas are given in the account but nothing is said of Upāli and the other two Sakyas.

The Buddhist Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* gives a somewhat different story but has many important common features with the Pāli version. Upāli, a young barber (*nāpitadārako*), was among five hundred Śākya young men who left Kapilavastu in great royal majesty and splendour, to the Banyan Grove (*Nyagrodhārāmam*), seeking ordination as disciples of the Buddha. At this point the story goes on to say that Upāli had acquired the roots of merit under previous Buddhas, had retained the impressions of his previous life (*vāsitavāsino*), had broken his bonds (*chinnabandhano*), was not liable to rebirth, enjoyed Āryan states in his last existence (*āryadharmāṇāṃ caramabhaviko*) and was master of meditations and the super knowledges (*lābhī dhyānānāṃ cābhijñānāṃ ca*). Thus Upāli, inspite of his low birth was not an ordinary simpleton.

Here the story deviates to show how Upāli was first introduced to the Buddha by his mother. He was sent to the Buddha by his mother to cut the Buddha's hair. He did it with the Buddha's consent and the mother inquired whether Upāli has done his job well. "Yes", replied the Buddha, "but he stands too close to the Tathāgata". So the mother orders him not to stand too close to the Buddha. It was then that Upāli entered the first *dhyāna*. She repeats the same question and the Buddha says, "yes, but he oils the razor too much". She instructs the son not to do so and Upāli enters the second *dhyāna*. When the question is repeated a second time the Buddha replies "yes, but his breathing annoys the Tathāgata". Then the mother instructs him not to do so and Upāli enters upon the third and the fourth *dhyānas*. Then the Buddha asked the monks to take the razor from his hand so that it does not fall to the ground. This story does not seem to fit into the main story well. The translator has suggested that the story is taken from a text or tradition containing a series of examples of the practice of meditation by a variety of men in a variety of circumstances[2]. It is also possible that the question put repeatedly to the Buddha and his answers have cryptic references to the four *dhyānas*. For instance breathing is said to stop in the fourth *dhyāna*. So when the Buddha says that Upāli's breath annoys him it may be an indication to attain the fourth *dhyāna*. In the *Anguttara Nikāya* (v. 201ff.) is a discourse where a monk named Upāli expresses his desire to live in the forest. But the Buddha, dissuading him, says that only a person who has practised concentration (*samādhi*) could live in the forest comfortably. Then he goes on to give a full description of the life of a monk fulfilling all steps in discipline (*sīla*) and concentration (*samādhi*). Here he gives all the nine attainments (*samāpatti*) in detail. Woodward[3] thinks he was not the same as Upāli the barber. (See below for another Upāli called 'Upāli the Nephew').

When the *Mahāvastu* story continues the Śakya princes are seen doffing their clothes and trinkets and throwing them at Upāli's feet asking him to take them as they are leaving worldly life. But Upāli thought otherwise. If the princes do this I also do not need these valuables. "Although I live by the razor, I also can go forth to the religious life" and, decides to do so. He went straight to the Buddha and requested for ordination which he got immediately. All this while the princes were bidding farewell to their parents etc.

and therefore were ordained after Upāli, whom the Buddha declared senior to them all. They were asked to bow down at the feet of the Buddha and Upāli and take their places in due order. When this became known the people cried "the Śakyans have overcome pride and anger, they have put down pride and arrogance".

King Śuddhodana, also, with his retinue and Śakyas bowed at Upāli's feet, and Upāli greeted the king welcoming him by his name. The counsellers and attendants were displeased at the lowly born Upāli addressing the king by his name. At this the king told them; "Gentlemen do not speak of the Ārya Upāli as a lowly born one. Another was his former birth, but now a different one is the royal power of the recluse. He must no more be said to be of lowly birth" (*Mvu.* III. 178ff). When the monks expressed their wonder at the royal attendants bowing at the feet of the venerable Upāli of lowly birth, the Buddha related to them the *Gaṅgapāla Jātaka* to show that a similar thing had happened in the past too. In that *Jātaka* tale Upāli was a barber named Gangapāla, who became a disciple of a seer named Upaka and acquired psychic powers by his effort and commanded the respects of King Brahmadatta. The Buddha was then the seer Upaka and the king Suddhodana was Brahmadatta (*ibid.* 182ff).

Foremost Among the Masters of Vinaya

The Buddha has declared Upāli as the foremost among the Masters of vinaya (*Vinayadharānaṃ*) in the community of monks (*A.* I. 25). There is no reference in canonical texts of the reasons leading to this declaration. But the commentators have given three episodes as the basis for the Buddha's declaration. These are the Bhārukacchaka episode (*Vin.* III.39), Ajjuka episode (*ibid.* 66f.) and the Kumarakassapa episode (*J.* 1. 148; *DhA.* III, 148; *AA.*II. 284; *MA.* II 120). It is clear that the last one is not attested to in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. The commentator says that the Elder received the subject of meditation from the Tathāgata himself and developing penetrative meditation (*vipassanā*) realized arahantship. He learnt the *Vinaya Piṭaka* from the Buddha himself and adjudicated the above three cases as if with omniscient knowledge and became the foremost among Masters of the *Vinaya* (*AA.*1.311). According to the *Buddhavaṃsa* (1.61), "well-versed in what is an offence and what is not an offence, and what can be corrected and what cannot be corrected, Upāli, praised by the Buddha, was placed at the head of the Vinaya-experts."

Upāli's preceptor is named in the *Vinaya* texts as Kappitaka, who was living in a hut in a cemetery (*Vin.* IV. 308). Not much is heard about the association between these two, teacher and pupil. However it is said in the same text that Upāli once saved the life of his preceptor from the notorious group of 'Six nuns' who were planning to kill him. Quite significantly there is an eulogy of a monk named Kappitaka in the *Petavatthu* (IV.1.32-38; 43-53). He was living in the deep forest, in a place called Kapinaccanā (lit. 'where monkeys frolic') in the Vajjian country. Living a very secluded life the Vajjians knew him as a 'Silent sage' (*muni*). If he was the same as Upāli's preceptor mentioned in the *Vinaya* text then it must have been due to his influence that Upāli also once desired to lead a similar life, i.e. if what the commentators say about him is correct. But if the preceptor of Upāli was the same as the forest-dweller Kapitaka of the *Petavatthu*, then it is not probable that the Buddha would advise him to live in the monastery away from the preceptor. Therefore the Arahant Kappitaka of the *Petavatthu* was most probably a different individual from Upāli's preceptor. There is also another discourse where Upāli requests the Buddha to give a brief exposition of the *Dhamma* so that he could abide resolute, alone, secluded, earnest and zealous (*A.* IV. 143). Here there is no reference to living in the forest. The translator E.M. Hare[4] also thinks that the Upāli of this discourse must be the reciter of the *Vinaya* rules at the first Council.

Mrs. Rhys Davids[5], in her translation of the *Theragāthā*, attempts to show that Upali's ordination was not done in earnest. She says "Upali's own beginning was not so single-minded, he having joined precisely in order to protect his life". Following her, Woodward[6] also says, "Nor was he" 'one who went forth in faith'." But the verses attributed to him in the *Theragāthā* (vv. 249-251) do not seem to indicate such a view. These verses, according to the commentary (*ThaA.* II. 102), were recited by Upāli in admonition to monks at a *Patimokkha* recital. But the contents of the verses seem to hint at some character traits of the Elder. He says that a newly ordained monk should choose as friends those with noble character and lead pure lives with unfaltering zeal. They should dwell

amidst the Saṅgha and learn the code of discipline. They also should be skilled in what should be done or left undone. Upāli may have admonished his pupils to train them according to his own way of life. But at the head of each verse are the words "he who out of faith had renounced the world". If he himself did not renounce 'out of faith' (*saddhāya*) then the pupils would not have taken his words seriously. To act according to one's words (*yathā vādī tathā kārī*) is one of the qualities expected by the Buddha from his disciples. Thus, although the *Vinaya* episode points to Upali's first move to renounce home life as originating from fear of death, it would be an over statement to say that he did not renounce out of faith. The *Mahāvastu* story does not indicate any such motive for Upali's ordination. Moreover according to that source he was a spiritually well advanced person at ordination.

Both the commentators Buddhaghosa (*AA*.V.68f.) and Dhammapāla (*ThgA*. 101), who have taken the monk named Upāli who expressed his desire to the Buddha to become a forest dweller to be the *Vinaya* expert, have conjectured that the Buddha dissuaded him from it so that Upāli can be accomplished in both the study of the teaching, (*gantha-dhura*) and meditation (*vipassanā* or *vāsa-dhura*). The Buddha thought, says Buddhaghosa, that by accomplishing both, Upali will be an Arahant and also a master of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*; then he will be able to declare his former aspirations amidst the community and place him in the foremost position among masters of the *Vinaya*. We have to note here that terms such as *Vinaya Pitaka*, *ganthadhura* and *vāsa* or *vipassanādhura* are later developments in the history of Buddhism.

A note should be added here about an idea imputed to Upāli by the translator of the *Theragāthā*[7]. According to this translation Upāli requested the Buddha, "send me not away, Lord, to dwell in the forest". Intriguingly Woodward[8] also has followed it. But what the commentator states is, "Lord, please do approve dwelling in the forest for me" (*mayhaṃ bhante araññavāsaṃ anujānātha AA*.V.101). The translator has completely reversed the words imputed to Upāli by the commentator. This however does not mean that the *Vinaya* Master Upāli did want to be a forest dweller. It is quite possible that his wish was to live amidst the Saṅgha and collect all the rules of discipline laid down by the Buddha. Many references in the *Sutta* and *Vinaya* texts seem to point in this direction.

Upāli Aspires to be a Master of *Vinaya*

One of the longest poems in the *Apadāna* (*vv*. 446-598) is the *Upālittherāpadāna*. It gives the first aspiration, for the present position of Upāli, made by him as a rich and pious brahamin named Sujāta in the city of Haṃsāvatī. He was highly learned in all branches of Vedic studies. Many brahamins and recluses of different sects were there at the time who used to respect him as a famous brahamin, but he himself was highly conceited as not to respect any one else. The Buddha Padumuttara appears in the world at the time and visited Haṃsāvatī. Seeing him declare a certain ascetic named Sunanda would be a monk named Puṇṇa Mantāniputta in the dispensation of the future Buddha Gotama, the brahamin Sujāta also wished to see the same Buddha. Having constructed a beautiful monastery, and presenting it to the Buddha, he made an aspiration to be a master of *Vinaya* like the monk named Pāthika. The Buddha Padumuttara declared that one hundred thousand aeons hence his wish will be fulfilled under the Buddha Gotama, who will declare his disciple Upāli as the foremost among the masters of *Vinaya*.

Here Ven. Upāli gives a long description of his mastery of the rules of discipline set by the Buddha for the members of the Order and the great confidence the Buddha had in his capability of resolving disciplinary problems. Then he goes on to relate a story of a past birth to elucidate how he came to be reborn in a low position in society. In the second aeon before the present one he was a son of a powerful Ksastriya ruler named Añjasa. Infatuated by his birth, fame and wealth, he once harassed a Pacceka Buddha name Devala. When he could not set up his own elephant against the Buddha he generated a great anger within himself against the Buddha. Then suffering with a sensation of burning within him, caused by this, he begged pardon from the Buddha on the advice of his own father. The Buddha pardoned him but as a result of this evil action he was reborn in a low caste in his final birth.

A Second Expert in Vinaya named Upāli

Strangely, the *Apadana* (vv. 1116-1239) carries a second poem said to be that of 'Upāli the Nephew' (*Bhāgineyya Upālittherāpadānam*). The text[9], however has a note which says that the term *bhāgineyya* is not found in the Siṃhala character prints. The Elder Upāli of this poem claims that he was a Tridaṇḍin recluse at the time of the Buddha Padumuttara whom he had eulogized in numerous phrases. Having listened to the eulogy the Buddha declared that, at the time of the future Buddha Gotama, one hundred thousand aeons hence, he would have a low caste birth and be named Upāli. Later, having joined the Order of monks, he would realize Nibbāna and be pronounced foremost among those who have mastered the *Vinaya*. Upāli goes on to say of himself, "I hold the whole of the *Vinaya*, complete, a mine of gems. Knowing my virtues, the Incomparable Teacher of the world, seated amidst the community of monks established me in the foremost position" (*ib.* 1136-1137).

Then, who was this Upāli? Since he says that the Buddha placed him in the foremost position regarding his mastery of *Vinaya*, any one could suspect that he was the same as the famous *Vinaya* expert, for there cannot be two foremosts in the same field. Was the story of the famous Upāli duplicated? Or, were there two versions of the same story taken as of two separate persons by the compiler of the *Apadāna*? Any way this shorter version does not contain some of the important details like the name of Upāli in the past birth etc.

The commentator has, however, tried to reconcile the two versions by calling the second Upāli Bhāgineyya Upāli, which is not found in the text. He has also given his interpretation of the reference to 'the foremost in *Vinaya*' declaration of Upāli the nephew. Accordingly he was born in the city of Kapilavatthu as the nephew of the Elder Upāli. Later he was ordained by his uncle Elder Upāli and became an Arahant. Because he dwelt near his uncle he came to possess a sharp knowledge regarding questions of discipline. So the Buddha placed him in the foremost position of monks who have a sharp knowledge regarding questions of discipline (*vinayapañhe tikkhiṇapaññānaṃ bhikkhunaṃ*) (*SHM.* XLIII. pt. II. p. 311). Prof. Malalasekara thinks that this Elder has to be distinguished from the eminent disciple of that name, though the *Apadāna* verses obviously point to a confusion of the legends of the two (*DPPN.* Upāli Thera 3). It has to be noted that the list of Elders placed in the foremost position in various fields, found in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (I. 23ff.) mentions only one Upāli and the field of expertise given by the commentator for Upāli the second is not included in it.

Upāli the Master of Vinaya

Referred to above was how the Buddha placed Upāli in the foremost position among the masters of *Vinaya* in the Community of monks. Among the many verses attributed to him describing his own accomplishment in all branches of *Vinaya*, three in particular speak of his almost identity with this branch of the Buddha's teachings.

"Bearing in my heart this charming *Vinaya* discipline resembling the Teacher himself, I dwell paying homage every day to the *Vinaya*.

"*Vinaya* is my abode, in *Vinaya* I stand and move. I abide in *Vinaya* and *Vinaya* is my pasture.

"Accomplished fully in *Vinaya* and expert in settlement (of disputes) too, that Upāli, O Great Hero, salutes the Master at his feet"[10].

In one place in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the Buddha, speaking in many a figure in praise of discipline, in praise of accomplishment in discipline, also speaks in praise of venerable Upāli, referring to him again and again in his talk. This illustrates the Buddha's great regard for Upāli's knowledge of and accomplishment in *Vinaya*. The monks probably understood what the Buddha was hinting at and started to flock to Upāli to learn the *Vinaya* from him. Many senior monks, newly ordained ones and those of middle standing were among those who studied *Vinaya* under Venerable Upāli. (*Vin.* iv. 142f.). This shows that he was not only an expert in the disciplinary rules, and an expert adjudicator but was also a popular teacher of *Vinaya*.

Upāli was eager to enrich his knowledge of the *Vinaya* and be accomplished in it. There are many places, both in the discourses and the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, where he approached the Buddha to clarify various points on *Vinaya*. Six of the discourses in the *Upāli*

Vagga of the *Dasaka Nipāta* in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (*A.* V. 70ff.) contain such clarifications made to Upāli by the Buddha. The subjects dealt with include, the objects of laying down rules of discipline and the *pāṭimokkha* recital; the qualities of a monk in order to be considered fit for inclusion in a committee for passing sentence (*ubbāhikā*); qualifications for granting higher ordination to others; qualifications for assigning tutelage (*nissaya*) to others; to what extent can the Order be disunited?; and, to what extent can the Order be considered to be united. In the immediately following section (*ibid.* 77f.) are also three discourses delivered to Upāli by the Buddha. In the first the Buddha explains how and why disputes, uproars, strife and quarrels arise in the Order. In the second and the third discourses are enumerated the roots of quarrels pertaining to the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*.

In the *Vinayapiṭaka* is a section named *Upālipucchā-bhāṇavāra* (*Vin.* 1. 322ff) also devoted to clarifications sought from the Buddha by Upāli. The questions raised by the Elder concern the proper manner in the application of some of the modes of settling disputes (*adhikaraṇa-samatha*) (*ibid.* 325ff.). Another section of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* is *Upālipañcaka* (*Vin.* V. 180ff.) where Upāli's queries are resolved by the Buddha. Some of the queries raised deal with one who should not live throughout life without tutelage; one who should not confer higher ordination, or tutelage or be attended upon by a novice etc. Commenting on this section of the *Parivāra* and such others Prof. Malalasekara says it is not possible to determine which of these and other questions were actually asked by Upāli, and which were ascribed to him on account of his traditional reputation. (*DPPN.* Vol. I. p.409).

Upāli's Role in the First Buddhist Council

All Buddhist traditions unanimously agree that the *Vinaya* was rehearsed and collected under the leadership of Ven. Upāli at the First Buddhist Council. According to the *Cullavagga* of the *Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Vin.* II 286f.), proposed by Ven. Maha Kassapa the Council unanimously agreed that Maha Kassapa should question Upāli on *Vinaya*. He first questioned Upāli on the first *Pārājikā* rule and gradually he revealed its subject (*vatthu*), provenance (*nidāna*), individual (*puggala*), what was laid down (*paññatta*) and what was further laid down (*anupaññatta*), what was an offence (*āpatti*), what was not an offence (*anāpatti*). In this manner, questioned by Maha Kassapa, Upāli revealed every detail regarding the rules of discipline. The Pāli *Vinaya* text, however mentions by name only six of the seven categories of *Vinaya* rules included in the *Patimokkha*.

The *Mūla Sarvāstivāda vinaya* texts found in the Tibetan *Dulva*[11] also give an account of the First Buddhist council but with a number of variations. According to it Upāli was requested to recite the *Vinaya*, only after Ananda finished the recital of the *Sūtrantas*. When Upāli consented to recite the whole of the *Vinaya* laid down by the Tathāgata, Mahā Kaśyapa, president of the assembly, queried "where and for what reason the first ordinance had been laid down by the Blessed One"? "It was at Benares" replied Upāli, "it was on account of five bhikshus, and he ordained that cloaks should be circular". Thus according to this version Upāli followed the chronological order, unlike in the Pāli account where the order found in the *Pātimokkha* is followed. Anyway it is noteworthy that all Buddhist traditions have accepted Upāli's role in compiling the rules of discipline of the monks and nuns for future generations. Hieun-Tsiang[12] in his Travels in India, stated that even at his time those who study the *Vinaya* reverence Elder Upāli.

Upāli in the Lineal Succession of Teachers

In the Pāli commentaries and the Sri Lankan Pāli chronicles Upāli is placed at the head of the lineal succession of Buddhist teachers after the Buddha. Apparently because the unbroken continuity and the purity of the Saṅgha depend entirely on the observance of the rules of discipline and, the proper performance and adherence to ecclesiastical duties and functions, *Vinaya* has been given priority over the Dhamma by the early Buddhist Saṅgha. In actual fact Buddhaghosa states that the members of the First Council considered *Vinaya* to be the life of the Buddhist religion (*vinayo nāma Buddha sāsanassa āyu VinA.* 1. 13) and decided to recite it before the Dhamma. If the rules of discipline are not observed then the continuity of the Order cannot be maintained. Thus according to the *Samantapāsādikā* (*ibid.* 62), starting with Upāli, there were five teachers in India in the unbroken pupilary succession, viz. Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, and Moggaliputta Tissa. Moggaliputta Tissa's pupil and successor Mahinda brought Buddhism to Sri Lanka and continued the pupilary succession in the island.

What is more significant in this respect is that the first ever dissentient school in the history of the Saṅgha, the Mahasaṅghikas, also place Upāli at the head of their lineal succession of teachers[13]. After Upāli they name one Dāsabala as his successor. Przyluski has apparently taken Dāsabala and Dasaka to be identical. However the similarity of the Theravāda and Mahasaṅghika lists end here. Inspite of Przyluski's arguments that the list of teacher of Sarvāstivadins beginning with Mahā Kāśyapa and Ananda is earlier than the above, it would be more logical to take the Theravāda and Mahasaṅghika lists to be older in view of the fact that they were the two oldest sects of Buddhism. If such be the case it is indeed significant how the Buddhist monks of old considered the low-born Upāli to be their progenitor.

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UPĀLI (2): Phra Upāli was the Elder who headed the mission that visited Sri Lanka in the mid eighteenth century to reestablish the *upasampadā* ritual (higher ordination) that had lapsed for some time. The events that led to the invitation of monks from Thailand (Siam) are dealt in detail under the headings, *Saranamkara- the Sangharaja*, as well as *Syāmopāli Mahānikāya*. Several missions that came before Venerable Upali failed and his efforts to establish a new order of monks in Sri Lanka bore fruits and the name of the sect he introduced was appropriately named as *Syāmopāli* < *Syāma* + *Upāli* that carries his name. This sect that bears his name is the main *nikāya* and the oldest of the present *nikāyas* in Sri Lankan Buddhist sects.

By the time Ven. Upali arrived, the community of monks in Sri Lanka had degenerated to a great extent and only novices known as '*ganinnānse*' who were involved in worldly affairs remained as the custodians of the sāsana. They maintained temple properties as family properties under the despicable *gñāti sisya* system where the ownership of temples was passed on to a relative, particularly to a nephew of the incumbent. They lacked education not only in the scriptures but also in the rituals. However, there was great interest on the part of Velivita Saranamkara to revive the *sāsana* to its former glory. Due to supreme efforts by Saranamkara Thera, learning of the Pali language, its grammar and Buddhist scriptures as well as Sinhala and Sanskrit languages came to be revived by mid eighteenth century. He also trained and educated a group of novices quite qualified to receive higher ordination by the time Ven. Upali arrived here.

After several unsuccessful attempts, the final successful Sri Lankan mission to obtain monks reached Thailand in June 1751. In September the mission was taken to Nāpathan Ratna-mahā-dhātvārāma to meet with the *Sangharāja* thero there. They were informed that arrangements would be made to provide monks to go to Sri Lanka. After few more visits to various temples and other places, they were taken to Thalārāma where they were introduced to the group of monks who were to leave for Sri Lanka. The batch consisted of twenty senior monks headed by Upāli Thera and nine/eight novices. The Mahātheras who were to accompany Upāli Thera included Ariyamuni, Anu. Indajotasa. Candajotasa, Kotthita, Kiyā Vu, Bojuna, Thu Luvan, Thon Suvanna,Channa, Phra Kya Vu Tan, Lokon, Da Bun, Premak, Prem, Kramak Yu, Mindha, Cunda and Kona according to the *Syāmavarnanāva*.

The group of monks and the Sri Lankan embassy were sent in two ships that set off in December 1751.

However, there was a shipwreck and the Siamese ship sank and the monks who travelled in it had to return back to Ayuttiya in Thailand. Then in December 1752 they were boarded in a Dutch ship and were sent on their mission. It consisted of eighteen Maha theras and some of their names differ from the earlier list perhaps due to the use of Pali names instead of Thai names given there. The mission reached Trincomalee in May *1753*.

Ven Upāli started his religious activities here right from the time of his arrival by conducting religious services including daily preaching sessions for the benefit of the laymen who provided them with amenities. On their sojourn from Trincomalee to the capitol Senkadagala, they reached Godapola on the 29th of December 1753 and had to stay there for a few weeks due to heavy rains at Senkadagala.

It is at Godapola that he first met Ven. Saranamkara and some of the other Sri Lankan novices. It is mentioned that during his stay at Godapola crowds ranging from 200-300 congregated there, and he daily delivered a sermon for them in Pali that was translated by Tibbotuvāve Siddhattha, the chief pupil of Saranamkara. The Sri Lankan *samaneras* who went there waited upon the Thai monks. While at Godapola, Upāli Thera took the initiative to give some training to the Sri Lankan monks on the procedures of Higher Ordination. He assigned the novices Saranamkara, Tibbotuvāve and Kobyakaduwe to Venerable Brahmajoti *Kammavācā* Thera and novices Navinne, Maedavala, Daramitipola and Ginihatpitiye to Mahapunna *Kammavācā* Thera for training in ecclesiastic matters. He also assigned the other novices to the rest of the *kammavācā* theras. They were the specialists who conducted vinaya acts in ordination rituals. Further, Ven. Upāli trained the Sri Lankan monks how to cut and make robes in the Siamese way.

They reached Senkadagala on July 11. 1753 after holding a ritual of pirit chanting at Watabuluwa. At Senkadagala, king Kirti Sri Rajasinha donated the newly constructed Dhammikārāmaya at Malvatta to Phra Upāli to reside. The name Dharmikārāmaya was chosen as a mark of gratitude to Emperor Boromkot of Thailand who is referred to as Dharmika in Sri Lankan sources. While residing there, Ven. Upali demarcated a hall inside the temple complex to conduct the solemn higher ordination ritual.

On Friday, 19th of July 1753, in the congregation of mandatory twenty elders, he conferred the higher ordination to a novice who was especially brought for the purpose from Thailand. On the following day, that was the full-moon day of *Aesala* the king visited the congregation of *sangha* and formally requested them to hold the higher ordination ritual for the Sri Lankan monks. In the ensuing solemn ritual, Phra Upāli served as the *upajjhāya (preceptor)* to Novices Kobyakaduwe (Incumbent of Malvatta Vihara), Velivita Saranamkara, Hulangamuve, Bambaradeniye, Tibbotuvave and Navinne (Incumbent of Asgiriya Vihara). (There is a controversy regarding the priority in the list and the last mentioned Thera should have been the second to receive *upasampadā* after Kobyakaduwe as he was the incumbent of the Asgiri Vihāraya). Two *kammavācā* theras, Brahmajoti and Mahapunna served as their *acariyas* (teachers). In this instance, it was from the other group often theras that they received the Higher Ordination. From the details of the proceedings of this higher ordination included in the *Upāli Katikāvata* it is clear that these proceedings are similar to those in the *Khandhaka* vinaya. Thus they revived *upasampadā* was reckoned to be similar to the *Mahāvihāra upasampadā* that existed earlier in Sri Lanka that was introduced to Thailand during the medieval times.

After the *upasampadā* ritual, Phra Upāli engaged the bhikkhus to perform the *uposatha* ritual that had completely disappeared by that time. It was held twice a month on the full moon day and the amāwaka poya day. In this, after the recital of the *patimokkha*, that contains 227 disciplinary rules the ceremony was concluded with the recital of the *Karanīya -metta sutta.* Then on the first day of the waning moon of aesala (July-August) Ven. Upāli along with twenty-four monks entered into their rain retreat at the request of the king. As a favor to the monks headed by Upāli thera and the Siamese mission for what they did for the cause of dispensation in Sri Lanka, the king organized a special exhibition of the Tooth Relic.

According to the *Upali Katikāvata*, another important task performed by Upāli thera was the demarcation of the *simā-mālakaya* or the boundary hall to conduct vinaya rituals. For this the king supplied all the required items like stone pillars. According to the *Rakkhanga desa-duta-prayānaya,* 97 novices were conferred higher ordination by Siamese monks during

this first *vassa* season. The *vassa* (rain retreat) was concluded by offering of *kathina* robes to all monks who took part in it. Subsequently, all Siamese monks and those of the Siamese embassy were taken on a pilgrimage to Anuradhapura.

With these activities Ven. Upali reinstituted the ***upasampadā along with other ritual traditions associated with it*** in Sri Lanka. The latter include observances like the uposatha, rainy retreat and routine rituals for monks. It must be mentioned here that Emperor Boromkot in consultation with the Sangharāja of Thailand had planned to send three batches of monks to Sri Lanka to cover a period of ten years by which time the Sri Lankan monks would have completed their *nissaya* probation. According to this plan, Phra Upāli and his group was to stay in Sri Lanka guiding and training Sri Lankan monks for three years until the arrival of the next batch of theras.

After the Thai lay embassy returned to Thailand, Ven. Upāli wrote a letter to Governor Lorton in Colombo thanking him and all the Dutch persons for helping them in their mission, and the king too sent valuable presents according to documents SLNA, 1/3264 and SLNA 5/6/9/15 in the National Archives. During the first year of the mission the Siamese monks headed by Upāli Thera ordained 480 novices and conferred the *upasampadā* to *154* monks. During the three years of their stay about 3000 were ordained and 700 received *upasampadā*, according to the *Syāmopasampadāvata*.

After establishing the *sīmā* boundary at the Malvatu Vihāraya he also did so at the Asgiriya Vihāraya. On his return journey from Anuradhapura he visited the Rajamahavihara at Satkorale and demarcated the *simā* boundary there. Likewise in the following years he established *simā s* in over twenty-five vihārayas including Vanamandava, Meddepola, Dambadeniya, Mahiyanganaya, Arattana, Gadaladeniya, Velagama, Devanagala, Diyasunnata, Vattārama, Ridigama, Kandulava, Varavala, Angangala, Badagomuva, Halambagala, Tissava, Mavatapola, Veragda, Aluviharaya, Valala, Hurikaduva and Karavuliyadda as recorded in the *Sangharāja-sādhu-cariyāva* and the *Kusalakriyānu-sandesaya*. Tradition claims that he established *simas* in far off places like Pusulpitiya in Kotmale.

According to the information in the sources, Phra Upāli appears to be a specialist in vinaya and his name Upali reminds us of the great arahant Upāli who was an expert in Vinaya and who served as the exponent of *Vinaya* at the first council. The *Sangharāja Sadhu Cariya* mentions that he took keen interest in teaching the procedures of *uposatha* and *pātimokkha* recitation. He also trained the Sri Lankan monks in the disciplinary rules pertaining to receiving of alms, *uposatha* and *pavārana* rituals, observation of rainy retreat, receipt of *kathina* robes, ecclesiastic acts pertaining to ordination and higher ordination and recital of *kammavācā*. There were five exponents of reciting the *kammavācā* in the group and Phra Upāli got them to train local monks in this. Under his guidance two of the specialists in Vidarsana (insight meditation), Mahanama and Brahmassara took charge of twenty-four Sri Lankan monks to be trained in vidarsana practices. Although Visuddhacariya who headed the second mission was an exponent of Vidarsana, the practice had its beginnings during the time of Upali Mahathera.

It is also said that the present form of the pageant of Aesala perahara in Kandy was made on a suggestion made to the king Kirti Sri Rajasinghe by Ven. Upali. Earlier the annual Daladā perahara at the Temple of the Tooth Relic was conducted separately and the four devala peraharas separately. King Kirti Sri acceded to his request and all the five peraharas were combined to a single pageant that displays religious and cultural integration, the credit of which should go to Ven. Upali.

Ven. Upali who was keen to see the *sāsana* in Sri Lanka thrive, sent messages to the Emperor and the Sangharāja of Siam informing them of the shortage of scriptural texts here and also of some controversial issues pertaining to the manner of recitation of *paritta* suttas. Thus the second mission came with 97 volumes of texts. In the case of the manner of recitation, the Sangharāja sided with Saranamkara thera that the practice of word division found in Sri Lankan tradition is appropriate whereas the tradition in Thailand has the tonal arrangement peculiar to the Thai language that need not be imitated by the Sri Lankans.

While the second mission was on its way the bhikkhus of the first mission were getting ready to return. In the meantime, some Thai monks passed away in Sri Lanka. Ven Upāli too had been ailing for

some time and he passed away in February 1756 and was buried at the Adāhana Maluva. A stupa has been erected there enshrining his remains. As long as the Syāmopali nikāya lasts, his name will be remembered by the Sri Lankans for the glory he brought about to the *sāsana* in Sri Lanka. Although two new sects appeared after his mission all of them acknowledge the contribution of Ven. Upāli and Saranamkara and his pupils for laying a strong foundation for the sāsana here.

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UPĀSAKA, UPĀSIKĀ: The word *upāsaka* and its feminine form *upāsikā* are the two terms by which the faithful male and female adherents respectively of Buddhism are generally referred to. Derived from the root *ās* 'to sit' the word literally means 'one who sits close by' but could be extended to cover 'one who attends, serves, honours, worships' etc.

In answering a series of questions raised by Mahānāma, the Sākiyan, the Buddha has clarified the meaning of the term *upāsaka* and various qualities expected from one. In the first place, to be designated an *upāsaka* one has to go for refuge in the Buddha (*Buddhaṃ saranaṃ gato*), the Dhamma and the Sangha, but to be a virtuous (*sīlasampanno*) *upāsaka* one has to abstain from harming living beings, taking what is not given, wrong conduct in sensual lusts, falsehood, and addiction to intoxicants causing heedlessness. An *upāsaka* can be called one who has confidence (*saddhāsampanno*), if one believes in the awakening (*bodhi*) of the Tathāgata as indicated by the formula *itipiso bhagavā* etc. An *upāsaka* can be described as generous (*cāgasampanno*) if he dwells at home with a heart freed from the taint of stinginess, is open handed, pure handed, delights in self surrender, one to ask a favour of and one rejoicing in dispensing of gifts. A lay follower is called wise (*paññāsampanno*) if he is endowed with the noble, penetrative wisdom, penetrating into the rise and fall of things, which leads to the complete destruction of *dukkha.* (*S.V.* 395, *A.* IV. 220 f).

This mode of becoming accepted as an *upāsaka* with slight variation is confirmed by the *Mahāvastu* (III. 268). This is found included in the story of the ordination of Rāhula by Ven. Śāriputra. Here the Buddha instructs Śāriputra to ordain him in the manner a young man (*kumārabhūtasya*) is ordained in the Aryan *dharma* and *vinaya*. First he has to be admitted as an *upāsaka* and then as a *śrāmanera*. To become an *upāsaka* Rāhula has to say, "I Rāhula am coming to the refuge of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha". Secondly he should say "I am Rāhula; the Buddha and none other is my refuge; the Dharma... the Sangha and none other is my refuge. As long as I live I abstain from killing, ...intoxicants... Establish me as an upāsaka on the basis of these five precepts."

But in the early Pali texts the formula is found in a slightly different form. It does not include the five precepts. Thus Tapassu and Bhalluka, claimed to be the first two *upāsakas* in the dispensation of the Buddha Gotama, who became lay devotees even before the establishment of the Order of monks, requested him to accept them as his lay devotees with the following formula. "We, Sir, go to the Blessed One for refuge and, also, to the Dhamma. Accept us, from today as long as life lasts, as having gone for refuge (to you and the *dhamma*)." These two are called the first, in fact the only, lay devotees to declare their faith in the Buddha by the so-called 'two – word formula' (*dve vācika upāsaka*). The first lay devotee to be

admitted with the 'three –word formula' (*tevācika upāsaka*) was the father of Yasa who became the sixth to be ordained as a monk by the Buddha. The first two female lay devotees to be admitted as *upāsikās* with the 'three word formula' were the mother and the former wife of Ven. Yasa. The three-word formula adds the refuge of the Sangha to those of the Buddha and the Dhamma in the former. (*Vin*.14; 16; 18). But one could see that this combination of the five precepts to the three refuges has come to stay later even in the Theravāda tradition (see eg. *Pv*. IV. I. 596-597; 3. 708-709). Today this has become the accepted mode of adopting Buddhism by lay devotees in the Theravāda tradition.

Canonical texts record the conversion of many thousands to Buddhism as lay followers. It is said that on the Buddha's first visit to Rajagaha after his Enlightenment eleven myriads of Magadhan householders, both Brahmins and commoners, led by King Bimbisāra, declared themselves to be lay followers (*upāsakattam pativedesuṃ Vin*. 1.37). Naturally with the lapse of years the lay following of the Buddha increased in numbers and soon the male and female lay followers came to be counted as two segments of the fourfold assembly of the disciples of the Buddha, viz. *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhuni*, *upāsaka* and *upāsikā* (*D*. III. 172). Towards the end of the Buddha's career the male and female lay followers are referred to in highly eulogistic terms almost equal to monks and nuns. Here, Māra is said to have reminded the Buddha of his words spoken early in his career that he will not pass away until his disciples, monks, nuns, male and female lay disciples "shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, ready and learned, carrying the doctrinal books in their memory, masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrines, correct in life, walking according to the precepts until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it, and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrines easy to be refuted by truth, shall be able in refuting it, to spread the wonder-making truth abroad." Since, says Māra, all these have been achieved the Buddha should now pass away. This shows that the capabilities and services of the lay adherents of both sexes had reached very high standards in the eyes of Buddhists of later times.

Training and Duties of Lay Followers: The main thrust of the teachings of the Buddha was undoubtedly the total emancipation from saṃsāric dukkha. His ordained disciples, the monks and nuns, with their full life dedicated to the achievement of this aim were, therefore, the main target of the Buddha's teachings. The layman who is married and leading a home life, involved with household duties, cannot attune himself to the full duties of a monk (*kevalo bhikkhu dhammo*). Therefore the Buddha gave him a much more simple teaching which can be fulfilled while living a home life. The basics of these is to abstain from killing, stealing, wrong sexual indulgence, lying and intoxicants. However, in this particular discourse (*Sn*. 393-404) full celibacy is recommended to the householder first and, then goes on to state that if one is unable to live in continence, one should not transgress with another's wives. Not only should one not indulge in these five evils but also should refrain from inciting others to commit them or approve them. On the four *uposatha* days of the month and other special days the layman should keep the eight precepts (s.v. *uposatha*) and the following day serve the Order with food and drink. Further, he should, with righteous means, maintain one's parents and engage in a righteous trade. By leading such a life in earnest a layman could be reborn among the *devas* called Self-luminous (*sayampabhā*). The last point also shows that the ideal set for the laity is not full emancipation but a happy birth after death. This ideal of a happy rebirth after death set for the laity seems to be confirmed by other discourses as well. The well-known *Sigālovada Sutta*, usually designated *gihi-vinaya* or 'layman's rule', also, after a detailed discussion on the duties and training of a layman says that it leads to 'victory in both worlds' and rebirth in a heavenly abode (*D*. III. 181). So what is recommended for laymen is success in this world and the next but not final emancipation.

Buddhaghosa (*DA*. I. 234 f.) has tried to put together certain important features in the conception of *upāsaka* found in the canonical texts. Some of them have already been referred to above. He starts with the definition that one who goes for refuge to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha is an *upāsaka*. But, he queries, for what reason is he an *upāsaka*? He answers that, as he follows, honours, attends, worships (*upāsati*) the three treasures (*ratanattaya*) he is an *upāsaka*. The five abstinences are his virtue (*sīla*). To earn a living righteously and impartially

(*dhammena samena*) without resorting to five evil trades (*micchā-vaṇijjā*) is right livelihood for an *upāsaka*. The five wrong trades to be avoided by an *upāsaka* are, trade in weapons, human beings, flesh or animals for slaughter for flesh, intoxicants and poisons. To fail in virtue and livelihood is the failure (*vipatti*) in life for a lay devotee. To be classed an out-caste (*caṇḍāla*), dirt (*mala*) and the lowest (*patikiṭṭha*) among laymen is also a failure. The reference to out caste etc. herein the twofold classification of lay devotees as outcaste etc. on the one side and the *upāsaka* jewel, (*ratana*) red lotus (*paduma*) or white lotus (*puṇḍarīka*) on the other. Of these the out-caste etc. is said to be lacking in confidence (*assaddho*), virtue (*dussīlo*), a believer in esoteric rituals (*kotūhalamaṅgaliko*), leans on rituals but not on actions (*maṅgalaṃ pacceti no kammaṃ*) and seeks for gift worthy persons outside Buddhism and makes them one's first reference. Such a person, then, has failed in life as a Buddhist lay devotee. One with the opposite qualities is classified as a jewel, a red-lotus or a white lotus among *upāsakas*. (*A*. III. 206). Following such teachings would have naturally made the Buddhist lay follower stamped with a character of their own removed from the lay followers of other religions of the time, especially the followers of brahmanism whose religion was highly ritualistic. Discourses like the *Mahāmaṅgala* (*Sn*. p. 46 f) meant especially for the laity, which give ethical interpretations to brahmanic rituals, also points the direction that the Buddhist laity was expected to take. It is the inner growth in ethical and spiritual qualities but not the performance of external rituals that the Buddha expected from them.

Significantly the Buddha has set a certain standard (*tulā*), a; measure (*pamāṇaṃ*) which he expected from his lay disciples of either sex. He says that if a faithful *upāsikā* should admonish her only son she should admonish him to emulate either the householder *Citta* or *Hatthaka Āḷavaka*. They are the standard and measure for male lay followers. For female lay followers the standard and measure is either Khujjuttarā or Veḷukaṇṭakiyā Nandamātā (*S*. II, 235, A.I. 88). What is important here is that Citta was known as an eminent exponent of the Dhamma and declared by the Buddha as foremost in this respect among male lay disciples (*A*.I. 26). He also had developed the four *jhānas* and declared himself to be a non-returner (*anāgamin S*. IV. 301). Hatthaka was declared the foremost among male lay followers who practises the four bases of sympathy (*saṅgahavatthu A*.I. 26). The Buddha also in one place praised him for possessing eight marvelous qualities, viz. confidence, virtue, conscientiousness, fear of blame, learning, charity, wisdom, and modesty. He was also a non-returner (ibid. IV. 217). Khujjuttarā was the foremost in learning among female disciples (ibid. I. 26), and Nandamātā was foremost in the practise of *jhānic* meditation among female disciples. (*ibid*). What is important here is not the individualities but the qualities these persons, taken as the standard for his lay disciples by the Buddha, possessed. Naturally, it was for these qualities that the Buddha wanted them to be emulated.

A lay disciple is duty bound to help the ordained co-regionists with their material needs. It is said that a layman who is endowed with four qualities is on the proper course of action of a lay devotee (*gihī samīcipatipadaṃ paṭipanno hoti*). To the Order of monks he should gift robes, alms food, residences and medicines and support for the sick (ibid. I. 65), which are the minimum basic needs of a monk or nun. There are many discourses, the best example being the *Sigālovada Sutta* referred to above, which deal with the duties of a layman towards one's fellow citizens. With regard to ethical and spiritual development a lay disciple is expected to help one's fellow beings while looking after one's own progress. In one discourse the Buddha shows how a lay follower could engage oneself in one's own welfare and the welfare of others. While himself cultivating certain positive qualities like confidence (*saddhā*), virtue (*sīla*), charity (*cāga*), desire to see the monks, desire to listen to the *dhamma*, to bear in mind the *dhamma* one has heard, to reflect on the meaning of the *dhamma*, and having known the meaning of the *dhamma* to live in conformity with it and strives to make others also acquire the same positive qualities and live in conformity with the *dhamma* (*ibid*. IV 220 f). One should look after one's own welfare but undoubtedly the Buddha expected his devotees to look after others' welfare as well.

The Buddha also has shown how an intelligent lay follower could admonish another intelligent lay follower who is sick, afflicted and suffering from a serious ailment. Such a person should in the first place be admonished with the four comfortable assurances (*assāsanīyehi dhammehi*). He should be admonished

to take comfort in his unwavering confidence in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha and his own virtues, unbroken and dear to the noble ones, and leading to concentration of mind. Following this the sick person should be instructed to abandon his longing for parents, children and five strands of human pleasure, for one is subject to death. Then he should be instructed to take his mind to higher and higher heavenly pleasures, until it reaches the Brahma world and is made to fix his mind there. But, then, even the Brahma world is impermanent, not lasting and subject to individuality (*sakkāyapariyāpanna*). "Therefore", he should be admonished "raise your mind above Brahma world and fix it on cessation from individuality (*sakkāya nirodha*)." If the sick man can achieve it, it is said, his release and that of a monk freed from the intoxicants (*āsava*) is the same. In other words such a lay disciple could be helped to realize full liberation even in this very life (*S.V.* 408 ff.). Naturally this is the highest service a lay devotee could do to a fellow lay devotee.

The above reference undoubtedly is related to a person who is seriously ill and probably on the verge of death. For it is averred that a lay follower who attains arahanthood in his lay garments either renounces lay life or passes away the same day. As pointed out above the ideal or the destiny earmarked for lay followers is not total emancipation in this life but a happy rebirth after death. Questioned by one Vacchagotta, the Buddha speaks of numerous monks and nuns who had reached total emancipation by the eradication of intoxicants. But questioned about laymen and women he states there are many hundreds of them, white-clad, leading the pure life (*brahmacariyā*), rid of the five fetters binding to the lower worlds, destined for spontaneous birth and not liable to return from that world. In other words, the Buddha speaks of his numerous lay disciples who have realized the *anāgāmi* stage. Similarly he states there are numerous lay followers of both sexes who, while enjoying sense pleasures, have crossed over doubt (*tiṇṇavicikicchā*) and perplexity (*vigatakathaṃkatha*), won to conviction (*vesārajjappattā*) and not relying on others regarding the message of the teacher (*aparapaccayā satthusāsane*). This refers to the stream-winners. But here Vaccha does not question regarding the attainment of Arahantship by lay followers (*M.* I. 490 f). But in another discussion with the Buddha (ibid. 483) the same Vaccha queries whether any householder who, having not got rid of a layman's fetters (*gihisaṃyojanaṃ appahāya*), puts an end to *dukkha* at the break up of one's body. The Master answered "no" to the question. However, says he, under same circumstances a householder can definitely attain heaven (*saggūpago hoti*). But since an earlier instance shows that a householder can realize total emancipation prior to death one has to understand that the position taken by the Buddha in that discussion with Mahānāma meant that a layman who realizes the impermanence of the Brahma world and fixes one's mind on the cessation of individuality (*sakkāyanirodha*) has shed one's householder's bonds. The commentator (*MA.* III 196) here merely takes *gihī saṃyojana* as *gihī bandhana* a word with the same meaning, but adds "desire for belongings, requisites or adornments of a householder" (*gihī parikkhāra*). He names three persons who had realized Arahantship while still in a householder's attire (*gihiliṅga*). These attained this position by drying up desire for all conditioned things (*saṅkhāra*) but did not continue to live in that attire. The layman's attire, says the commentator is 'low' (*hīna*) and cannot bear the noble virtues (*uttamaguṇa*). Therefore having attained Arahantship in it, one either renounces lay life or passes away (*parinibbāyati*) the same day. So it is quite clear that a layman or woman can attain Arahantship while being in lay clothes but cannot continue ones household life. All the instances cited by the commentator are from post canonical literature but there are instances like that of Bāhiya Dārucīriya who was not yet a Buddhist monk when he attained emancipation and died before being ordained a monk. (*Ud.* 1.10).

Lay devotees and the Sangha: Just as much as the Buddhist monks and nuns have worked for the progress of Buddhism the *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* also have played an important role in its progress. The main role devolving on the laity was to act as the material benefactors of the Orders of monks and nuns. The two names that naturally come to the forefront in this respect are that of Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā, the two main benefactors of the Buddha and the Sangha (*A.* 1. 26). They constructed the two monasteries near Sāvatthi, Jetavanārāma and the Pubbārāma, where the Buddha resided for the main part of his ministry. There were many others from all walks of life, kings, brahmins, merchants, farmers and ordinary workers and craftsmen who had become Buddhist lay devotees and benefactors of the Buddha and the Sangha.

The relation between the Sangha and the lay devotees had grown so close that the Buddha allowed the monks to visit a lay devotee of either sex, but only if invited, even during the rains retreat, saying one would like to offer them a meal, to see the Sangha and listen to the Dhamma (*Vin*. I. 139 f.). However if one's father or mother who is sick wants to see the son who is a monk, he should go even if he or she is not a Buddhist lay devotee, and even without an invitation (*ibid*. 147 f.). But in all these cases the monk should return within seven days.

The relations between the Sangha and the laity had grown so close, naturally, certain activities on either side that could strain their good relations are bound to occur at times. According to the rules of discipline of the monks, if a lay devotee works for the loss of the monks, for their disadvantage or non-residence, if he reviles and abuses monks, if he speaks in dispraise of the Buddha, the Dhamma or the Sangha, then the Order can punish such a lay follower by 'an act of turning the bowl upside down' *(patta nikkujjana kamma*) (*A*. IV 345 (*Vin*. II. 125). This is done by an act of the Order of monks proposed to them by a competent monk and accepted unanimously. This action of the Order has to be intimated to the layman who should be informed that the Order would not accept any food from him. If, later, the lay devotee regrets his own omissions and commissions and begs pardon of the Order and requests them to 'put the bowl upright' (*ukkujjati*) they may do so with an act of the Sangha, accepted unanimously by them.

On the one hand if a monk works for the loss or disadvantage of lay followers, abuses and reviles them, works for their disunity, speaks dispraise of the Buddha, the Dhamma or the Sangha or meets them in unsuitable places the lay followers could, if they wish, make known their displeasure to the Order. At the same time if the monks possess the opposite good qualities they could as well express their appreciation to them. (*A*. IV 345 f.).

Some special references to upāsikās : There are two rules of discipline laid down for monks by the Buddha on complaints made by female lay devotees. These are the two undetermined (*Aniyata*) offences included in the *pātimokkha*. These two offences concern the action of a monk who is seen, by a trustworthy female lay devotee (*saddheyya vacasā upāsikā*), sitting in a secret place on a secluded and convenient seat, engaged in conversation with a woman and accused of an offence leading either to a 'defeat' (*pārājikā*), 'formal meeting of the Order (*saṅghādisesa*) or 'expiation' (*pācittiya*). This is an indication of the well-recognized place occupied by female lay devotees in Buddhism (*Vin*. III. 187 ff).

Ten positive qualities, endowed with which a female lay devotee is said to live with confidence at home, are enumerated in a discourse, viz. abstaining from killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, falsehood, slander, harsh speech, idle talk, covetousness, malevolent thoughts and wrong views. Possessed of ten opposite negative qualities a female lay devotee is said to live diffident (*avisāradhā*) at home. The same positive qualities also would lead her to a heavenly existence after death but to purgatory (*niraya*) if possessed of the opposite negative qualities, (*A*.V. 287 ff). A virtuous female lay devotee, it is said, who grows in noble qualities of confidence (*saddhā*), virtue (*sīla*), wisdom (*paññā*), generosity (*cāga*), and learning (*suta*), acquires for herself what is essential (*sāra*) and the best (*vara*) in this world itself (*S*. IV. 250). It is noteworthy that here as well as in other places *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* are also termed *ariyasāvakas* and *ariyasāvikās*, 'noble disciples', a designation used for Buddhist monks and nuns as well.

C. Witanachchi.

Reference :

1. *Dialogues of the Buddha* , II.112.

UPĀSAKAJANĀLAṄKĀRA. The *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (the Adornment of the Buddhist laity) is a Pāli treatise composed for the Buddhist laity, assigned to the twelfth or the thirteenth century. It is necessary to mention that *paṭipattisaṅgaha* by an anonymous author of the 7th century, *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* by a sixteenth century Thai author Ven Siri Maṅgala and the *Suttasaṅgaha* too belong to the same category i.e. written for the benefit of the Buddhist laity. In Burma it is named *Upāsakālaṅkāra*. A work called

"Upāsakasūtra", the number 1488 in the Taisho catalogue and the number 1088 in the Nanjio catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka appear as the counterpart of the Pāli *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* in the Northern School of Buddhism. The Tibetan *Upāsaka Saṃvarāṣṭaka* appear as a similar work, intended for the laity. Thus it should be clear that not only the Theravādins, but other Schools of Buddhism, too, have recognized the importance of the laity and composed solely for their benefit. The specific and general instructions for the laity are found in abundance in the Pāli canon, commentaries sub commentaries and the non canonical works. The author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* has made a unique effort to collect, analyse and present in a coherent form such instructions for the laity found in the above sources. These books, intended for the laity answers the critics who argue that Buddhism is for the monastic life only and it is not for the laity.

The Author and the Period of Composition of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*

The colophon reveals the name of the composer as *Sihalācariya Bhadanta Ananda Thera* and he was residing in a pleasant mansion to the North- East of *Perampallivihāra* (in South India), when he wrote it. Describing *Perampallivihāra*, the author says that it was one of the three *Vihāras* built by Colagaṅgo, provincial ruler of the *Paṅdukingdom* (*Paṇḍubhūmimaṇḍala*). More over it is said that it was to the *Perampallivihāra* that the eminent Theras of Tambapaṇṇi (*Tambapaṇṇidhajātherā*) come and stay for their own protection and for the well being of the *Sāsana*, when the entire island of Lanka was confused by the Tamil conflagration (*Laṅkadīpamhi Sakale Damilānala- samākūle*). This is a historically important statement. It is clear that during the 12th and 13th centuries, when Sri Lanka was over-run by the Tamil invaders the eminent Theras of Lanka used to flee to South India and they were free to engage their religious pursuits there. They were welcomed and there has been a separate Vihāra for those eminent Theras to stay. It is also seen that the Pāṇḍya kingdom was a strong centre of Buddhism in the 12th and 13th centuries.

It has been found difficult to identify the exact *Sihalācariya Ananda Thera* referred to in the colophon, as there have been several Ananda Theras during the period, the treatise is supposed to have been composed. According to some Sri Lankan scholars, it was written by Ananda Thera who lived in a great *vihāra* in Kotmale in Sri Lanka during the 13th century. Thus some have attempted to locate Perampalli Vihāra in Kotmale in Sri Lanka, without any historical basis. This is going against the colophon, which says that he wrote it while residing in a mansion to the North East of the Perampalli Vihāra in the Pāṇḍya kingdom of South India.

The Burmese tradition attributes the authorship of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* to Ven. Ananda Thera, the author of the *Abhidhamma Mūlaṭīkā*. But according to the *Gandhavaṁsa* the author of the *Mūlaṭīkā* was a native of India, whereas the author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* is mentioned in the colophon as *Sihalācariya Ananda*. Hence the Burmese tradition is not acceptable.

The *Sinhala Encycloapedia* (Vol. IV. b 727) says that it was written in 1225 AC by Ananda Thera who was among the Sinhala monks who fled to South India and lived in the Perampallivihāra during Māgha's occupation of the island. In the colophon of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, Sihalācariya Ananda Thera does not say that he was staying at Perampallivihāra. He was in a pleasant mansion North East of Perampallivihāra. Further the *Sinhala Encyclopaedia* gives the impression that some Sinhala monks were staying at the Perampallivihāra, when Ven Ananda was writing the treatise. But the colophon under reference does not say so. Describing the place where he was staying, when he wrote the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, the author says that it was situated North East to Perampallivihāra, where Sri Lankan monks used to stay, having come there, when Lanka was invaded by Tamils. It does not mean that some Sinhala monks were there at that time.

Having taken into consideration all the relevant facts, Ven. Dr. Hammalawa Saddhatissa who edited the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* for the *PTS* has concluded that it was composed by Ven. Ananda Thera, the teacher of the celebrated authors Ven. Buddhappiya Dipaṅkara and Ven Vedeha. Ven Buddhappiya was

the author of the *Rūpasiddhi* grammer based on the *Kaccāyana* and the *Pajjamadhu*, a beautiful poem in praise of the Buddha. Ven. Buddhappiya has described his teacher as "a banner to Tambapanni in the *Rupasiddhi*. His other pupil Ven. Vedeha composed the *Rasavāhini* and the *Samantakūṭavaṇṇā* where he has extolled the greatness of his teacher Ananda Thera. Another pupil of Ananda Thera composed the *Sāratthasamuccaya*, the commentary on the *Catubhānavāra Pāli*, where he has extolled his teacher in the same manner. Thus Ven. Dr. Saddhatissa says that Ananda Thera, the author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* was an important member of the *Udumbaragiri* forest dwelling fraternity and was called Ananda Vanaratana, the Jewel of the forest. Ven. Dr. Saddhatissa presumably thinks that Ananda Thera, identified as the author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* lived for some time in India and proceeded to Tambaraṭṭha (which scholars locate in the Malay Peninsula).The Ven. Dr. further adds that it is quite possible that Buddhappiya met his teacher Ananda Thera during his sojourn in the Cola country and received ordination from him and studied under him.

Further Ven. Dr. Saddhatissa, having seen quotations from Ven. Sariputta's *Sāratthadīpani* (Ṭīkā on *Samantapāsādikā*), Ven. Sumangala's *Abhidhammatthavikāsini* (Ṭīkā on *Abhidhammāvatāra*) and *Abhidhammatthavibhāvini* (Ṭīkā on *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*), in the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* has concluded that it is posterior to *Sāratthadīpani, Abhidhammatthavikāsini* and *Abhidhammatthavibhāvini*.

Further the Ven. Doctor points out that the eminent Ananda Thera referred to in the Fragmentary Slab inscription of Sundaramahādevi (Queen of Vickramabahu I 1116-1137 A.C) was the Ananda Thera, the author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (*Epigraphica Zelanica,* Vol. IV, b. 67 *ff*). As per the inscription under reference Ananda Thera was a "*Banner to the Island of Lanka*"as his own pupils have described him. The inscription also reveals that Ananda Thera was responsible for the establishment of the Saṅgha in the Cola country and was connected to the Saṅgha of the Tambaraṭṭha also.

Incidentally *Jinakālamāli* refers to one *Udumbaragiri Mahāsāmi* who was residing in the Rāmaññadesa at the time, having come from Lanka (*Jinakālamāli,* Ed A P Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1962, London, p.85). It is not possible to say whether he was the same as the author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra,* who also belonged to the *Udumbaragiri* fraternity.

Contents. The author commences the treatise after paying his homage to the Triple Gem.Next he analyses the name *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*. Thus

> " *Vatthuttayaṃ ye samupāsamānā*
> *upāsakattaṃ abhisambhuṇanti*
> *te bhūsayantā saraṇādivaṇṇā*
> *Upāsakālaṅkaraṇā ti vuttā*"

> " *Tesaṃ guṇānaṃ janabhūsaṇānaṃ*
> *sandīpakattā pana esa gantho*
> *viññūhi saddatthanusārato vā*
> *Upāsakālaṅkaraṇo ti ñeyyo.*"

"Those who closely associate with these three jewels obtain the status of Buddhist householdership.Those lustures such as refuges and so on by which they are adorned are called the adornment of the Buddhist laity".

"Because this work expounds those virtues which adorn men, it is known by the learned as the adornment of the Buddhist laity", according to the literal sense".

The author, afterwards proceeds to explain under what circumstances, he had to compose the treatise. It was the short comings of the existing work *Patipattisaṅgaha* (7th century work by an anonymous author) that led him to write a new treatise on the subject. He says that the *Patipattisaṅgaha* has no introduction giving the relevant context (*Nidānakathā*) and the method of exposition is complicated. Thus it does not appeal to the new comers to the teachings of the Buddha.

It is significant that the author has given a synopsis of the work he is proposing to compose, which is found at the end of the first chapter on refuge

(*Saraṇāgamana*) namely the course of systematic action to be taken by a lay person who has taken refuge (in the Triple Gem), in order to achieve mundane and super mundane happiness is follows:

"*Evaṃ saraṇāgatehi pana upāsakopāsikajanehi sīle patiṭṭhāyapatirūpadhutaṅgasamādānena taṃ parisodhetvā pañcavaṇijjā pahāya dhammena samena jīvikaṃ kappayantehi upāsakapadumādibhāvaṃ patvā dine dine dasapuññakiriyavatthūni pūrentehi antarāyakaradhamme pahāya lokiyalokuttarasampattiyo sampādetabbā*" "Thus the lay-disciples, both men and women, who have gone for refuge, being well established in virtue, and purifying it well by the undertaking of suitable ascetic practices, shunning the five trades, reaching the state of the lotus-disciples and so on by leading a life of righteousness and justice, and daily fulfilling the ten domains of skilful deeds, discarding harmful actions, should accomplish mundane and supramundane happiness"

The book is divided into nine chapters which are called *Niddesa,* as in the case of the *Visuddhimagga*

1. *Saraṇasīla Niddesa* (Three Refuges)
2. *Sīla niddesa* (Moralities)
3. *Dhutāṅga Niddesa* (Ascetic practices)
4. *Ājiva Niddesa* (Livelihood)
5. *Dasa Puññakiriya vatthu Niddesa* (Ten Domains of skillful deeds)
6. *Antarāyakara Dhamma Niddesa* (Harmful actions)
7. *Lokiyasampatti Niddesa* (Mundane Happiness)
8. *Lokuttara Sampatti Niddesa* (Super Mundane Happiness)
9. *Puññaphala Sādhaka Niddesa* (Accomplishment of Meritorious Results)

From the initial stage of taking refuge in the "*Triple Gem*", each stage in the upward path up to the culmination, the achieving of mundane and super mundane happiness is discussed in detail, bringing in the various explanations from the texts, commentaries, sub commentaries and non canonical works, for the easy reference of the beginners, who are unable to go through the whole *Tripiṭaka.* It is observed that the author has closely followed the *Visuddhimagga* pattern which explains the gradual path to Nibbāna from the initial stage *Sīla* morality.

The author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* appears to have been acquainted with Mahāyāna, Hinduism and other Indian religious systems. His staying in india for some time, might have facilitated this. Moreover the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* gives abundant information about various views held by various Buddhist teachers which is not available elsewhere. While discussing a point the author takes the Mahāvihāra explanation as the correct one. The influence of Sanskrit is often seen in the Pāli language used in the work, a common feature found in all the books written during the period. Thus *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* is an excellent "*Hand book on Buddhism*" not only for the beginners, but also for all Buddhists.

The *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* has been translated into Sinhala by Ven. Moratota Dhammakkhanda, pupil of Weliwita Saranankara Sangarāja and the Mahānāyaka of the Malwatta chapter (1783- 1811). Though it is a Sinhala translation of the Pāli original, Ven. Dhammakkhanda has added a description of the Buddha's virtues as found in the Sinhala works *Dharmapradipikā* and *Pujāvaliya* at the beginning and a note on the last three Kandian kings Kirti Sri Rājasingha, Rājādhi Rājasingha and Sri Vikrama Rājasinghe at the and, not found in the Pāli original.

The *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* has been critically edited by Ven. Dr. Hammalawa Saddhā Tissa (for his PhD.) and is published by the *PTS.* in 1965.

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K. Arunasiri

UPĀYAKAUŚALYA, "skill in means", is the core concept of the soteriological methodology of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the Pali canon the term "skill in means", *upāyakosalla*, also occurs in a number of places, although the same great importance is not attached to it as in the literature of the Great Vehicle. In spite of this fact, the gist of the Mahāyāna concept is traceable back to early Buddhism.

Generally speaking, in the Tripitaka of the Theravādins and of other Srāvakayāna schools the Buddha is presented as the incomparable guide of sentient beings, employing salvatory means (*upāya*) and adapting his message to the capacity of his audience.[1] The explanation of one of those means of empathy – and of a central one at that, *ānupubbikathā*, is given in a number of texts in the Pali canon, for example at *D.* I, p. 110, where the Buddha's "gradual teaching" is described which later on was to become one of the key features of the gradualist schools of Indo-Tibetan Mahāyāna Buddhism.[2]

Basically two relevant places in the Pali canon should be cited in which a) *upayakosalla* and b) the "skilful knower of [salvatory] means" are mentioned, viz. *D.* III, p. 220, and *Sn.*, vv. 321, 322. In the former passage, in an overall manner, but clearly in a spiritual sense, three "skills" are listed, viz. skill as to progress, regression and [salvatory] means.[3] Apart from the comments on the "three skills" in the postcanonical literature,[4] at *Vbh.*, p. 325f., the kosalla-triad is elucidated: "skill" is spoken of as "insight into, understanding... correct knowledge, existential fact-investigation of and the right view" (*pañña pajānanā... amoho dhammavicayo sammāditthi*) regarding that which can be subsumed under 1) spiritual progress and 2) spiritual regression; "and then all the skills with respect to this and that (progress and regression), insight into [them – that is] 3) skill in [salvatory] means."[5] The second passage at *Sn.*, vv. 321, 322, is distinctly reminiscent of the Mahayana usage of *upāyakauśalya*, showing that the Mahāyāna concept of Bodhisattva ethics already exists in embryonic form in early Buddhism:

> Just as one embarking upon a stout boat, provided with oar and rudder, could bring many others across there, being skilful, thoughtful, and knowing the means thereof.
>
> In exactly the same way one who has knowledge, is self-developed, learned, imperturbable, he indeed will make others realize it (the doctrine) who have the capacity to understand and the willingness to listen.[6]

Concerning the core concept of the methodology of Mahāyāna soteriology, already in the earliest discourses of the Great Vehicle, in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, for example, apart from the Tathagata, Bodhisattvas who have vowed to aspire after supreme enlightenment and whose aspiration also consists in the fact that they do not want to abandon all sentient beings but are intent on working for their ultimate release, are declared to be endowed with "skill in means". A Bodhisattva's "skill in means" protects and enables him or her in their Bodhisattva career both to aspire to the "three entrances to release", to emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness, and simultaneously to postpone their own ultimate release for the sake of all sentient beings in need of his or her boundless altruism.[7] This Prajñā-pāramitā passage contains the seemingly paradoxical aspiration on the part of Bodhisattvas after both supreme enlightenment through the perfection of wisdom (*prajna-paramita*) and the rescue of all sentient beings as the epitome of great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*). Bodhisattvas have upāyakauśalya when they contemporaneously aspire to *mahākaruṇā* and *prajñāpāramitā*. In the same discourse it also says that a Bodhisattva, a "great being", out of pity and concern for all beings and cultivating loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity, is "held in the embrace" of skill in means and the perfection of wisdom.[8]

According to the fully developed Mahāyāna soteriology, with "great beings" on their way to Buddhahood the perfection of wisdom and skill in means have to complement each other[a] and, as may be stated in the context of the six perfections, wisdom is the sixth and the others, the perfections of generosity (*dāna*), morality (*sila*), forbearance (*kṣanti*), perseverance (*virya*) and of meditation (*dhyāna*) can be subsumed under skill in means. It has been observed that, whilst early Buddhism in regard to its strict discipline and resolve to rid oneself of all mental defilements and realize final emancipation – before helping others towards the same goal – chiefly appeals to the 'chosen few', it seems more natural for man to give himself over to piety or thinking. Thus Mahāyāna Buddhism, in a way less exacting in dealing with human nature and more appealing to devotees as well as

philosophers, notwithstanding, has by no means repudiated the psychological methodologies of early Buddhism; it has adopted and further developed them just with a tinge of something new and by opening up wide avenues involving emotions and theorizing. Thus the Great Vehicle presents itself much more of an effort to surpass and enrich than to react and reform.[10] Such an effort, in concrete terms, is the employment of skill in means which does not only include elaborations of the Bodhisattva ideal, the introduction of saviour Buddhas and Bodhisattvas invocable as *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* manifestations helping all beings in samsaric distress, the assured efficacy of their great compassion or greatly enhanced notions of transference of merit. Since, in accordance with the teaching of *sambhoga- and nirmāṇakāya* manifestations as *upāya* and as such based on that of the Buddha's *dharmakaya*[11], the latter should be aspired to through *bodhicitta*, viz. the resolve to realize supreme enlightenment for all beings' sake, it ought to be underlined that also popular, devotional forms of Mahayana Buddhism are soteriologically safeguarded against blind faith or credulity. Skill in means, in short, implies a host of expedients among which are certainly to be included all Buddhist efforts in terms of propagating the Dharma, thoughtful reactions and proposed solutions to samsaric challenges resulting from historical developments, political events, social / environmental problems etc.

Many, if not the majority of, Mahāyāna Buddhists, will consider the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasutra* the apex of all Buddhist soteriology (See, with reference to *upāyakauśalya*, the MAHĀYĀNA CONCEPT OF TATHĀGATA) and, naturally, the concept of skill in means is a central feature of this discourse. In its second chapter in particular, entitled "Skill in Means" and analogous to the scheme of *ānupubbikathā* pertaining to early Buddhism, the Tathāgata speaks of his infinite skill in means; he refers to his displaying three vehicles, viz. the Disciples', Pratyekabuddhas' and, implicitly, Bodhisattvas' *yānas*, set forth as educational strategy suited to the capacities of infinite numbers of living beings to be saved. The consummation of the Tathāgata's "strategic education" for the sake of the maturest of his disciples is his teaching of *ekayāna*, of the "unique *yāna*" or Great Vehicle to the effect that in reality there is only one Buddha vehicle and no second or third (See SADDHARMAPUṆḌARIKASUTRA, SŪTRASAMUCCAYA).

Just as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasutra* mentions the Tathāgata's "infinite skill in means", similarly in numerous other Mahāyāna discourses and treatises a great many aspects and nuances of *upāyakauśalya* can be traced, not to mention the vast field of Tantric literature. Thus, for instance, it has been rightly stressed that the teaching of the necessary compatibility of two levels of truth, of the provisional or conventional with the absolute, can be seen as tallying with that of the compatibility of *upāyakauśalya* with perfect wisdom.[12] Striking examples of new facets of the concept of skill in means that proved quite influential in traditional Buddhist hermeneutics and in the shaping of the history of ideas are already to be found in the *Upāyakauśalyasutra*, placed in the first century B.C. but preserved only in two Tibetan and three Chinese translations apart from a few fragments and eight passages in the Sanskrit original quoted in Śāntideva's *Siksasamuccaya*.[13] In conclusion, three aspects of *upāyakauśalya* may be summarized from the *Upāyakauśalyasutra* in order to highlight a) a greatly enhanced notion of transference of merit as the cornerstone of Bodhisattva ethics, b) skill in means as a hermeneutic strategy and c) the discourse's ushering in moral relativism which in the course of the history of Buddhism resulted in tendencies towards laicization or, in exceptional cases, for example in Buddhist monks' participating in politics or even military action.

(a) According to the *Upāya-kauśalyasutra* not only the possibility exists to transfer merit (*punyapariṇāmanā*) on the part of a Bodhisattva resulting from his charitable deeds, but even a tiny little bit of *dāna* made by him, perfectly endowed with skill in means, is declared to become an inestimable stock of merit when dedicated to the welfare of all beings. As it says in the discourse, a Bodhisattva, when dedicating to them the resulting stock of merit by dint of his *bodhicitta* and wishing them all to win complete and perfect enlightenment, "accomplishes meritorious work that is essentially identical to giving, morality, and meditational development," and being " skilled in means fulfills all six perfections in giving a gift."[14] Since in his making *dāna* the sixth perfection, viz. that of wisdom, is included, in the sūtra transference of merit – which according to the Theravādin *Kvu.*, pp. 525, 527f. (XVI, 2, 3)[15], is an unwarranted notion – is explicitly defined in relativist terms: At the level of conventional truth it is an unquestionable soteriological necessity whereas, in accordance with absolute truth presupposing the provisional and practical, a Bodhisattva "cannot envisage any phenomenon that

performs the act of giving, to who something is given, or who will enjoy a karmic reward. This is the perfection of wisdom."[16]

(b) In such texts as the Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivadins, for instance, incidents are recorded in which the historical Buddha had to face a number of adverse situations, explaind as residual results of past misdeeds. With the change of the early concept of Tathāgata and the development of a kind of Buddhist docetism such an explanation pattern proved altogether unpalatable, causing the employment of upāya-kauśalya as a hermeneutic strategy, best exemplified in the *Upāya-kauśalyasūtra*: The precarious events in the Buddha's life are shown to be instances of the Tathāgata's inconceivable skill in means, contrived by him so as to bring his listeners to maturity by, for example, convincing evidence for the law of cause and effect: "The Thus-Come-One displays a karmic connection with skill in means to indicate that such and such is the maturation of such and such a deed."[17]

(c) As for the Skill in Means Sutra ushering in moral relativism, there are "daring" examples illustrating as to how *upāyakauśalya* may supersede the most fundamental monastic rules. Thus it is stated in the discourse: "Suppose that a transgression would befall a Bodhisattva in the course of creating a store of merit for a particular sentient being... The Bodhisattva will incur the transgression – and the suffering of hell – enthusiastically... rather than relinquish the store of merit of a single sentient being"[18] Then the *Jātaka*-like story of a brahman youth, of the would-be Buddha, is narrated who has kept celibacy for a very long time. Seeing him, a young woman, Yasodharā in a previous existence, falls in love with him, but on being rejected, she is ready to die. Now, out of compassion, the brahman is prepared to break his vow of celibacy and bear "the pain of hell" lest the woman should die and in order to make her happy. In another story, "with great compassion and skill in means", the would-be Buddha even commits murder with the intention to save a large number of Bodhisattvas and prevent a criminal about to kill those Bodhisattvas from creating formidable evil karma. Obviously suchlike narratives of the discourse made it the seminal source influencing Mahāyāna Buddhist thought and eventually setting new trends in Dharma teaching and training methods that were to become prominent in the *Tantric* and *Chan / Zen* traditions in which sometimes unorthodox means were resorted to that could include, in exceptional cases, sex or violence.

Nowadays, in the context of Buddhist modernism, the concept of *upāyakauśalya* still plays a vitally important role for Buddhists to cope with the challenges of the present globalized world.

References

1. For the first exhaustive treatment of *upāyakausalya*, also in its Theravādin and Far Eastern contexts, See Michael Pye, *Skilful Means. A concept in Mahayana Buddhism*. London, 1978. Pye also discusses in detail *upāya* and *upāyakosalla* with reference, for example, to the *Jātakas*, describing the would-be Buddha as "skilled in means" (Pye 1978, pp. 120-122). The author aptly remarks that the *Jātaka* references to *upāyakosalla* should be taken as anticipations of the Mahāyāna usage (ibid., p. 119). To the passages mentioned by Pye in which *upāya / upāyakosalla* are found, further places can be added in the para canonical *Aṭṭhakathā* and *Ṭikā* literature and notably at *Vbh.*, p. 326, being a text considered canonical.
2. The "gradual teaching" or "progressive instruction" bears on generosity, morality, on divine abodes or states, the danger and disadvantage of sense-desires, advantages of renunciation and, finally, on the Four Noble Truths. Among the manuscript remains of Sanskrit *Sarvāstivādin* texts discovered in East Turkestan in fragments belonging to the *Yogavidhi* the expression *upadeśānupurvi bauddhānam*, "[regular] order of instruction of Buddhist [teachers]", occurs, corresponding to *ānupubbikathā*. See Dieter Schlingloff, "Yogavidhi", in Indo-Iranian Journal (1963-64), pp. 146-155 (*Yogavidhi* 45 V2). As for *ānupubbikathā* and gradualism, See also SUTRASAMUCCAYA.
3. *D.* III, p. 220 (Sangiti-Suttanta): *Tini kosallāni, Aya-kosallam, apāya-kosallam, upāya-kosallam.*
4. See *DA.* III, p. 1005; *Linatthappakasana* III, Dhammagiri-Pali-Ganthamālā, Igatpuri, 1993, p. 191f.
5. *sabbāpi tatrupāya pana upāyakosallam* (quoted at *DA.* III, p. 1005). As for tatrupāya = tatra tatra..., see *Linatthappakasana* III, p. 192. 322
6. *evam pi yo vedagu bhāvitatto bahussuto hoti avedhadhammo, so kho pare nijjhāpaye pajā nam sotāvadhānupanisupapanne.* See K.R. Norman, The Group of Discourses I. With

alternative translations by I.B. Horner and Walpola Rahula. *PTS*, London, 1984, p. 53.

7. See P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. With Haribhadra's Commentary Called *Āloka*, Darbhanga, 1960, p. 185: *yadā bodhisattvo… evam cittam abhinirharati - śarvasattva mamaparityak-tah, mayatte parimocayitavya iti, sunyatam ca samādhivimokṣamukham abhinirharati…, tada upāyakauśalyasamanvāgato bodhi-sattvo… veditavyah – nāyam antara bhūtakoṭim sā kṣatkariśyaty aparipurnair buddhadharmaih;… asyopayakausalyam raksam karoti.*
8. Ibid., p. 184: *bodhisattvo mahasattvah sarvasattvahitānukampi maitri-… karunā-… muditā-… upeksavihāri upāyakausalyena prajnāpāramitāya ca parigrhitah.*
9. See Hisao Takahashi et al. (eds.), Vimalakirtinirdesa. A Sanskrit Edition Based upon the Manuscript Newly Found at the Potala Palace. Taisho University Press. Tokyo, 2006, p. 15 (chapter II) with reference to Vimalakirti and the six perfections realized by him for the benefit of sentient beings: *prajnāpāramitānirjatah, upāyakausalyagatimgatah…* "He is expert in the perfection of wisdom and an adept at skill in means…"; See ibid., p. 79 (chapter VII): *prajnāpāramitā mātā bodhisattvāna marisa / pitā copayakausalyam yato jāyanti nāyakah //* "The Bodhisattvas' mother, friend, is the perfection of wisdom and [their] father is skill in means of whom are born the guides [of all beings]."
10. See Louis Renou, Jean Filliozat, L'Inde classique, Tome II, Paris, 1953, reimpr. 2000, p. 564 (Les doctrines du Grand Moyen de Progression (Mahayana).
11. As for the Mahayanist trikaya teaching see BUDDHOLOGY. On upāya and trikāya see also Gadjin M. Nagao, Madhyamika and Yogācāra. A Study of Mahayana Philosophies. State University of New York, Albany, 1991, pp. 33, 87, 107ff.
12. See Pye 1978, p. 113f.; see also ŚUNYATĀ. As for the Tantric context in which the opposites of upāya and prajnā merge as yab yum, see TATHAGATAMANDALA.
13. See Mark Tatz (transl.), The Skill in Means Sutra (Upayakausalyasutra), Delhi, 1994, 2001, p. 16f.
14. See Tatz 1994, p. 27.
15. Fully explained in Heinz Bechert, "Zur Frühgeschichte des Mahayana-Buddhismus", in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 113 (1964), pp. 530-535.
16. Tatz 1994, p. 28.
17. Ibid., p. 87.
18. Ibid., p. 33.

Bhikkhu Pasādika.

UPEKKHĀ, (Skt. *upekṣā*), is mostly translated as "equanimity", and can be derived from *upa* and *īkṣ*, to "look upon". In order to explore the various nuances of *upekkhā*, the present article will begin by surveying Buddhaghosa analysis of the term, and then employ the main distinctions derived from this analysis as a scaffolding for examining relevant passages from the Pāli discourses. Though not all of these passages fit Buddhaghosa's scheme neatly, the main distinctions offered by him provide a useful ground plan for exploring *upekkhā* and its different shades of meaning.

Buddhaghosa's analysis of *upekkhā*

Buddhaghosa's analysis distinguishes between ten types of *upekkhā* (*Vism.* 160, *DhsA.* 172)[1]:

(1) *chaḷaṅgupekkhā*, the "six-fold equanimity" of an arahant towards objects of the six senses.

(2) *brahmavihārupekkhā*, "equanimity" as the last of the four "divine abodes".

(3) *bojjhaṅgupekkhā*, "equanimity" as the last of the seven "factors of awakening".

(4) *viriyupekkhā*, "equanimity of energy" in the sense of a balance between striving and laxity.

(5) *saṅkhārupekkhā*, "equanimity about formations" as a result of progress in meditation.

(6) *vedanupekkhā*, "equanimity" as a type of "feeling".

(7) *vipassanupekkhā*, "equanimity" as a result of the development of "insight".

(8) *tatramajjhattupekkhā*, "equanimity" in the sense of "balance" of mental factors.

(9) *jhānupekkhā*, the "equanimity" experienced during the third *jhāna*.

(10) *pārisuddhupekkhā*, the "purified equanimity" experienced during the fourth *jhāna*.

Buddhaghosa explains that the first three and the last two, i.e. *chaḷaṅgupekkhā* (1), *brahma-vihāru-pekkhā* (2), *bojjhaṅgupekkhā* (3), *jhānupekkhā* (9) and *pārisuddhupekkhā* (10), are but different modes of equanimity in the sense of balance, *tatramajjhattupekkhā* (8). Since the first three and the last two are different modes of the same basic state, they are mutually exclusive in the sense that where one of them is found, the other will not occur.

Of the remaining types of *upekkhā*, equanimity about formations and equanimity in relation to insight, *saṅkhārupekkhā* (5) and *vipassanupekkhā* (7) have, according to Buddhaghosa, the same meaning. "Equanimity of energy", *viriyupekkhā* (4), however, in according to him a type on its own, as is the case for equanimity as a feeling, *vedanupekkhā* (6).

Equanimity towards sensory experience

The first in Buddhaghosa's listing is *chaḷaṅgupekkhā*, the "six-fold equanimity" of an arahant towards objects of the six senses. As an example for this type of equanimity, Buddhaghosa refers to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* that describes how a monk is neither elated, *sumana*, nor depressed, *dumana*, in regard to what is experienced through the six senses, but instead dwells with equanimity, mindfulness and clear comprehension, *upekkhako viharati sato sampajāno* (*A.* III, 279).

Equanimity towards sensory objects is, however, a topic of relevance not only to an arahant. In fact, such equanimity could be of different types. The *Saḷāyatana Sutta* distinguishes between worldly types of equanimity, *gehasitā upekkhā*, experienced by the ignorant worldling towards sense-objects, and equanimity based on renunciation, *nekkhammasitā upekkhā*, which arises as the result of awareness of the impermanent and unsatisfactory nature of sense-ob-jects (*M.* III, 219). The worldly forms of equanimity result from the object itself, whose features arouse neither a positive nor a negative reaction. In contrast, equanimity based on renunciation transcends its object, *ativattati*, as this equanimity is caused by an inner attitude, not by the outer features of the object.

Such an inner attitude of equanimity towards sense-objects is the outcome of a gradual training. According to the *Indriyabhāvanā Sutta*, some contemporaries of the Buddha thought that the way to deal with the attraction of sense-objects is to just avoid them. From the perspective of the Buddha, however, the proper procedure is rather to see sense-experience, be it agreeable or disagreeable, as something that is gross and conditioned. In contrast to such gross and conditioned experience, equanimity is peaceful and sublime (*M.* III, 299).

The same discourse then describes how to arrive at mastery in regard to sense-experience. According to this description, one trains to perceive what is disagreeable (*paṭikkula*) as agreeable (*appaṭikkula*), and what is agreeable as disagreeable, followed by perceiving both as disagreeable, and then both as agreeable. The final stage in such training is reached when the labels "disagreeable" and "agreeable" are left behind and one is able to dwell in equanimity, endowed with mindfulness and clear comprehension in regard to any experience (*M.* III, 301).

To remain equanimous is not only an important stage in perceptual mastery, but would also be of considerable advantage in relation to other beings. This is in fact the next aspect of *upekkhā* to be examined, namely equanimity as one of the four *brahmavihāras*.

Equanimity as a divine abode

The second type of equanimity in Buddhaghosa's listing is *brahmavihārupekkhā*. In the standard description of the practice of the four *brahmavihāras* as forms of "liberation of the mind", *cetovimutti*, equanimity comes last and thus constitutes the culmination point of the practice (e.g. *D.* I, 251). Thus equanimity as a *brahmavihāra* constitutes the climax of a process that is based on the development of loving kindness, *mettā*, compassion, *karuṇā*, and sympathetic joy, *muditā*. This indicates that *upekkhā* is not simply a state of listless lack of concern, but rather an equanimity that rounds of a systematic opening of the heart, in the sense of being a "complement to the first three more concerned dispositions".[2] Far from being merely a state of dull indifference, such equanimity is "the result of ... deliberate training, not the casual outcome of a passing mood".[3] That *upekkhā* comes last "does not mean that equanimity is to supplant the first three sublime attitudes in one's future practice".[4] Much rather, future practice will involve

all four *brahmavihāras*, not being confined to practice of *upekkhā* alone (cf. e.g. *Sn*. 73).

That from an early Buddhist perspective *upekkhā* is not considered as invariably superior to the other *brahmavihāras* can be seen in a passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. This passage reports that Sāriputta was publicly contradicted several times by another monk. The Buddha finally intervened and upbraided the other monks for not intervening earlier (*A*. III, 194). Why, he asked, did they not have compassion when a senior monk was being vexed in public, and instead continued to look on with equanimity? This passage shows that in early Buddhism equanimity was not considered the appropriate response to every situation. Instead, at times an active intervention is required and should be undertaken, out of compassion.

The same can also be seen in another passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, according to which someone had proposed that to completely refrain from criticizing others is the best attitude, being a superior expression of equanimity (*A*. II, 101). The Buddha disagreed with this proposal, explaining that one should criticize on those occasions where it is suitable.

The same issue is taken up from a complementary perspective in another discourse, which recommends admonishing someone even if this leads to vexation for oneself and the other, as long as there is hope that the other will thereby become established in what is wholesome (*M*. II, 241). Only if the situation is such that it can be anticipated that the other will not become established in what is wholesome, then equanimity towards such a person is the appropriate attitude.

These passages show that early Buddhism did not consider equanimity as the only appropriate attitude towards others, but rather saw it as an attitude that, in spite of its many advantages, may at times not be opportune. In fact, equanimity can be of two types, as some forms of equanimity lead to an increase of wholesome states, but others lead to an increase of unwholesome states (*D*. II, 279). For this reason, certain types of *upekkhā* should not be developed.

In order to develop the wholesome types of equanimity, the *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* recommends calling to mind the famous simile of the saw. With the help of such recollection, it becomes possible to generate "equanimity based on the wholesome", *upekkhā kusalanissitā*, to such a degree that one is able to bear even being attacked with fists, sticks and knives (*M*. I, 186). Another recollection that can help to face even extreme situations is described in the *Puṇṇovāda Sutta*. According to this discourse, the monk Puṇṇa was ready to bear any type of attack with the reflection that his aggressors were kind in that they were not attacking him in ways even worse than what they were already doing (*M*. III, 268).

These passages reveal the potential of equanimity in overcoming the tendency to resistance, *paṭigha* (*M*. I, 424), or to anger, *āghāta* (*A*. III, 185). In addition, if equanimity is developed as a liberation of the mind it also becomes an antidote to lust, *rāga* (*A*. III, 292). The relationship between equanimity and the removal of lust is further elaborated in another discourse, which explains that due to the perception of absence of beauty, *asubhasaññā*, the attraction of sexuality will be replaced by equanimity (*A*. IV, 47).

According to the *Jīvaka Sutta*, the Buddha's own practice of equanimity and the other divine abodes had its foundation in his complete freedom from lust, anger and delusion (*M*. I, 370). Due to the aloofness of the Buddha's equanimity from any defilement, his *brahmavihāra* was superior even to that of Brahmā.

For the Buddha, to dwell in the divine abode of equanimity or any of the other *brahmavihāras* was like a divine resting place (*A*. I, 183). His equanimity as a teacher was such that, even though only some disciples might listen to his teachings while others might not listen, he would still remain equanimous (*M*. III, 221).

Equanimity was a quality possessed by the Buddha even previous to his awakening. The *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta* describes a former time during which the bodhisattva was molested by cow-herds who would spit at him, urinate on him, throw dirt at him and poke sticks into his ears (*M*. I, 79). In spite of such harassment, he remained completely equanimous. According to the *Cariyapiṭaka*, the bodhisattva's maintenance of equanimity in such adverse circumstances constituted his development of the perfection of equanimity, *upekkhāpāramī* (*Cp*. 102).[5] Notably, in the list of altogether ten such perfections

that according to the Theravāda tradition are required for future Buddhahood, *upekkhā* again forms the culmination point.

A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* clarifies that the development of *upekkhā* and the other divine abodes should not be considered to be only a domain of Buddhists, as the same was also undertaken by contemporaries of the Buddha (*S.* V, 116).[6] The same discourse throws into relief the decisive difference between their mode of practice and the way this was undertaken in the Buddha's dispensation. This difference lies in combining the practice of equanimity, or of any of the other *brahmavihāras*, with the development of the factors of awakening (*S.* V, 120). This leads us on to the next topic, to the role of *upekkhā* as a factor of awakening.

Equanimity as a factor of awakening

Bojjhaṅgupekkhā, "equanimity" as a "factor of awakening", is the third type of equanimity in Buddhaghosa's listing. Similar to the position of *upekkhā* in relation to the other divine abodes (*brahmavihāra*) and the perfections (*pāramī*), in the context of the factors of awakening *upekkhā* again forms the last in the listing. According to the *Ānāpānasati Sutta*, the factors of awakening arise in conditioned dependence on each other (*M.* III, 85). This indicates that *upekkhā* as a *bojjhaṅga* constitutes the climax of a process of meditative development that involves the previous establishment of mindfulness, *sati*, investigationofphenomena, *dhammavicaya*, energy, *viriya*, joy, *pīti*, tranquillity, *passaddhi*, and concentration, *samādhi*.

According to the *Ānāpānasati Sutta*, the awakening factor of equanimity arises due to looking on with equanimity, *ajjhupekkhati*, at the concentrated state of mind that has been reached at this point of practice (*M.* III, 86), a point of practice with which the attainment of knowledge and liberation comes within reach. The *Ānāpānasati Sutta* speaks of looking on with equanimity, *ajjhupekkhati*, also in its correlation of the fourth tetrad of mindfulness of breathing with the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna*, contemplation of phenomena, *dhammānupassanā* (*M.* III, 85). According to its explanation, to contemplate impermanence, dispassion, cessation and relinquishment when breathing in and breathing out corresponds to contemplation of phenomena, *dhammānupassanā*, because at this stage of practice one has seen with wisdom that desire and discontent have been overcome and looks on closely with equanimity. A nuance common to the perspectives given on *upekkhā* in the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* is that of mental balance, a balance that covers the realm of tranquillity as well as of insight.

Upekkhā as an awakening factor could be directed towards internal or towards external objects (*S.* V, 111). To foster its development, attention should be given to things that are a basis for the awakening factor of equanimity, *upekkhāsambojjhaṅgaṭṭhānīyā dhammā*, (*S.* V, 67). Further explanation of this statement can be gathered from the commentaries, according to which one should in particular be detached towards people and things, avoid prejudiced people and associate with impartial people, and incline the mind towards the arousing and establishing of this particular factor of awakening (*MA.* I, 299). The commentaries also explain that the characteristic of the awakening factor of equanimity is careful consideration and proceeding evenly, *paṭisaṅkhāna-lakkhaṇa samavāhita-lakkhaṇā vā*, its specific function is to prevent deficiency and excess and to cut off partiality, *ūnādhikatā-nivāraṇa-rasa pakkha-pātupac-cheda-rasā vā*, and its manifestation is as a state of balance, *majjhatta-bhāva-pac-cupaṭṭhāna* (*MA.* I, 84).

The presence of wisdom and clear discernment inherent in the awakening factor of *upekkhā* is also reflected in a simile found in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which compares the seven factors of awakening to the seven precious and magical possessions of a wheel-turning king. In the context of this simile, the awakening factor of equanimity corresponds to the king's adviser, *pariṇāyaka* (*S.* V, 99).

Further illustrations of *upekkhā* can be found in two similes that employ various parts of a chariot and of an elephant to illustrate mental qualities. Here *upekkhā* is what keeps the burden loaded on the chariot in balance (*S.* V, 6), or else corresponds to the two white teeth of the elephant (*A.* III, 346; *Thag.* 694). Another simile indicates that just as a goldsmith will at times simply look on with equanimity, *ajjhupekkhati*, after having alternately heated up gold and sprinkled it with water, so too during the

meditative development of the mind one should at times just give attention to the sign of equanimity, *upekkhānimitta* (*A.* I, 257).[1] The nuance of balance between striving and laxity, alluded to in this imagery, leads us on to the next aspect of equanimity, namely equanimity in the sense of balance of energy.

Equanimity as balance of energy

Viriyupekkhā, "equanimity of energy" as a balance between striving and laxity, is the fourth in Buddhaghosa's listing. In addition to the above-mentioned simile of a goldsmith, another imagery describes the same need for equanimous observation without interference with the case of a wood fire, which at times needs to be tended, at times to be quenched, but at times just needs to be looked upon with equanimity (*A.* IV, 45). For exertion to be fruitful, the *Devadaha Sutta* points out, one has to know not only when it is the time to strive, but also when the time has come to simply remain with *upekkhā* (*M.* II, 223). As another discourses points out, one who does not look on with equanimity when this is required will not reach liberation (*A.* III, 435).

The topic of equanimity in relation to the progress towards liberation, in particular in regard to its two aspects of tranquillity and insight, is the next theme to be explored, which is equa-nimity about formations.

Equanimity about formations

Saṅkhārupekkhā, "equanimity about formations", is the fifth in Buddhaghosa's listing. The *Paṭi-sambhidāmagga* treats this topic by distinguishing between eight types of *saṅkhārupekkhā* that arise in relation to the development of tranquillity, *samatha*, and ten types of *saṅ-khār-upek-khā* in relation to the development of insight, *vipassanā* (*Ps.* I, 64). The eight types related to tranquillity are the equanimity towards those factors that have been overcome with the attainment of a particular level of concentration, such as the hindrances with the first *jhā-na*, initial and sustained mental application (*vitakka-vicāra*) in the case of the second *jhāna* etc. The ten types related to insight are the equanimity towards any formation related to the four noble paths, the four noble fruits, dwelling in emptiness and dwelling in signlessness.

In this way, equanimity about formations points to the role of *upekkhā* in relation to the development of *jhāna* and of insight. Before taking up this role in more detail, however, equanimity as a type of feeling needs to be considered.

Equanimous feeling

Vedanupekkhā, "equanimity" as a type of "feeling", is the sixth in Buddhaghosa's listing. The experience of equanimous types of feeling is treated in the discourses predominantly under the heading of the "faculty of equanimity", *upekkhindriya*.[4] This faculty arises in dependence on contact to be felt as equanimous (*S.* V, 212),[5] and is de-fined as experience that is bodily and mentally felt as neither comfortable nor uncomfortable, *n'eva sātaṃ nā-sātaṃ vedayitaṃ* (*S.* V, 211).

The faculty of equanimity is one of altogether five such faculties, of which the others are the faculties of bodily pleasure, *sukha*, bodily pain, *dukkha*, mental joy, *somonassa*, and mental dis-pleasure, *domanassa* (*S.* V, 209). While the faculties of bodily pleasure and mental joy correspond to pleasant feeling, *sukhā vedanā*, and the faculty of bodily pain and mental displeasure to unpleasant feeling, *dukkhā vedanā*, the faculty of equanimity corresponds to neither-unpleasant-nor-pleasant types of feeling, *adukkhamasukhā vedanā* (*S.* V, 210). The other four faculties cease progressively with the attainment of the four *jhānas*, but the faculty of equanimity ceases only with the attainment of the cessation of perceptions and feelings, *saññāvedayitanirodha* (*S.* V, 215).

A related type of presentation includes *upekkhā* in a list of altogether six elements, *dhātu*, of which the first four are again *sukha*, *dukkha*, *somanassa*, and *domanassa*, while the remainder are *upekkhā* and *avijjā* (*M.* III, 62). The reference to *avijjā* in the present passage then leads us on the development of insight as the requirement for overcoming *avijjā*.

Equanimity in relation to insight

Vipassanupekkhā, "equanimity" as a result of the development of "insight", is the seventh in Buddhaghosa's listing. As an example of this particular type of equanimity, Buddhaghosa refers to a maxim in

the *Āneñjasappāya Sutta*, which describes the aspiration: "what exists, what has become, that I abandon", *yad atthi, yaṃ bhūtaṃ, tad pajahāmi* (*M.* II, 265). The same maxim recurs again in another discourse, according to which those who have developed wisdom through putting this injunction into practice will reach full awakening or become non-returners (*A.* IV, 70). As the *Āneñjasappāya Sutta* points out, full liberation will be attained only if even the refined equanimity acquired with the help of the above maxim is not clung to.

This reinforces a point already made above in relation to *upekkhā* as a divine abode, in that in early Buddhism equanimity is not seen as the final goal, but as something that also needs to be transcended.

A simile that illustrates how equanimity arises through insight can be found in the *Devadaha Sutta*. This simile describes a man who sorely suffers on seeing the woman he loves conversing and laughing with another man. Yet, once this man realizes the cause of his distress and eventually overcomes his affection for the woman, her behaviour will no longer affect him (*M.* II, 223).

A verse in the *Mahāviyūha Sutta* speaks in particular of equanimity in regard to views and opinions (*Sn.* 911). Since the preceding verses offer a penetrative analysis of the evils of upholding views and opinions, perhaps the *upekkhā* referred to in the present verse should also be reckoned as a form of equanimity that is the result of insight.

In fact, the presence of equanimity and balance as an outcome of progressing insight is a recurrent theme in the discourses, though not always explicitly treated under the heading of *upekkhā*. Another way of expressing the same state of balance would be, for example, the expression "he dwells independently, without clinging to anything in the world", *anissito ca viharati, na ca kiñci loke upādiyati* (e.g. *M.* I, 56). A complementary description of this balanced attitude indicates that for one who has arrived at deeper insight, any feeling will not be delighted in. Even feelings that intimate the approach of death will simply be experienced with a balanced mind that knows that after death feelings will just become cool (*M.* III, 244). Which takes us on to the topic of equanimity as balance.

Equanimity as balance

Tatramajjhattupekkhā, "equanimity" in the sense of "balance" of mental factors is the eighth in Buddhaghosa's listing. According to his own presentation, *tatramajjhattupekkhā* is an umbrella term for the first three and the last two in his listing, namely *chaḷaṅgupekkhā* (1), *brahmavihārupekkhā* (2), *bojjhaṅgupekkhā* (3), *jhānupekkhā* (9) and *pārisuddhupekkhā* (10). Of these only the final two out of these manifestations of *tatramajjhattupekkhā*, which are concerned with the role of equanimity in regard to *jhāna* attainment, still need to be examined.

Equanimity during *jhāna*

According to Buddhaghosa's explanation, equanimity is present in all four *jhānas*, but it comes to the fore only in the third and fourth *jhānas* (*Vism.* 168). To illustrate his point, he compares *upekkhā* during the first and second *jhāna* to the crescent moon during daytime, which in spite of its presence will not be seen clearly. For this reason, in his tenfold listing he explicitly mentions only *jhānupekkhā*, the "equanimity" experienced during the third *jhāna*, and *pārisuddhupekkhā*, the "purified equanimity" experienced during the fourth *jhāna*.

The presence of equanimity in the third *jhāna* is explicitly mentioned in the standard description of this level of concentration, according to which one who attains the third *jhāna* is reckoned one who "being equanimous and mindful, dwells in happiness", *upekhako satimā sukhavihārī* (*D.* I, 75). During such attainment, a subtle but real perception of equanimity and happiness is present, *upekkhā-sukha-sukhuma-sacca-saññā* (*D.* I, 183). It is the very presence of this *upekkhāsukha* that constitutes the last vestige of perturbability, *iñjita*, during this attain-ment (*M.* I, 454), or else the last vestige of confinement, *sambādha* (*A.* IV, 450). The danger here is to become internally stuck, once consciousness becomes intoxicated with the gratification derived from this experience, *upekkhā-sukhassāda-gathita* (*M.* III, 226).

Overcoming this last vestige of perturbability and confinement leads to the attainment of the fourth *jhāna*, characterized in the standard descriptions as a state that has purity of mindfulness due to equanimity,

upekkhā-sati-parisuddhi (*D.* I, 75). As a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta* notes, leaving behind *sukha, dukkha, somanassa* and *domanassa* leads to a type of equanimity that is purified and tranquil (*Sn.* 67).

Buddhaghosa explains that the purity of mindfulness during this deep level of absorption is precisely due to equanimity (*Vism.* 167). Equanimity then continues to be prominent during the four immaterial attainments, though a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* relates *upekkhā cetovimutti* in particular to the attainment of the sphere of nothingness, *akiñcaññāyatana* (*S.* V, 121).

The unified equanimity of deeper *jhāna* experience is considerably more refined than worldly types of equanimity that are based on diversity, *upekkhā nānattā nānattasitā* (*M.* I, 364). Yet, even the sublime and purified equanimity of deeper stages of concentration is merely a conditioned state and thus needs to be left behind (*M.* III, 243).

With the unworldly equanimity of the fourth *jhāna*, *nirāmisā upekkhā*, the worldly types of equanimity in relation to the world of sensuality are left behind, *sāmisā upekkhā* (*S.* IV, 237). A form of equanimity that is of an even more unworldly type, *nirāmisā nirāmisatarā upekkhā*, will arise when one reviews the successful attainment of final liberation.

The role of *upekkhā* during the progress through the *jhānas* indicates that it is the very presence of equanimity that "allows the mind to become fully sensitive and effective".[10] This reinforces a point made above in regard to occurrences of *upekkhā* in other contexts, which similarly go beyond mere indifference or insensitivity and present equanimity as an expression of a maturity of emotional attitudes and of the development of insight and tranquillity.[11] It is in fact noticeable how again and again *upekkhā* makes its appearance in the company of mindfulness, *sati*, and clear comprehension, *sampajañña*, which highlights the degree to which equanimity is related to full awareness and wisdom. In sum, then, *upekkhā* is an equanimity that "looks at" or "looks upon", *upa + īkṣ* not an indifference that looks away.

Anālayo

References

1. M. Maithrimurthi: *Wohlwollen, Mitleid, Freude und Gleichmut*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999: 140, notes that a similar ten-fold analysis of *upekṣā* can be found in the *Yogācārabhūmi-Vyākhyā*, *mdo 'grel yi* 133b8 and 135a3.
2. H.B. Aronson: *Love and Sympathy in Theravāda Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal, 1986: 89. Cf. also B. Stoler Miller: "On cultivating the immeasurable change of heart: The Buddhist brahmavihāra formula", in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* vol. 7, 1979: 210, who points out that "joy and impartiality further intensify and extend the scope and power of love and compassion".
3. Nyanaponika: *The Four Sublime States*, Kandy: *BPS*, 1993: 16.
4. H.B. Aronson: "Equanimity (Upekkhā) in Theravāda Buddhism", *Studies in Pali and Buddhism*, Delhi: B.R. Publ., 1979: 8.
5. Further stories related to his development of equanimity in former lives are noted in Vism. 302.
6. For more detailed examination of this discourse cf. Harvey B. Aronson, 1984: "Buddhist and Non-buddhist Approaches to the Sublime Attitudes (brahma-vihāra)", in *Buddhist Studies in Honor of Hammalava Saddhatissa*, Sri Lanka, 1984: 19ff.
7. G.M. Nagao: "Tranquil Flow of Mind: An Interpretation of Upekā", in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme*, Lou-vain: Institut Orientaliste, 1980: 249, draws attention to a passage in the *Saṃdhinirmocana*, according to which in the context of a similar exposition the *upekṣā-nimitta* stands for effortlessness.
8. Cf. also *S.* IV, 232, which explicitly refers to worldly types of equanimity, *gehasitāupekkhā*, and equanimity based on renunciation, *nekkhammasitāupekkhā*, as types of feeling, *vedanā*.
9. Cf. also *S.* IV, 114, which speaks of sense-objects that are a basis for equanimity, *upekkhāṭṭhāniya*, which then lead to the arising of neither-unpleasant-nor-pleasant feeling, *adukkhamasukhāvedanā*.
10. R. Gethin: *The Buddhist Path to Awakening*, Leiden: Brill, 1992: 159.

11. N. Katz: "Does the 'Cessation of the World' Entail the Cessation of Emotions? The Psychology of the Arahant", in *Pāli Buddhist Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1979: 56, clarifies that "Buddhist detachment means the non-reference of feeling to self, not merely the cultivation of a hedonic or emotively banal neutrality".

UPOSATHA. Derived from the Sanskrit word *upavasatha*, the Pāli term *uposatha* denotes a ceremony to be performed by the Buddhist clergy on the 14th or 15th day of the half-month and by the laity on the 8th and 14th or 15th days of the half-month and on certain special days (*pāṭihāriya-pakkha*). In Buddhist Sanskrit the term takes the form *upoṣadha* (sometimes also given as *poṣadha* or *poṣatha*). In Jaina Sanskrit it occurs as *pauṣadha* or *poṣadha* while in Ardha Māgadhi it occurs as *posaha*.

The Sanskrit term *upavasatha* literally means 'living close to'. On the day of the ritual the gods are said to descend to the sacrificial room where the sacrificer is observing the religious fast tending the sacred fire[1]. It was an ancient Indo-Aryan ritual from Vedic times. This was done by the sacrificer on the eve of the *Darsha* and *Paurṇamāsa* sacrifices, performed respectively on the new-moon and the full-moon days in preparation for it. The performance is said to purify the sacrificer. The *Śatapatha Brāhmana* says that the sacrificer spends the time on this day in the sacrificial chamber in full or semi fast. According to the *Āruneya Upanishad* the sacrificer should complete these penances on this day but the Brahamin *Sanyāsins* should chant the *Upanishads* or the *Āraṇyakas*[2].

According to Monier Williams[3] *upavasatha* is a fast day, especially the day preceding the *Soma* sacrifice. It is the period of preparation for the *Soma* sacrifice. With the observance of religious fasting (*upavāsa*) in Brahmanism is also included abstinence from all sensual gratification, from perfumes, flowers, unguents, ornaments, betel, music, dancing etc. Rhys Davids and William Stede (*PED*. s.v. *uposatha*) confirm that *upavasatha*, from which is derived the Pāli form *uposatha*, denotes the eve of the *Soma* sacrifice, the day of preparation. They go on to say that at the time of the rise of Buddhism the word had come to mean the day preceding four stages, of the moon's waxing and waning, viz. 1st, 8th, 15th and 23rd nights of the lunar month.

Upavasatha in Non-Vedic Religions Although it originated in the Vedic tradition other non-Vedic religions could not completely ignore its socio religions significance. They gradually adapted it as a weekly day of religious observance to suit their own religious views. According to Buddhist sources (*Vin*.1.101f) wandering ascetics of heretical sects (*aññatitthiyā paribbājakā*) used to assemble on the 14th, 15th and 8th days of the half month and preach the *dhamma* (*dhammaṃ bhāsati*). Buddhaghosa explains this as speaking on what should be done and what should not be done (*VinA*. 1034). However, it also could mean the reciting or chanting the *dhamma* or discussing the *dhamma*. Consequently many people used to come to their monasteries to listen to the *dhamma*, resulting in gaining in popularity by the heretics. On seeing this situation the Magadhan king, Seniya Bimbisāra, wished that Buddhist monks also should gather on these days and intimated his wish to the Buddha. Having considered the king's wish the Buddha enjoined that his disciple monks also should assemble on the 8th, 14th or the 15th days of the half-month. (see below for subsequent developments).

The story of the origin of the *uposatha* (posadha) ceremony given in the Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya texts differs from the Pāli tradition. Accordingly it was not the Magadhan king Bimbisāra but a group of lay devotees of Rājagruha who were instrumental in the initiation of the ceremony. These lay devotees who were on their way to the Buddha, as the time was not opportune to visit the Buddha, decided to visit first the monastery of a group of heretical recluses. In their discussions with them the Buddhist lay devotees found that there were three practices, viz *niṣadyā*, *kriyā* and *poṣadha* observed by the heretical sects but not found in the Buddhist practice. Thus when they met the Buddha at the proper time they reported all the conversation they had with the heretics and requested him to enjoin his disciples too to observe these three practices. The Buddha agreed. The Buddha explained *niṣadyā* as meditation (*yoga*), especially the meditation on the constituent elements of the body. For this he also recommended a meditation hall (*prahāṇa-śālā* or *pradhānaśālā*) with all facilities. By *kriyā* is meant the selection of a suitable monk to look after the meditators (*prahāṇa pratijāgrako bhikṣu*).

Posadha is explained as the recital of the *prātimokṣa-sūtra* at the fortnightly meeting of the monks. (*GM.* III *pt.* IV p. xii ff, 71ff.).

Jaina Poṣadha Vow. The *upavasatha* of the Vedic tradition has been admitted into Jainism under the term *poṣadha*. But Jains seem to prefer an interpretation of their own for the term. According to one Jain author[4] the term *poṣadha* is derived from the Sanskrit verbal root '*puṣ*' meaning 'to nourish, to foster, to support, to cause to grow, and to develop'. So the term *poṣadha*, according to him, means 'that which nourishes, fosters, supports the soul or its natural qualities'. But as seen from the Buddhist Sanskrit term *poṣadha* referred to above, it is obvious the Jaina term also is a derivation from *upavasatha*. Both Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit traditions bear witness to the fact that non-Buddhist sects had adapted this Brahmanic practice.

In Jainism the *Poṣadha* ceremony seems to be concerned more with the laity than with the clergy. This however does not mean, as mentioned in Buddhist texts, that the clergy had nothing to do with it. Sinclair Stevenson[5] declared that the eleventh vow, *Poṣadha vrata*, is one of the links that bind the two sections of the Jaina community together, for taking it compels a layman to spend some of his time as a monk. She, however, seems to have been ignorant of the fact that this linking of the laity with the monkhood through the *uposatha* vows is also recognized in Buddhism (More about this later). In taking this vow the Jain layman vows that for twenty four hours he will touch neither food, water, fruit, betel-nut, ornaments, scents nor any sort of weapons and will commit no sort of sin, but observe celibacy. He further promises that by day he will wear only three cloths (i.e. a loin cloth, a cloth to cover the body and a mouth-cloth) and use only two cloths, (one spread above him and one under him), at night. But a Pāli canonical discourse states that Jain monks make the laymen to vow to remain fully naked during the whole *uposatha* day (*A.* I. 206). It is possible that some of these extreme vows were modified later, or Buddhists have tried to misinterpret some of the Jaina practices. Obviously Buddhists have shown a critical attitude towards the Jaina *uposatha* vows.

This practice was observed on the *uposatha* day (*tadahuposathe*). But the same discourse refers to another Jaina observance which is, however, not definitely said to happen on the *uposatha* day. Nigaṇṭha monks, it is said, make the laymen to vow that they would put away the stick (*daṇḍaṃ nikkhipāhi*) with regard to beings on the east, west, north and south, but beyond a hundred *yojanas*. Thus, the discourse avers, that the laymen are asked to show love and compassion only to certain beings and not for all beings. This seems to be a Buddhist interpretation of the Jaina *Diśi vrata parimāṇa* or *Dig vrata*[6] by which one limits the area in all ten directions up to which, and not beyond which, the vower will undertake unvirtuous activities. This area is further limited by the *Deśāvakāśika vrata*[7].

Poṣadha is observed by devout laymen four times a month, but those who hope to renounce lay life ultimately observe it six times a month. The Digambara Jains are more strict in their observation. They keep the vows for at least two nights and the intervening day at a time. During that period they never even touch water and remain outside the *Apāsaro* reading scriptures and meditating in a lonely place. Others go to their *Apāsaro*, read scriptures and sing praises of *Tīrthaṅkara* and ask questions from monks. In keeping the *poṣadha* vow, considered one of the highest of religious duties, one is expected to be free from five faults, viz. i. neglecting to search the clothes for vermin, ii. if found, to put it away from harm's way, iii. any other carelessness resulting in injuring living things, iv. neglecting to fast as vowed and v. not allowing oneself to sleep in the day instead of meditating.

The Uposatha of the Buddhist Saṅgha. As seen above the Buddha initiated the *uposatha* ceremony of his ordained disciples at the request of either king Bimbisāra of Magadha or a group of Magadhan lay disciples. It is said that the Buddha at first merely asked the monks to assemble on 14^{th} or 15^{th} and 8^{th} days of the half month, but did not instruct them on what they should do on the day. When the lay devotees, who came to the monasteries to listen to the *Dhamma*, found the monks remaining silent, they started to grumble and the Buddha asked the monks to recite or preach the *Dhamma*. But not long afterwards, probably after giving careful thought to it, the Buddha decided to introduce an innovation of his own to the *uposatha* of the *Saṅgha*. He laid down that whatever rules of training he has laid down to the monks should form a recital of *pātimokkha* for them and that it would be for them the act of *uposatha*[8].

A brief statement made by Ven. Ānanda, not long after the passing away of the Buddha, gives a gist of what is done at the *uposatha* of the *Saṅgha*. He says that there are rules of training (*sikkhāpadaṃ*) laid down and the *pātimokkha* appointed (*uddiṭṭha*) for the monks by the Buddha. On the *uposatha* day all the monks living within one village assemble in one place and, one who remembers these rules of conduct is invited to recite them. When they are being recited, if any one reveals that an offence (*āpatti*), transgression (*vītikkamo*) has occurred, he is dealt with according to rule (*yathādhammo*), according to instruction (*yathāsatthaṃ*). The monks so dealt with do not think that their venerable colleagues punish them, but that they are punished by the rule (*dhamma*) (*M.* III. 10). From this one could understand the basic purpose of the *uposatha* of the members of the *Saṅgha*. It gives an opportunity for them to confess their transgressions and purify themselves with regard to the rules of conduct laid down by the Buddha.

A much more detailed description of the carrying out of the *uposatha* ceremony and a much deeper purpose of the confession of the transgressions is given in the *Vinaya* texts (*Vin.* I.102ff). It is very clearly stated here that when the *pātimokkha* is being recited, if any member present recalls that he has committed an offence, he should reveal it. If it is not revealed it amounts to an act of conscious lying called a stumbling block (*antarāyiko dhammo*) by the Buddha. One who desires purity should reveal it, for when it is revealed there is comfort (*phāsu*) for him. It is in the explanation of the two words 'stumbling block' and 'comfort' that one could see the deeper purpose of the ceremony. Conscious lying is a stumbling block for the realization of *jhānas*, deliverances (*vimokkha*), contemplations (*samādhi*), attainments (*samāpatti*), renunciations (*nekkhamma*) escapes (*nissaraṇa*), aloofness (*paviveka*) and wholesome states (*kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ*). By the word comfort (*phāsu*) is indicated the comfort one receive with the realization of the same qualities which would be blocked by conscious lying. The purification gained by revealing one's offences eases one's mind paving the way for higher spiritual attainments.

Sub-rules, regulations and amendments. Many sub-rules, regulations and amendments had to be put in place before the *uposatha* of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* reached its final form. Among them is the regulation that the *pātimokkha* should be recited only once a fortnight on the 14th or the 15th *uposatha* day. Thus the 8th day was excluded from the scheme. The recital of the *pātimokkha* has to be made by the united *Saṅgha* but not by different groups of monks. This is called '*uposatha* by all together' (*samaggaṃ uposathakammaṃ*). By 'all together' is defined as 'all in one residence' (*ekāvāso*) and not of the whole earth. However 'one residence' here does not appear to mean one monastic residence. Above we saw that the monks living in one village got together for the *uposatha*. In the *Vinaya* Buddha recommends the fixing of a boundary (*sīmā*) and to consider all living within the boundary to belong to one residence, the same communion (*samāna-saṃvāsā*) and one *uposatha* (*ekūposathā*). The furthest that a boundary could extend to is three *yojanas*. It should not extend beyond a river lacking a regular boat service or a permanent bridge. By common agreement one *uposatha*-hall (*uposathāgāra*) for the recital has to be fixed and it should not be done at all odd residences.

The regulation regarding the *uposatha* being held amidst a full order was referred to above. The Buddha stressed the importance of this when the Arahant Mahā Kappina thought that he need not attend the *uposatha* as he is free from all offences as an Arahant. The Teacher disallowed this and ordered him not to refrain from attending an *uposatha* ceremony. Similarly he also ruled that a sick monk, unable to attend the *uposatha*, should convey his purity (*pārisuddhi*) through another monk. If this cannot be done the sick monk should be carried to the *uposatha* hall on a couch or a chair. If the monk is too ill even for this, the Order should repair to his cell and conduct the *uposatha* there. It should never be done in an incomplete assembly.

The importance of the presence of the complete Order for the *uposatha* is further seen in the regulations made with regard to a monk who is seized by some one for some reason or other on the *uposatha* day. If others fail to secure his release for the ceremony or have him removed outside the boundary the *uposatha* should not be carried out that day. However, in the case of a monk who is out of his senses and, as a result, sometimes remembers and sometimes remembers not the *uposatha*, the Saṅgha can declare him to be insane (*ummattaka sammuti*) and hold the *uposatha* with or without him.

In the case of the presence, in a monastery, of a minimum number of four monks on the *uposatha* day they are permitted to recite the *pātimokkha* and carry out the *uposatha* duties. But if the number present is three, each one of them, in the order of seniority, has to declare one's purity (*pārisuddhi*) to the others. If only two are present the same procedure is followed between them. If only a single monk is present, he has to make all arrangements for the ceremony and await the arrival of more monks. If no one arrives he has to make a determination (*adhiṭṭhāna*) within himself that "today is my *uposatha*" (*ajja me uposatho*). Not to do so is an offence of wrong doing (*dukkaṭa*) (*ibid.* 124f).

The act of *uposatha* (*uposatha kamma*) is said to be fourfold, viz an *uposatha* act done, i. not according to rule in an incomplete assembly (*adhammena vaggam*) ii. not according to rule in a complete assembly (*samaggaṃ*), iii. according to rule in an incomplete assembly and, iv. according to rule in a complete assembly. Of these four only the last one is legal and only it is allowed by the Buddha (*ib.* 111f.)

The *Poṣadha Vastu* of the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* also goes into details regarding the development of the ceremony. Some of the facts found in the Pāli Vinaya texts are confirmed by them (*G.M.* III *pt.*iv 71ff).

In opening the doors of the *Saṅgha* to women the Buddha laid down eight rules which Buddhist nuns should observe throughout their lives and which they should not transgress. One of these is that every half month nuns have to inquire from the monks the date of the *uposatha* and the coming for the exhortation (*Vin.* II 255). Not to abide by this rule is a *Pācittiya* offence (*ibid.* IV. 315).

***Uposatha* of the Buddhist Laity.** The Buddhist home-dweller (*gahaṭṭha*) who keeps the five precepts regularly is instructed to observe the *uposatha-sīla* comprising eight constituents (*aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ uposathaṃ*) on the 8th, 14th or 15th day of the half-month and on certain special days. These eight constituents, also called the eight precepts (*sikkhāpada*) consist of abstinence from injuring life, theft, sex, lying, taking solid food out of time (*vikāla-bhojana*), intoxicants, and wearing garlands and perfumes, and as the eighth, is enjoined the sleeping on bedding spread on the ground. (*Sn.* 400-402).

The *uposatha* observance given briefly above was detailed out by the Buddha to Visākhā, one of his most prominent female lay disciples. One *uposatha* day she came to the monastery and met the Buddha. Coming to know that she was observing the *uposatha* the Buddha explained to her in detail how one should conduct oneself on that day and the intended purpose of that observance.

The Buddha first informs Visākhā that there are three forms of *uposatha* and designates them as 'Cow herd's Uposatha' (*Gopālakūposatha*), *Nigaṇṭhūposatha* and *Ariyūposatha*. The first two are rejected outright by him. A cowherd, who takes over a herd from the owner in the morning and hands them back in the evening, keeps on reflecting on the grazing grounds that were used that day and where he will take the herd next day etc. Similarly, he says, there are observers of the *uposatha*, it is not said to which religion they belong, who always reflect on the meals taken that day and the nature of meals he will take next day etc. and develop covetous thoughts. The *Nigaṇṭha Uposatha* is also rejected by the Buddha as promoting the development of untruth and theft. Both these would not be of great benefit to the observers.

Ariyūposatha, which undoubtedly reflects the Buddha's own conception of the observance, is detailed in six sections. The first of these, called *Brahmūposatha*, consists in the reflection on the virtues of the Buddha. By the term *brahma*, according to Buddhaghosa, is meant the Perfectly Enlightened One, the Buddha (*AA.* II. 322). One who reflects on the Buddha's virtues is said, therefore, to dwell with Brahma. The second is the reflection on the virtues of the *Dhamma* and is called *Dhammūposatha*. One who does so dwells with the *Dhamma*. By reflection on the virtues of the *Saṅgha*, and thereby dwelling with the *Saṅgha*, one observes the *Saṅghūposatha*. Reflection on one's own virtues, which are unbroken, whole, unspotted, untarnished, giving liberty, praised by the intelligent, untainted, leading to concentration of mind, is to dwell with virtue (*sīla*) and is called *Sīlūposatha*. *Devatūposatha* is to recall to mind one's own virtues comparing them with the virtues which helped different classes of *devas* to be reborn in their present states. By this one is said to dwell with *devas* (*devatāhi saddhiṃ saṃvasati*). The final section is not designated an *uposatha* but consists of a reflection on the eight precepts (*aṭṭhāṅga-sīla*) observed on the

day. Reflecting on each of them the observer thinks that just as Arahants observed them throughout their lives, abstaining from these negative forms of action and developing their opposite positive qualities, I too would this day and this night (*ajja imañca divasaṃ imañca rattiṃ*) act accordingly, imitating the Arahants and thus observe the *uposatha*. All these put together is called *Ariyūposatha* or the *uposatha* of the disciples of the Noble One.

The purpose of all these aspects of the Noble *uposatha* is the purification of a soiled mind by following a certain procedure (*upakkamena pariyodapanā*). When one reflects on the virtues of the Buddha one's mind is calmed, delight arises, the soilure of the mind is removed. It is just like cleaning the head when it is dirty, says the Buddha. The same principle is applied to the other four *uposathas* discussed. The purpose is the same. It is the purification of the soiled mind by following a certain procedure. In the discourse this principle is not applied to the reflection on the eight precepts and one's imitation of the life of an Arahant. But the purpose obviously must be the same. For the joy arising from this also could trigger the purification of the mind.

One also has to note a difference in the seventh of the eight precepts as given in the *Sutta Nipāta* referred to above and that in the present discourse. The *Sutta Nipāta* refers only to the abstention from garlands and perfumes. But the full precept found in the *Anguttara Nikāya* adds to it abstention from dancing, song, instrumental music and shows as well. The confusion is probably due to the breaking up of the full precept as given here into two under the 'ten precepts' (*dasa sīla*). May be the *Sutta Nipāta*, for brevity's sake, took only one part of the full precept.

The discourse to Visākhā is concluded with a description of the possibility of reaping heavenly bliss in one of the six *deva* worlds of the sphere of sensuous pleasures (*Kāma-bhava*) as a consequence of observing the *uposatha* consisting of the eight precepts (*A.* I. 205ff.). The benefits of keeping the *uposatha* are also given in a number of other discourses (e.g. *ibid.* IV 248ff). Here it is said that the observance of *uposatha* with the eight constituents is very fruitful, of great advantage, very splendid and very thrilling. The eulogy of the *uposatha* of the eight constituents is taken to the highest degree when it is said that if any one in the world including *devas* and men were to keep the observance day it would be of great benefit to them for a long time. And the discourse finally states that even if this great *sāla* tree here were to observe the *uposatha* i.e. if it can be done consciously, it would be of great benefit to it. So one need not speak of its benefits to mankind (*ibid.* 258f).

Navāṅga Uposatha. In one of the discourses (*ibid.* IV. 388ff) the Buddha speaks of an *uposatha* observance, of the lay devotees, with nine constituent elements (*navaṅgehi samannāgato*) and equally beneficial as the one discussed above. The only difference from the above observance is that to the eight precepts of this is added the permeation of the whole world with thoughts of loving kindness (*mettāsahagatenacetasā*). The nine constituents of this *Uposatha* observance are as follows.

(i) "I, too, now (like Arahants who abstain from it all their life), during this night and day, will give up taking life and abstain therefrom; I will dwell, meekly and kindly, compassionately and mercifully to all beings and lay aside both stick and sword"

(ii) I too will............................dwell abstaining from taking what is not given, refraining from taking what is not given, taking only what is given, expecting only what is given, not stealing, and holding myself in purity.

(iii) I too will..........dwell abandoning ignoble (*abrahma cariya*), living the noble life, away (from evil), refraining from sexual intercourse, the (low) village practice.

(iv) I too will.........well giving up lying, abstaining therefrom, speaking the truth, bound by truth, trustworthy, dependable and deceiving no one in the world.

(v) I too will ....dwell giving up intoxicants, the cause of sloth, and abstaining therefrom.

(vi) I too will...............dwell having but one meal, abstaining from food at night and at wrong times (*vikālabhojana*).

(vii) I too will.................... dwell abstaining from dancing, song, music and theatrical shows, and wearing, decorating, ornamenting with garlands, scents and salves.

(viii) I too will.................. dwell giving up the use of large and lofty beds, abstain therefrom and will lye on low ones, on a couch or on strewn grass.

(ix) An Ariyan disciple dwells with his mind pervading with loving kindness one quarter of the world, and likewise the second, the third, the fourth quarter; and so the whole world, above, below, across, everywhere, he pervades with thoughts of loving kindness, far-reaching, abounding, measureless, free from hatred and ill-will.

Pre-Buddhist Influence on the Buddhist *Uposatha* Observance. As already seen Buddhist texts of all traditions accept that the institution of the Buddhist *uposatha* was prompted by a contemporary non–Buddhist institution. There is no doubt that both the Buddhist *uposatha* and similar institutions among other non-Vedic religious groups were based on the ancient Vedic *upavasatha*. As shown above the Brahmanic *upavasatha* ritual is said to purify the sacrificer. When the Buddha adopted the ritual for the use of the *Saṅgha* he gave the first place to their purification by the confession of their transgressions of the monastic code of discipline. Flurry and worry (*uddhacca kukkucca*) is one of the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) which obstructs the concentration of the mind. Transgression of rules of conduct is one of the causes which leads to this hindrance. By its removal concentration of the mind (*sāmādhi*) is made easier. Thus in Buddhism the ritualistic purification in Brahmanism is converted into an ethical purification. However this importance given to purification seems to have got lost in later changes. For both the *Mahavagga* (*Vin*. I. 125) and the *Cullavagga* (*ibid*. II 240) states that a person guilty of an offence (*sāpattika*) should not participate in the *uposatha*. As a result the purification by confession has been taken out of the *uposatha* for only those who are pure could now participate in the *Pātimokkha* recital, which is now transformed into a unity meeting of the pure members of the Order.

As stated above *uposatha* in the Brahmanical ritual means 'living close to' and by it was meant the sacrificer's abiding close to the gods who descend into the chamber of the sacred fire (*agyāgāra*) where he is keeping the vigil. With reference to this it is quite significant to see how Buddhists speak of the observer of the *uposatha* 'living together with Brahma' (*brahmunā saddhiṃ saṃvasati*) or the *Dhamma*, the *Saṅgha*, the *sila* or the *devatās*. Of these five the first and the last are of special significance because it recalls the sacrificer living close to gods in the Brahmanic ritual. However in Buddhism, it is not the physical presence of gods but the inner reflection on the virtues of the Buddha and the comparison of one's own virtues with that of gods.

There is another discourse where the close association of gods with people in society on the *uposatha* days is referred to. It is said that on the 8th day of the fortnight the ministers of the four Great Kings (*catunnaṃ mahārajānaṃ*) tour the world to see whether many folk are respectful to their mothers, fathers, recluses and brahamins and show deference to elders in the family, observe the *uposatha*, keep the vigil and do good work. The same procedure is followed on the 14th day of the fortnight by the sons of the four Great Kings and by the four Great kings themselves on the 15th sabbath day. They bring their reports to the gods assembled in the Sudhammā Assembly Hall of gods. If the reports are good the gods rejoice but if bad they become dejected. (*A*. I. 142f.). This once again brings to focus the close association of the belief in gods with the *uposatha* observance. However when it is said that Sakka, the king of gods, declared that one who would be like unto him should keep the *uposatha* and observe the eight precepts on the 8th, 14th or the 15th days of the fortnight and on special fast days (*pāṭihāriyapakkha*), the Buddha objected to it. This should have been uttered only by an Arahant who is completely emancipated, says the Buddha, but not by Sakka who is not rid of attachment, hate and delusion (*ibid*. 143f.).

The *uposatha* of the Buddhist laity also shows certain similarities with the *poṣadha* observance of the Jains. Since Jainism was the older religion this could indicate certain Jaina influence on Buddhist practice. As referred to above a Jain layman who observes the *poṣadha vrata* vows to fast the whole day and to abstain from food, drinks, sex, betel-nut,

garlands, ornaments, scents or use of weapons and clubs. Strict observers do not even touch water during the day. As already seen most of these things are included in the Buddhist precepts of abstention, and in fact Buddhists abstain even from dance, song and music and theatrical shows. The last of these is for some reason not included in the list of Jaina abstentions[2]. Although Buddhists seem to have looked at certain Jaina practices with a critical eye the lay *uposatha* observances of both groups as well as that of Brahmanism seem to have been one in spirit.

Contemporary Uposatha Observance of the Buddhists. Buddhist monks in Theravāda Buddhist countries are generally expected to observe the *uposatha* every half month and the more strict ones observe it at least once a month on the full-moon days. However they are more strict during the rainy season (*vassāna*).

In case of the laity the observance of the *uposatha* (*Sinhala pōya*) is more popular. Several decades back people, specially of the older generations, used to observe the *uposatha* on the 8th and the 14th or the 15th days of the lunar half-month. The full moon day was, however, more popular. In Sri Lanka today, the *uposatha* observance is in main confined to full-moon days when the laity, especially females of all ages, flock to monasteries to observe the eight precepts. The most popular full moon days are those of May (Vesak) and June (Poson).

The usual procedure is for the devotees to repair to a monastery early in the morning clad in white. The normal attire both males and females consists of a clothe to cover the lower part of the body and a shirt, for men, or a blouse, for women, for the upper body. A white cloth, about two yards in length, is worn covering the left shoulder and tucked under the right arm.

The observance commences very early in the morning, usually not later than seven O'clock. A Buddhist monk is present to make the lay devotees, seated on mats spread on the ground, to adopt the eight precepts. The ceremony commences with either the monk making the devotees to repeat a formula in Pāli, or else they themselves repeating it by memory, requesting for the precepts to be administered. "Permit me, Sir, today, during this day, I will observe the *uposatha*; I undertake to keep the *sila* of the eight constituents (*aṭṭhaṅga samannāgatam sīlam*)". It is repeated thrice and the devotee then repeats thrice the formula of paying homage to the Buddha. The monks then make him repeat the three refuges (*tisaraṇa*) and the eight precepts. This session is concluded with a short admonition by the monk who draws the attention of the devotees to the significance of the precepts they have undertaken to keep and the importance of keeping them without any infringement. To this session also may be added the recital of Pāli stanzas praising the virtues of the Buddha the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha* and the offering of food, drinks, flowers, incense, lamps etc. to the Buddha and the conferring of merit to one's dead relatives and gods and other beings.

After this devotees are free to attend to their physical needs. Breakfast and later the fore-noon meals are offered to them either by their relatives or well-wishers or by various religious organizations. They are free to be in the monastery or return home to come back for the evening session. The devotees spend the spare time by listening to talks on the *Dhamma*, meditating, reading books on the *Dhamma*, engaging in *Dhamma* discussions and in worship at various shrines.

In the evening some of the *uposatha* observers would relinquish the eight precepts and go back to the observation of the regular five precepts. Others would renew their *uposatha* eight precepts following the same procedure as in the morning. However, in the formula of requesting for the precepts they would say "during this night" (*imañca rattim*) instead of "during this day". They would keep the eight precepts until the following morning, relinquishing them and taking back the five precepts only at the time. From mid-day until next morning, designated *vikāla*, they take only water and soft drinks. No solid food or even milk is consumed by them during the period. Thus in this fashion either the full day time or both night and day are spent by the devotees in the observation of the *uposatha* precepts.

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References

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4. Nyāyavijayaji, Muniśrī, tr. by Nagin J. Shah, *Jaina Philosophy and Religion* , Delhi 1999, p. 59f.
5. Stevenson, Sinclair, *The Heart of Jainism*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1970, p. 217f.
6. Nyāyavijayaji *ibid* 55; Stevenson *ibid.* 211
7. *ibid* 59; *ibid* 216
8. *Book of the Discipline* (*SBB* Vol. XIV) Pt. 4, p. 131 n. 2 for Rhys Davids' and others' views on *pātimokkha*
9. According to *Gṛhya Sūtras* Brahmanical religious fast (*upavāsa*), also a part of *upavasatha* ritual, includes similar abstentions s. v. *upavāsa*, Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*

UPPALAVAṆṆĀ: Uppalavaṇṇā (Bdst.Skt. Utpalavarṇā and sometimes Utpalāvarṇā), sometimes called Uppalā, was a *therī* generally accepted as the second chief female disciple of the Buddha. There is very little information in early Pali canonical texts about the personal life of this *therī*, and, therefore most of what we state here about her come from certain late canonical texts and the commentaries. The early canonical texts do not speak of the two theris Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā in the capacity of the first and the second female chief disciples respectively of the Buddha. However, in several places in the early discourses, they are spoken of by the Buddha as the measure and standard for any of his female disciples to aspire. If any Buddhist nun would aspire to be like some one, she should, says the Buddha, aspire to be like either Khemā or Uppalavaṇṇā. In the same manner if any female lay follower has a wish for one's daughter who is desirous of leaving home life, she should wish her to be some one like one of this pair of *theris* (*A.*1.88; *A.II.164*). Since Sāriputta and Moggallāna, acknowledged as the two male chief disciples, were also held up as the measure and standard for monks, one could conjecture that Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā, held up in the same manner for nuns to emulate, were also regarded as female chief disciples. The late canonical work *Buddhavaṃsa* (p 98.19) confirms this. Several past Buddhas are credited by this work to have predicted her appointment as a chief female disciple by a future Buddha.(*ibid* .p.13.67:27.15 etc.). According to the *Mahāvastu* (1.251) the Buddha Maṅgala also predicted that Kṣemā and Utpalavarṇā will be the two chief nuns of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Moving out of the Pali tradition, a Sri Lankan Sinhala work says that she had made a wish to be a chief disciple of a future Buddha[1].

However, what the late canonical work *Apadāna* and a number of Pali commentaries have attributed to Uppalavaṇṇā is that she had in previous lives made an aspiration to be the foremost among the female disciples, of a future Buddha, expert in psychic power. This undoubtedly is based on one of the few pieces of information found in early Pali texts about Uppalavaṇṇā. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (1.25) refers to the placing of her by the Buddha in the foremost position among his female disciples who were expert in psychic power (*iddhimantānaṃ aggā*). The commentator Buddhaghosa expands on this to say that in the dispensation of the Buddha Padumuttara she was born in a noble family in Haṃsāvatī. Going to the Buddha with others, she saw the Buddha placing a certain nun in the foremost position among nuns expert in psychic power and made an aspiration to be placed in a similar position by a future Buddha (*AA.*1.345). The *Therīgāthā* commentary (*SHB* p.145) confirms this story. In her verses in the *Therīgāthā* (227-228;233) Uppalavaṇṇā speaks of her realization of the six super knowledges (*cha abhiññā*) and the mastery of the four bases of potency (*iddi-pāda*). The *Apadāna* (*SHB*,2.529) adds that she also had the four analytical knowledges (*catu-paṭisambhidā*) and, in her own words, describes her prowess in psychic potency and the hardships she had to undergo to reach the present status under the Buddha Gotama.

The story of her life at the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, as given in the *Apadāna* (*ibid* 535-550), differs considerablly from that given by Buddhaghosa. According to the *Apadāna*, she was at the time a Nāga maiden named Vimalā. When, at a religions ceremony performed by the Nāga king Mahoraga, she witnessed the psychic potency of a nun. Vimalā wished to have similar powers under a future Buddha and revealed her wish to the Buddha. But this work does not refer to a prediction by the Buddha of the success of her aspiration.

It is not clear whether Buddhaghosa had access to the *Apadāna* before he wrote the *Anguttara Nikāya* commentary. But certainly his successor Dhammapāla

did have access to it.For he quotes extensively from it in the *Therīgāthā* Commentary.But Whilest doing so, in the story of Uppalavaṇṇā, he has quietly left out the verses dealing with the story of Vimalā, the Nāga maiden.Probably he did not want to contradict his senior in the field of Pali commentaries. Anyhow he also has added a few details to the brief story of Buddhaghosa. Seeing the Buddha Padumuttara praise a nun, foremost in psychic potency, she also desired to be similar to her in the future. Having invited the Buddha she fed him for seven days ,offered him the three robes and,placing at his feet seven garlands of divinely scented uppala flowers, she made known her wish.The Buddha predicted the fulfillment of it under the Buddha Gotama in the future when she will be a nun named Uppalavaṇṇā (*Thig A.* (*SHB*)151)

Uppalavaṇṇā of the Therīgathā Verses

Commenting on the verses collected under Uppalavanna's name, Mrs.Rhys Davids2 calls them an excellent instance of detached *gāthās*, where no organic welding has been attempted. Here, according to her, are four episodes grouped about a name that occurs more frequently in Pali romance than any other woman's name. However, she goes on to add that "the great Therī of supernormal power is as difficult to identify as our own St.George and it is not strange that her *gāthā* should be composite".

This problem of the identity of the great *therī* is clearly brought about by the very first three verses of the poem. (*Thig*.224-226).They relate in brief the story of a woman who, to her utter dismay and horror, discovers the young co-wife with whom she is living is her own daughter. Filled with disgust of the plight of this foul and impure nature of sensual pleasures, which made a mother and daughter to share the same husband as co-wives, she at once renounces home life and joins the Order of Bhikkhinis. The next two verses, referring to the realization of the six super knowledges (*cha abhiññā*) and reaching the end of intoxicants (*āsavakkhaya*) fulfilling the Buddha's bidding, seem to follow naturally from the first three.However the commentator thinks otherwise. They belong to a different episode and refer actually to the experiences of Uppalavaṇṇā while the first three verses have been taken over by her from a composition of somebody else (*Thig A.*(*SHB. p.155*). She was, according to the commentator, born the daughter of a rich merchant of Sāvatthi and was named Uppalavaṇṇā, because she had the complexion of the interior of a blue lotus (*nīluppalagabbha-samānavaṇṇatāya*). Growing up, she attracted the attention of many kings and merchants all over Jambudipa, who sent messages to her father wishing for her hand. Probably fearing evil consequences of selecting one of them, he thought of a device to overcome it. " Would you consent to leave home life and be ordained a nun?" he queried his daughter .She was thrilled with the suggestion as, the commentary states, she has now reached her final existence. He thus conducted her to a Buddhist nunnery and made her to renounce home life. Not long after ordination she got her turn of attendance in the Sabbath Chamber (*uposathāgāre tālavāram pāpuṇi*). She lit the oil lamp in the room swept the floor and stood observing the flame of the lamp. Standing there still, she took fire as her object of concentration, developed *jhāna* and, taking it as the basis, attained arahantship.Along with that realization the six super knowledges and the four analytical knowledge also were realized by her. She became especially expert in the psychic power of transformation (*iddhi-vikubbana Thig A.ibid* 150; *AA.*1.355 *f.*)

Despite the fact that the commentator foists a different legendary life on the name Uppalavaṇṇā, it is not impossible that the anonymous author of the first three verses above, was herself, the real Uppalavaṇṇā. May be the commentators did not wish to leave a black mark on the home life of such an important member of the Order of nuns. On the other hand one could question why this nun who composed the first three verses was not named by the commentator and why the compilers of the *Therīgāthā* failed to honour her by admitting her directly into the lineage of *theris* who have such verses to their credit.May be at that pre-commentarial stage she was still regarded as identical with Uppalavannā.

What Miss Horner[1] has to say with respect to these legends is also intresting. Referring to the *Therigāthā* verses, she says that "though some of the thoughts there attributed to her might be construed to be the outcome of her adventures, the main episode of her life as represented in *Thig*. is that of being her mother's co-wife". In other words she seems to identify Uppalavaṇṇā with the younger of the two co-wives, the daughter of the composer of the verses. How she got this idea is not clear. May be Māra's

addressing her as 'lassie' *(bāle)* could have led to this conclusion. If so Uppalavaṇṇā must have become a nun at a very young age as also suggested by the commentarial legend. But there is no evidence in the commentary of the younger woman entering the Order of nuns.

The story becomes even more confusing when Mrs.Rhys Davids[4] identifies the husband of these two women, called by the commentator the son of the elder woman and the elder brother of the younger one, with the elder called Gangātīriya of the *Theragāthā* (127-128). He was a young man named Datta, according to the commentary, who had transgressed through ignorance and was seized with anguish when he realized it. He left home life and adopted a very austere life, living in a palm leaf hut on the bank of the Ganges. It is only this idea of the transgression, not explained further, that has led the translator to identify Datta with the son who kept both his mother and sister as co-wives. (also *DPPN* s.v. Gangātīriya Thera; *Thag A* (*SHB 248 f*)

Uppalavaṇṇā Meets Māra

Both the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (1.131*f*) and the *Therīgāthā* (230-235) refer to an encounter this nun had with Māra. Standing all alone, one day, under a blossom-crowned sāla tree, she is said to have been spoken to by Māra, who wanted to instill fear and trepidation in her mind and shake her out of her concentration. He queries the young nun, as she was, whether she is not scared of a possible assault by seducers. She realized him to be Māra, but, undaunted, she reveals to him her spiritual maturity, her psychic potency and silences Māra with the following words,

"Were there a hundred thousand seducers e'en such as thou art Ne'er would a hair of me stiffen or tremble-alone what canst thou do?"[5] (*ib.*231) Further speaking of the true nature of the pleasures of the senses she tells Māra that she has rent in twain the darkness of ignorance and that the Evil One, the Destroyer, shall not prevail anymore (*ibid* 234-235)[6].

In her challenging words to Māra she also gives an indication of her psychic potency. From here, she tells Māra, she could vanish or enter into his belly. Between his eyebrows she would stand, where he cannot see her (*Thig.*232). Indicating her magical potency, she also says that once she came with a chariot yoked with four horses, all created by her psychic power, and worshipped the Buddha at his feet (*ibid* 229). This took place, according to the commentary (*Thig A.* (*SHB)*156) at the moment the Buddha went up to the Gandamba mango tree to perform the twin miracle. Creating a chariot yoked with four horses she went up to the Buddha and sought his permission to crush the pride of the heretics by performing a miracle. This idea is found in a further developed form in the post 12[th] century Sinhala work, the *Pūjāvalī.*[7] Asked what sort of miracle she wishes to perform,Uppalavaṇṇā revealed that she would appear as a universal monarch *(cakkavatti)* with a retinue covering an extent of thirty six leagues (*yojana)* and worship the Buddha with the seven treasures of a *cakravartin*. The Buddhist Sanskrit work *Divyāvadāna* (401) also mentions a similar *cakravti* spectacle created by the nun Utpalavarṇā on the occasion the Buddha descended to Saṃkāśya from the Trāyatriśa heaven. It is on account of her performance at the Gandamba mango tree that the Buddha is said to have declared her foremost among his female disciples expert in psychic power (*AA.*1.356, *iddhimantānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesi*).

Significance of the Name Uppalavaṇṇā

Just as much as the facts relating to the life of this great *therī* are utterly confusing, so are the facts relating to her name and more so about her bodily complexion. According to a number of sources the name Uppalavaṇṇā (*Bdst.Skt.* Utpalavarṇā) was given to her because of her bodily complexion. In the *Apadāna* (v.517) she says that her complexion is that of an *uppala* and, therefore, by name she is also *Uppalā*. But most of the sources refer to her as Uppalavaṇṇā in which the second part *vaṇṇa* means 'colour' Commentarial sources aver that she was so named as her complexion was that of the interior (*gabbha)* of a blue lotus (*nīluppala-gabbha-samāna-vaṇṇatāya cassā uppalavaṇṇātveva nāmaṃ akaṃsu* (*ThigA*(*SHB)* p.150 ; *AA.*1.350). Possibly the interior of the flower is taken to be of a softer and lighter shade than the exterior of the flower. However modern translators have rendered the word *gabbha* as matrix or calyx. This would naturally raise the question of the real skin complexion of the *therī* for by tradition she was of a 'bluish' complexion.

Sri Lankan traditional temple artists, painters and sculptors, always portray Uppalavaṇṇā, the second female chief disciple, in a bluish complexion, similar to Mahāmoggallāna, the second male chief disciple. This idea may have originated in some of the classical Sinhala writings. For instance the *Saddharmaratanāvalī*[8], an adaptation of the *Dhammapada* Commentary, says that in the past she aspired to have a bluish complexion and also to be the second female chief disciple of a future Buddha. As both male and female, second chief disciples had to be bluish-complexioned, this lady also became blue in colour like a garland of blue lotuses and was named Uppalavaṇṇā. The *Saddharmalankāra*[9] states that according to her past aspirations she was reborn in the time of our Buddha with a beautiful form radiating bluish rays like a garland of blue lotuses. To the author of the *Pujāvali*[10] she resembled a ripple of blue lotuses arising in the lake named Buddhasāsana. From these references one can see how Sri Lankan temple artists started to conceive of the external appearance of Uppalavaṇṇā as similar to that of Mahāmoggallāna. It is also significant that both were also declared to be foremost in psychical potency.

Uppalavaṇṇā in the Vinaya Texts

There are a few references to a nun named Uppalavaṇṇā in the Vinaya Texts. One of them (*Vin*.III.35) alleges that she was raped, in her forest cell in the Andhavana, by a Brahmin youth enamoured by her beauty. But the commentator (*Vin*A.I.272 *f.*) says, this young man was a relation of hers. But as the same commentator calls her a daughter of a rich merchant (*seṭṭhidhītā*) this youth could not have been her relation if he was a Brahmin. According to the *Dhammapada* Commentary (II.49) the youth, named Ananda, was the son of her maternal uncle who had been in love with her from the time she was a lay woman. As a result of his despicable act, it is said, he was swallowed up by the earth, as he was leaving her cell and was reborn in the Avīci hell. The same work says (*ibid* 52) that after this event the Buddha called up the king Pasenadi Kosala to provide nuns, for their safety, with living quarters within the city. From that time onwards Buddhist nuns lived always within the village (*antogāme eva vasiṃsu*). Without any reference to this incident the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (II.278) states that the Buddha prohibited nuns from dwelling in forests as they were in danger of being assaulted by seducers (*duttā*) in their forest-dwellings. This was a general rule, but not a rule prohibiting them from living in a particular forest like the Andhavana as suggested by some scholars (*DPPN*. s.v. *Uppalavaṇṇā Therī*). Miss Horner[11], while tending to identify the Uppalavaṇṇās of these two stories, thinks that it is less likely that Uppalavaṇṇā of the *Therīgāthā* was the same. The commentator of the *Anguttara Nikāya* and the *Dhammapada*, she thinks, have welded the story of the two into one.

In another reference to a nun named Uppalavaṇṇā (*Vin*.III.207), a monk named Udāyi is said to have persuaded her to give him her inner robe. This episode concerns a packet of cooked meat a robber had left for the nun hanging from a branch of a tree in the forest where she was in meditation. He had known the nun earlier, but without offering the meat to her, made an announcement, to be heard by her, that any recluse in the vicinity could take it. She heard him and took the meat to the monastery, prepared it and, went by air to Veluvana in Rajagaha to offer it to the Buddha. As the Buddha was away on his alms round she wished to keep it with Udāyi for the Buddha. It was then that Udāyi asked her for the robe which later led to the laying down of the *Nissaggiya* rule no.5 for monks. The idea of the nun going to a distant place through the air may indicate that she was the same as Uppalavaṇṇā with psychic potency. Yet that itself does not prove the identity of the two.

Uppalavaṇṇā in Her Past Lives

Paucity of information about her in early canonical literature is compensated by that in late canonical and commentarial literature. The *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Apadāna* give brief references to her religious work in past lives under various Buddhas and Pacceka Buddhas. The commentaries of the *Anguttara Nikāya*, *Therīgāthā*, *Dhammapada* and the *Jātakapāli* add to this (*DPPN*. s.v. *Uppalavaṇṇā Therī*). Among the information revealed of her former lives is that five of her colleages in the Bhikkhuni Saṅgha, and the well known female lay devotee Visākhā were her sisters in the time of the Buddha Kassapa. The five nuns who were her sisters were Khemā, Paṭācārā, Kuṇḍalā, Kisāgotami and Dhammadinnā (*Ap*.II (*SHB* 562). Another interesting revelation she makes to the Buddha is that in many hundreds of past lives she and the monk Rāhula were born in the same family. But in this

final life "(your) son is named Rāhula and "your" 'daughter' is called Uppalā",but born in separate families (*ibid*.518-520). She tells the Buddha that many extremely difficult tasks were done by her to accomplish her aspirations and she even sacrificed her life to reach him (*ibid*.516 *ff*). According to the *Saddharmaratanāvali* it took 100,000 aeons to accomplish her aspiration to be the second female chief disciple of the Buddha Gotama.

References

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8. *ibid* p.470
9. Ed. Sri Piyaratana,Makuluduve,M.D.Gunasena and Co.Ltd,1971, p.198.
10. *ibid*
11. *ibid*

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UTTARAKURU, the "Northern Kuru country", is a mythical region also known from Brahminical and Jaina sources. According to the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta*, in this mythical region of northern Kuru private ownership does not exist (*D*. III, 199), a circumstance also recorded in the *Divyāvadāna*.1 The (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* notes that for this reason the idea of theft was unknown among the Northern Kurus (*T*. XXIV, 536b23).2 The Pāli commentaries explain that in this region houses do not exist, and people just sleep on the ground (*ThagA*. III, 176). According to the **Lokaprajñaptyabhidharma Śāstra*, the inhabitants of Uttarakuru totally abstain from killing and observe a vegetarian diet (*T*. XXXII, 201a3), to which the **Lokasthāna Sūtra* adds that there is no evil at all in this region (*T*. I, 281a1).

The *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* offers a detailed account of this country, listing the names of its different cities, its king and ministers. A discourse found in the *Dīrgha Āgama* and the **Lokasthāna Sūtra* also devote considerable space to a description of this mythical region, depicting its wealth of trees, fruits and flowers, and the beauty of its lakes (*T*. I, 117c15 and *T*. I, 279c26).3 According to the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, only bipeds or quadrupeds live in Northern Kuru, as animals without legs and animals with more than four legs are not found (*T*. XXVII, 867a3). The *Dīrgha Āgama* discourse specifies that in Uttarakuru no mosquitoes, scorpions or snakes are found, nor do tigers or other evil animals live in this region (*T*. I, 118a[4]).

The same discourse also notes that the winds are neither cold nor hot in this country, summer and winter are unknown, and dust or dirt do not appear as the ground is pleasant and as if smeared by oil, opening by itself at the time of defecation or urination and closing by itself afterwards. The rice in Uttarakuru grows on its own accord and without husk, is of divine taste, and will be cooked on stoves that operate without fire and without any need for human labour, a description found in related terms also in the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* (*D*. III, 199) and in the **Lokasthāna Sūtra* (*T*. I, 280b6).

The Pāli commentaries mention a wish-fulfilling type of tree that can be found in Northern Kuru (*AA*. II, 34). The *Yogācārabhūmi* explains that this tree will spontaneously manifest whatever possession or wealth people may desire (*T*. XXX, 298b21). According to the **Mandhātāvadāna*, even clothing is provided by the trees in this region (*T*. III, 395a11). The *Dīrgha Āgama* account and the **Lokasthāna Sūtra* describes several such trees, one of which provides clothing, while others provide perfumes, garlands, musical instruments and other utensils (*T*. I, 118a16 and *T*. I, 280a13).

The Pāli commentaries locate Uttarakuru to the north of Jambudīpa, indicating that it is surrounded by the sea and measures ten-thousand *yojanas* in extent (*MA*. IV, 223). The existence of Northern Kuru appears to be part of the set-up of a world system, since in a thousand-fold world system a thousand Uttarakurus can be found (*A*. I, 227; *A*. V, 59). The same country may also provide the wife for a wheel-turning king (*MA*. IV, 227).

According to the *Dīrgha Āgama* account, diseases are not found in Uttarakuru and its inhabitants are always strong and of happy demeanour (*T.* I, 119a13). The inhabitants of Uttarakuru are well proportioned and resemble each other so closely that it is not easy to distinguish them one from another. The bondage of love is not known in Uttarakuru, and according to the **Lokasthāna Sūtra* the idea "my wife" does not exist (*T.* I, 280b10). The *Dīrgha Āgama* account explains that when the males experience the arising of lust, they just look at a woman. The woman will then follow the man to the next grove. To avoid incest, the trees will withhold their shade if the man and the woman are close blood relatives, on realizing of which the two leave each other. If they are not blood relatives, the trees will bend over so as to provide shade, and the two will amuse themselves with each other to their heart's desire for up to seven days. The woman will then give birth within seven or eight days, and the child will grow up within seven days without any need to be cared for by the mother.

The *Dīrgha Āgama* discourse also indicates that the inhabitants of Northern Kuru all have the same life span. When someone passes away, this does not cause any sorrow. The corpse will be adorned and left at a crossroad, from where it is taken away by birds, a way of disposing of the corpse also recorded in the **Lokasthāna Sūtra* (*T.* I, 280c22).

The *Dīrgha Āgama* discourse concludes its description by pointing out that rebirth in the land of Northern Kuru is the fruit of observing the ten wholesome courses of action (*T.* I, 119b4), and the **Lokasthāna Sūtra* notes that those who live in Northern Kuru naturally continue to observe these ten (*T.* I, 280c14). This makes it understandable why, according to both discourses, whoever passes away from Northern Kuru is bound to be reborn in heaven.

The Pāli *Vinaya* reports an occasion when the Buddha went to collect food in Uttarakuru (*Vin.* I, 28). The **Mahāsammatarāja Sūtra* specifies that on that occasion he availed himself of the spontaneously growing rice in that region (*T.* III, 960a3). To be able to collect food from Uttarakuru requires supernatural powers according to the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (*T.* XXIV, 168a4), and the Pāli *Vinaya* reports that, at a time of famine, Mahāmoggallāna suggested that the monks should all be supplied with food from Northern Kuru (*Vin.* III, 7).

The absence of the notion of property in Uttarakuru comes up also in the Chinese, Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels to the *Ghaṭīkāra Sutta*. The different versions of this discourse record an occasion when the Buddha Kassapa had come to beg food at the house of his lay-supporter Ghaṭīkāra (*M.* II, 52). The latter was out, but his blind parents invited Buddha Kassapa to help himself to the food that had been prepared. The Chinese, Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of this event specify that Buddha Kassapa did so in accordance with the custom of Northern Kuru.[4] This remark helps to clarify the situation, since under normal circumstances it would be improper conduct for a *bhikkhu* (and therewith implicitly also for a Buddha) to just help himself to food (*Vin.* IV, 90).

A sobering perspective on the paradisiacal conditions in Uttarakuru is given in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. This discourse notes that though men of Northern Kuru are superior even to the gods of the Thirty-three in several respects, they are nevertheless inferior compared to the inhabitants of Jambudīpa in as much as courage, mindfulness and the living of the holy life is concerned (*A.* IV, 396). That is, in spite of all its advantages and pleasurable conditions, for one intent on pursuing the goal of liberation life in Uttarakuru will be detrimental. For those who wish to walk the path to freedom by engaging in mindfulness and perhaps also by going forth as a *bhikkhu* or a *bhikkhunī*, Jambudīpa still offers the best conditions.

Anālayo

References

1 E.G. Cowell: *The Divyāvadāna*, Cambridge: University Press, 1886: 215.

2 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

3 For detailed descriptions of Northern Kuru cf. also *T.* I, 314a11 and *T.* I, 369a22.

4 *T.* I, 502a19; R. Gnoli: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, Rome, 1978: 27,14; Derge edition *'dul ba ga* 8a3 or Qianlong edition *'dul ba nge* 7b1.

UTTARAVINICCHAYA. The *Uttaravinicchaya* is one of the two Pali treatises wherein the *Vinaya Piṭaka* is summarized in verse, to be used as mnemonic verses. It is always coupled with the first part of the *Vinayavinicchaya*, of which it is the supplementary volume. Both the *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya* were written by the same author, Ven. Buddhadatta of Uragapura, a contemporary of Buddhaghosa as recorded in the colophons of the two books. The colophon of the *Uttaravinicchaya* giving the name of the author says:

Tambapaṇṇiyena paramaveyyā karaṇena...... uragapurena Buddhadattena racito uttaravinicchayo niṭṭhito[1] "Here ends the Uttaravinicchaya written by Buddhadatta, the supreme grammarian of Uragapura in Tambapanni."

According to the *Vinayasāratthadīpanī*, the *Ṭīkā* on the *Vinayavinicchaya* of Vācissara Mahāsāmi and also the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, Ven. Buddhadatta who was returning from Lanka and Ven. Buddhaghosa proceeding to Lanka met on the way on the high sea. When Ven. Buddhadatta learnt that Buddhaghosa was going to Lanka to translate the Sinhala commentaries to Pali, he requested Buddhaghosa to send the commentaries he was writing to him in order to summarize them. Thus the tradition says that the *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya* have been written by Buddhadatta, summarizing Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Vinaya* Commentary. Though there is a great similarity between the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Vinayavinicchaya*, scholars[2] do not accept the view that they were based on the *Samantapāsādikā*. Scholars believe that the similarity has occurred as a result of both Buddhadatta and Budhaghosa were basing their works on the Mahāvihāra sources (*Sihala atthakathā*).

Scholars point out that Buddhaghosa's name is not mentioned in Buddhadatta's work at least once. They say that Buddhadatta had never seen commentaries written by Buddhaghosa. Buddhadatta did not live till Buddhaghosa returned to Jambudīpa after writing the commentaries.

The colophon of the *Uttaravinicchaya* says that Ven. Buddhadatta wrote it, on an invitation of Ven. Saṅghapāla of sublime virtues. It is thought that this Saṅghapāla Thera who invited Ven. Buddhaghosa to write the *Visuddhimagga* is the same Thera who invited Ven. Buddhadatta to write the *Uttaravinicchaya*.

The *Vinayavinicchaya* consists of three main sections, *Bhikkhuvibhaṅga*, *Bhikkhunivibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*, while the *Uttaravinicchaya* has *bhikkhu-bhikkhuni Vibhaṅgas* only. The *Vinayavinicchaya* covers the first four books of the *Vinaya Piṭaka Pārājikā, Pācittiya, Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga* and the *Uttaravinicchaya* covers *Parivāra*. As per the colophon the *Uttaravinicchaya* should have only 950 verses. But the present *Uttaravinicchaya* has 969 verses.

The *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinichaya* have been published in one volume by the *PTS*, in 1927 under the title "Buddhadatta's Manuals, Part II. the *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttravinicchaya* were edited by A.P. Buddhadatta.

K. Arunasiri.

References

1 Scholars think Tambapanni does not refer to Sri Lanka but to a province in the basin of the river Tāmraparni in South India.

2 Buddhadatta's Manual Part II- *Vinaya vinicchaya* and *Uttaravinicchaya* ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, London, 1927. Introduction page I- XI.

UTTARĪMANUSSADHAMMA is a "state" (in the sense of an attainment or ability) that is "beyond [the power of ordinary] men". A detailed listing of such states can be found in the Vinaya in the context of the fourth pārājikā regulation (Vin. III, 91), which defines *uttarimanussadhamma* to stand for attainment of:

- a meditative absorption, *jhāna*;
- a deliverance, *vimokkha*;
- a concentration, *samādhi*, on emptiness, signlessness, or desirelessness;
- an attainment, *samāpatti*, of emptiness, signlessness, or desirelessness;
- knowledge and vision, *ñāṇadassana*, where knowledge stands for the three higher knowledges;

- the development of the [thirty-seven constituents of the] path [to awakening], *maggabhāvanā*;
- the realization of a [supramundane] fruit, phalasacchikiriyā;
- the eradication of defilements, *kilesapahāna*;
- and delighting in empty places with a mind free from the hindrances, *vinī-varaṇa-tā cittassa suññāgāre abhirati*, in the sense of attainment of a *jhāna*.[1]

The rationale for this detailed treatment of *uttarimanussa-dham-ma* in the Vinaya is to clarify the implication of the first *pārājika* regulation, according to which a monk who falsely lays claim to any such state beyond the power of ordinary men irrevocably loses his status as a bhikkhu. The fact that falsely claiming *uttarimanussadhamma* is thus treated on a par with engaging in sex, theft and murder, highlights the seriousness of such behaviour. According to the back-ground narration to this regulation, at a time of famine some monks had resorted to such false claims in order to ensure that they would get sufficient alms.

The theme of claims to *uttarimanussadhamma* comes up again in another Vinaya regulation of less grave consequences, namely in the eighth *pācittiya* rule (Vin. IV, 25). The background narration to this rule is the same as in the case of the first *pārājikā* regulation, the only difference being that here the monks who made claims in order to ensure food supplies had indeed attained a state beyond the power of ordinary men. Nevertheless, their behaviour was considered blameworthy and censurable.

These Vinaya regulations highlight two aspects of *uttarimanussadhamma*, namely the high esteem that was accorded in ancient India to anyone who could claim or even display some kind of supernormal ability, and the early Buddhist disdain towards making such claims and displays for worldly purposes. A quite explicit instance of such disdain can be found in the *Kevaddha Sutta*, according to which the householder Kevaddha wanted Buddhist monks to display *uttarimanussadhamma* and perform extraordinary feats of psychic power, *iddhipāṭihāriya*, in order to convert the inhabitants of Nāḷandā (*D*. I, 211). In reply to this suggestion, according to the *Kevaddha Sutta* the Buddha explained that he would not tell his monks to make any public display of supernormal abilities, followed by differentiating between three types of extraordinary feats that the Buddha had realized by himself: supernormal powers such as multiplying oneself, walking on water etc.; the telepathic ability to read the mind of others; and instructions on how to train one's own mind.

According to the *Kevaddha Sutta*, the Buddha then clarified that in the case of the first two types of extraordinary feats, an account of such abilities might meet with sceptic remarks that cause a faithful believer to lose his or her faith. This possible outcome stands in contrast to the third type of extraordinary feat, which the *Kevaddha Sutta* illustrates with the help of a full account of the gradual path up to liberation. The implication of this presentation appears to be that instructions on how to develop and liberate the mind will enable faithful believers to come to realization by themselves. In this way the *Kevaddha Sutta* indicates that, instead of trying to amaze the multitude with exhibitions of supernormal powers, the way the Buddha wanted his teachings to impress themselves on the public was through the power of instructions that lead to selfrealization.

In contrast to such self-realization, according to the *Kevaddha Sutta* the Buddha disapproved, rejected and disdained the other two types of extraordinary feats, *aṭṭiyāmi harāyāmi jigucchāmi* (*D*. I, 213). Since according to the same *Kevaddha Sutta* the Bud-dha proclaimed to be himself endowed with all three of these extraordinary feats, the message conveyed by this passage would not be a wholesale rejection of supernormal powers and telepathy as such, but rather of their public display as a means to arouse faith.[2]

The rationale behind the Buddha's disapproval appears to be that faith based on any external display will always remain a type of faith that can be shaken by others. The third of the three extraordinary feats discussed in the *Kevaddha Sutta* leads to a different type of faith or confidence, however, as it is not based on external display by others, but on having realized within one-self the truth and efficacy of the instructions given by the Buddha. The point made in the *Kevaddha Sutta* is thus not a rejection of *uttarimanussadhamma* as such, but only of their public display for ulterior motives. This much could also be

gleaned from the above-mentioned passages in the Vinaya. In fact, according to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* not only the Buddha himself, but a considerable number of his disciples were similarly endowed with all three of these extraordinary feats (*A.* I, 172). Other discourses proclaim that a monk endowed with ability in these three extraordinary feats deserved to be reckoned as supreme among gods and men (*A.* I, 292 and *A.* V, 327). These passages further support the impression that what is rejected are not such supernormal abilities in themselves, but only their public display for the sake of worldly benefits.

A distinction in regard to the motivation behind performing a supernormal feat can also be seen when comparing two other supernormal performances recorded in the Vinaya. In the first of these two cases, the monk Pilinda-vaccha had changed a piece of grass into a golden chaplet in order to assuage the grief of a little girl in the house of his supporters, who due to poverty was not able to adorn herself like the other girls in the village (*Vin.* I, 208). When the king found out that the poor family was in possession of a golden chaplet he had the whole family arrested, suspecting them to be thieves. Pilindavaccha then visited the king and changed the whole palace into gold in order to prove that the poor family could come to possess a golden chaplet without thievery. As a result of this display of supernormal abilities, the family was released. The Vinaya does not record any reproach by the Buddha of these two instances of exhibition of supernormal abilities, but rather tackles the problem of how his fellow monks should handle the abundant supplies that as a result of Pilindavaccha's displays had accrued to them.

The second case in the Vinaya, however, involves a display of super-normal feat for the sake of self-exhibition. Here the monk Piṇḍolabhāradvāja had performed a feat of supernormal power that involved levitation in order to obtain a costly sandalwood bowl that was hanging at the top of a high pole (*Vin.* II, 111). The bowl had been set as a prize by a merchant for any recluse or Brahmin able to reach it through supernormal power. Piṇḍolabhāradvāja's act incurred the Buddha's censure, who compared it to a woman who exhibits her private parts for payment. The difference in treatment between the magical feats performed by Pilindavaccha and Piṇḍolabhāradvāja further corroborates the impression that the criticism is levied at public exhibition for the sake of worldly benefits, not at magical feats perse.

In fact, the performance of wondrous and supernormal feats is a recurrent feature in the early discourses and other Vinaya passages. These depict how the Buddha performed a magical feat in order to hide Yasa from the sight of his father (*Vin.* I, 16); or how the Buddha miraculously hid himself from the sight of a Brahmā (*M.* I, 330). Through another super-normal feat the Buddha was able to keep Aṅgulimāla at bay, who was in hot pursuit intending to kill the Buddha (*M.* II, 99); and a whole series of miracles happened when the Buddha was staying with Uruvelakassapa (*Vin.* I, 24). Among the Buddha's disciples, Mahāmoggallāna was apparently particularly gifted in this respect, able to shake the palace of the thirty-three gods as well as a monastic building with his toe (*M.* I, 253 and *S.* V, 270). A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* reports how another monk conjured up a cool breeze to enable his fellow monks to return comfortably to the monastery after a heavy dinner on a hot day (*S.* IV, 289). When the donor of the meal asked for further performances, the same monk produced fire that burnt grass piled on top of the donor's cloth, without harming the cloth. Another monk by the name of Cūlapanthaka was apparently able to multiply himself (*Thag.* 563), and the Vinaya reports that Devadatta magically changed his appearance in order to impress king Ajātasattu (*Vin.* II, 185). These few examples already suffice to show the degree to which super-normal feats and wonders are an integral part of the thought world of early Buddhism.

In fact, the ability to perform various supernormal feats is part of the account of the gradual path given in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta and several other discourses in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* I, 77). The *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* similarly includes such abilities in its description of the Buddha's teachings (*M.* II, 18), as does the *Sampasādanīya Sutta* (*D.* III, 112). The same discourse also makes the pertinent point that, when contrasted to mastery over the mind's tendency to react with likes and dislikes, such supernormal powers are clearly inferior.

The keen interest among ancient Indians in a display of supernormal abilities is also reflected in the *Pāṭika Sutta*, according to which Sunakkhatta decided to leave

the Buddhist order because he thought that the Buddha had not shown him any *uttarimanussadhamma* (D. III, 3).3 According to the same discourse, the Buddha clarified that he had never promised to make any such display, and that his teaching leads to freedom from *dukkha* independent of any supernormal performances. The same discourse then continues by reporting several occasions when the Buddha did avail himself of supernormal abilities, culminating in an account of how the Buddha rose up into the air and emitted flames (*D.* III, 27; See also YAMAKAPĀṬIHĀRIYA).

The importance given to the possession of supernormal abilities in ancient India is also reflected in the *Susīma Sutta*, according to which a wanderer by the name of Susima had become a Buddhist monk in order to spy out the Buddha's teaching. When other monks declared to have won final knowledge, Susīma was surprised to find that they would make such claims in spite of being unable to avail themselves of supernatural powers; or of telepathic knowledge of the mind of others etc. (*S.* II, 123; See also VIMUTTI).

The attainment of *uttarimanussadhamma* was held by the Buddha's contemporaries to require the undertaking of ascetic practices (M. I, 172). According to the Buddha, however, ascetic practices are not required for being able to realize an *uttarimanussadhamma* (*S.* IV, 337). In fact, in spite of undertaking a range of ascetic practices he had failed to reach the supreme type of *uttarimanussadhamma* that he had been searching for: total liberation (*M.* I, 246). Instead of asceticism and self-mortification, the six qualities that from the early Buddhist perspective are required in order to be able to attain *uttarimanussadhamma* are mindfulness; clear comprehension; sense restraint; moderation with food; honesty; and restraint in regard to speech (*A.* III, 430).

Though some contemporaries of the Buddha, like the Brahmin Pokkharasāti, apparently thought that humans are not able to reach any *uttarimanussadhamma* at all (M. II, 201), a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* indicates that even lay followers of the Buddha, like the householder Citta, had been able to reach a whole range of *uttarimanusssadhammas*, comprising the four *jhānas* and realization of the first three stages of awakening (*S.* IV, 301).

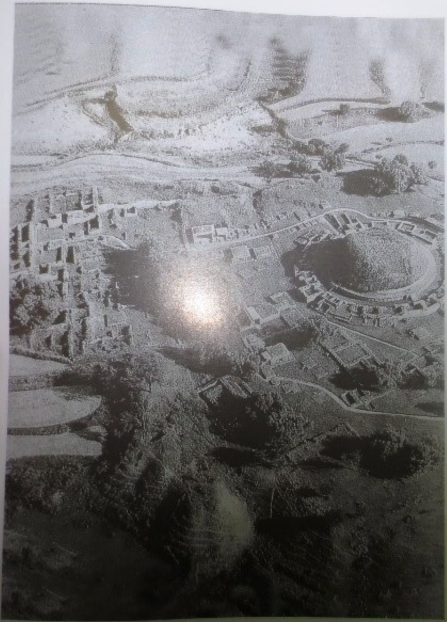
These are in fact the types of *uttarimanussadhamma* that stand at the very heart of early Buddhism, and it would be these types of states or attainments that a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* has in view when listing altogether ten reflections that a monk or nun should regularly undertake (*A.* V, 88), the tenth of which is to question oneself if an *uttarimanussadhamma* has been attained, a distinction in knowledge and vision worthy of noble ones, *alamariyañāṇadassanavisesa*.

In sum then, early Buddhism recognizes the ability to perform supernormal feats and, according to the early discourses and the *Vinaya*, the Buddha himself and various disciples repeatedly availed themselves of such abilities. Yet, the public display of such abilities for worldly motives is censured as unbefitting. The same censure also covers public proclamation of attainment of *uttarimanussadhamma* in the more restricted sense of a *jhāna* or one of the stages of awakening, even though to attain such type of *uttarimanussadhamma* is central to the undertaking of the Bud-dhist path to liberation.

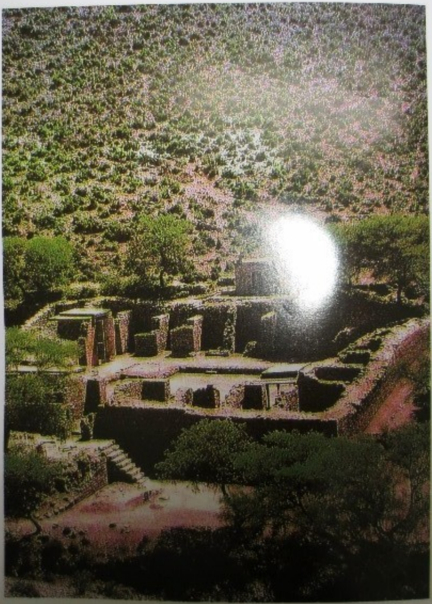
Anālayo

References

1. It is perhaps worthy of note that this listing does not include the attainment of cessation, an attainment apparently not mentioned in the *Vinaya* at all. A listing of *uttari-manus-sa dhammas* in the *Cūḷagosiṅga Sutta* (*M.* I, 209), however, includes the attainment of cessation, together with the *jhānas* and the immaterial attainments.
2. In fact the Chinese counterpart passages at *T.* I, 101c22 and *T.* I, 102a7 do not mention any rejection of these two types of extraordinary feats, but only point out that because of the possible reaction by disbelievers, the Buddha would not tell his monks to make public displays of such abilities.
3. *M.* I, 68 then reports that after disrobing he would spread the rumour that the Buddha had not attained any *uttarimanussadhamma*. In reply to this allegation, according to the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta* the Buddha then gave a detailed account of his abilities and powers.



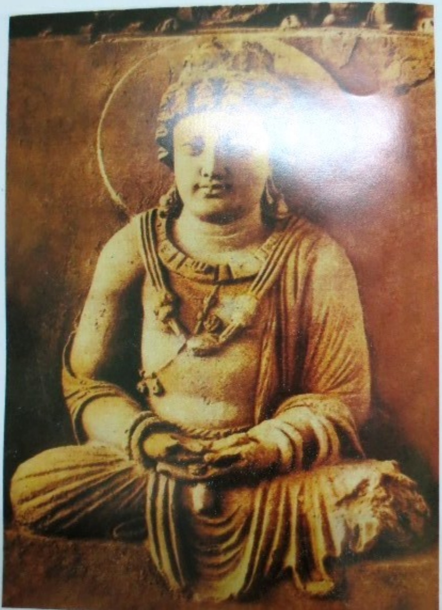
An aerial view of Dharmarājika Stūpa and monastery in Taxila.
Courtesy : *Gandhāra, The Enchanting Land of Buddhist Art and Culture*, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan, 1994.



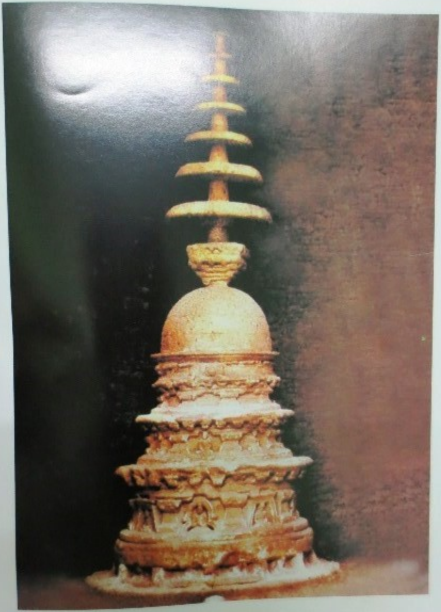
Mohra Moradu Monastery, Taxila.
Courtesy : *Gandhāra, The Enchanting Land of Buddhist Art and Culture*, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan, 1994.



The Buddha in Dharma-Chakra Mudrā (Taxila).
Courtesy : *Gandhāra, The Enchanting Land of Buddhist Art and Culture*, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan, 1994.



Budhisattiva Maitreya in Stucco (Taxila).
Courtesy : *Gandhāra, The Enchanting Land of Buddhist Art and Culture*, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan, 1994.



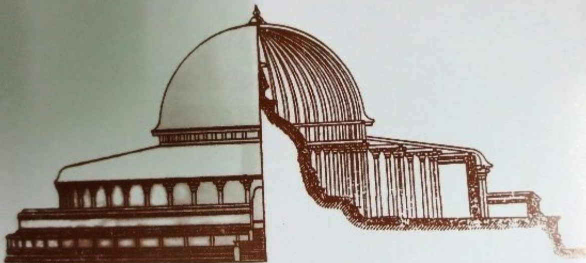
Votive Stupa from Jaulian (Taxila).
Courtesy : *Gandhāra, The Enchanting Land of Buddhist Art and Culture*, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan, 1994.



Vatadāge in Tiriyāya in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka wherein Tapassu and Bhalluka are supposed to have deposited some hair relics of the Buddha.
Courtesy : The Dept. of Archaeology, Sri Lanka.



The Pencil drawn sketch of Thūpārāma (1) by James Princep, which was preserved and reproduced by James Furgusson in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876.



The sketch of the Ancient Thūpaghara that protected Thupārāma (1) from the elements, as conjectured by Professor Senarath Paranavitana.

See : *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, S. Paranavithāna, Ceylon, 1946.

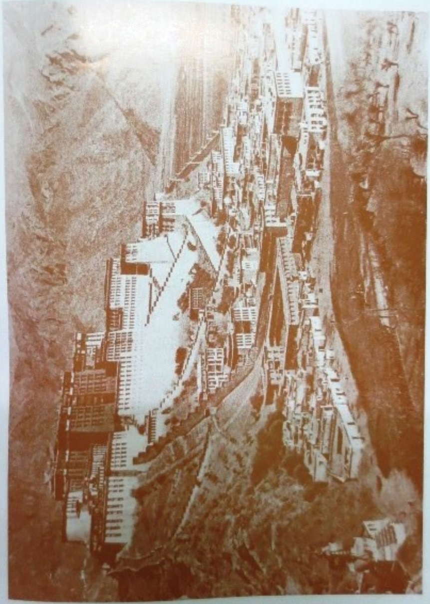
PLATE XX



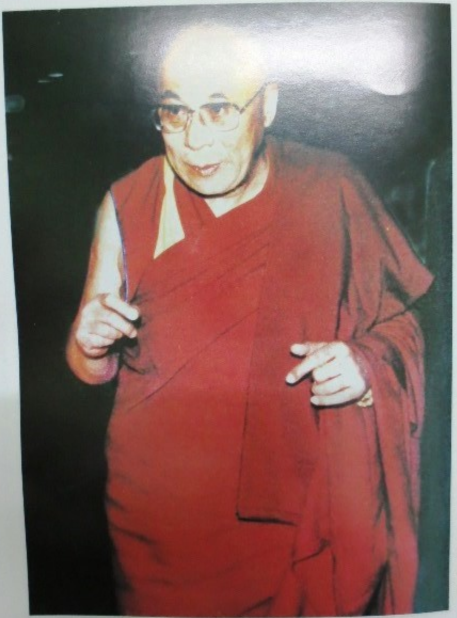
The renovated Thūpārāma (1) in Anurādhapura, the first historical thūpa Built in Sri Lanka.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



Thūpārāma (2) in Polonnaruwa which is an elaborate shrine room.
Courtesy : The Dept. of Archaeology, Sri Lanka.



Potala, the Palatial residence and administrative head-quarters of the Dalai-Lāmā.
Courtesy : *Tibetische Kunst* by L. Jisel, V. Sis and J. Vanis, Artia Prag, 1958.



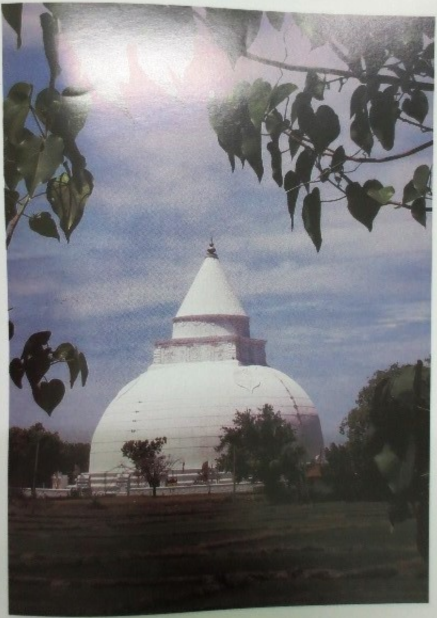
The present Dalai-Lamā of Tibet who lives in self-exilement in Dharmasālā in India.
Courtesy : *Wipulasāra*, Published by Paramadhamma Buddhist Institute, Sri Lanka, 2000.



Lāmās of Tschan-do awaiting the arrival of the Dalai Lāmā
Courtesy : *Tibetische Kunst*, by L. Jisel, V. Sis and J. Vanis, Artia Prag, 1958.



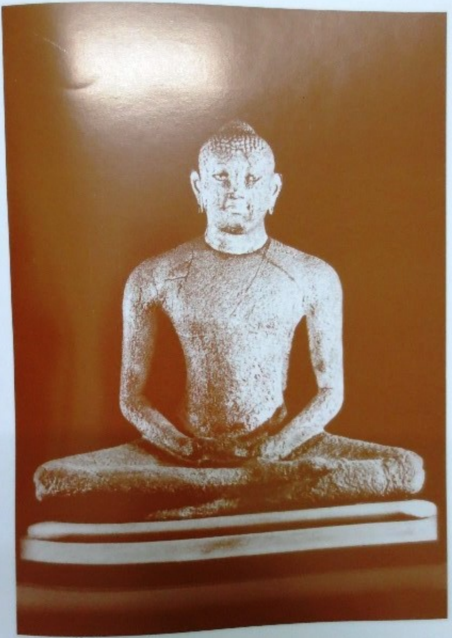
Lāmās blowing long horns.
Courtesy : *Tibetische Kunst*, by L. Tisel, V. Sis and J. Vanis, Artia Prag, 1958.



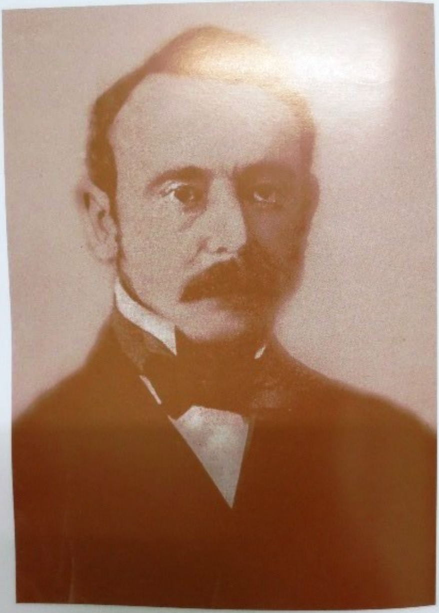
The renovated stūpa at Tissamahārāma.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



The elaborate guardstone found in the premises of the Tissamahārāma stūpa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



The seated Buddha statue at Toluvila.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



V. Trenckner, a pioneer in Pali lexicography who initiated the compilation of the Critical Pali Dictionary.
Courtesy : Critical Pali Dictionary, Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1924-48.

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Sri Lanka.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	... Aṅguttara Nikāya.I-VI ed. R. Morris. E. Hardy. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. *PTS.* 1885-1910.
AA	... Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Manorathapūrani), I-V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp. *PTS.* 1924-56.
AAWG	... Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Gottingen
Abhk.	... Abhidharmakoṣa (Nāgari characters), R. Sankrityayana, Banaras, 1930.
AbhKbh.	... Abhidharmakoṣabhāsya ed. Th. Stcherbatsky. *BB.* XX, 1930
AbhKk.	... Abhidharmakoṣakārikā ed. L. de laValle Poussin, Paris, 1931
Abhkvy.	... Abhidharmakoṣavyākhya, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-36
Abhs.	... Abhidhammatthasangaha, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JPTS* 1884- 1-84
Abhsy.	... Abhidharmasamuccaya ed. P. Pradhan, ***VBS.*** 12, 1950.
Abhvt.	... Abhidhammāvatāra, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta. *BM.* I, 1915
ABIA.	.... Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute.
ABORI.	... Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).
Abs Pus.	... Abhisamayālaṃkāraprajnāpāramitā upadesasāstra (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation), ed.Th. Stcherbatsky and F. Obermiller, *BB,* XXIII, 1929
Abs Pvy.	... Abhisamayālamkārālokaprajnāpāramitāvyākhya, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1932-35
AdsP.	... Adhyārdhasatikāprajnāpāramitā, ed. H. Leumann, Strassburg. 1912
Akanuma 1	... Akanuma. C. : Indo-Bukkyo, Koyumeishi-Jiten (Dictionary of Buddhist Indian Proper Names), Nagoya, 1931
Akanuma 2	... Akanuma, C : Kam-pa Shibu Agon Gosho roku (The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas). Nagoya. 1929.
AKM.	... Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes heraus g. von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
AM.	... Asia Minor
AMG.	... Annales du Musee Guimet
Anagv.	... Anāgatavamsa. ed J. Minaeff *JPTS* 1886. 33 ff.
Anesaki.	... Anesaki, M. The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese. 1908
AO.	.. Archiv Orientalni, Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute.
Aps.	... Apadāna. I-II. ed. *M.* E Lilley *PTS* 1925-27.
APA. .	.... Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā (Visuddha janavilāsini . ed. C E. Godakumbura, *PTS* 1954
ArtA	... Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland).
Arvs'	... Arthavinis' caya. ed A. Ferrari. Rome. 1944.
AS.	... Aluvihāra Series (Colombo)
ASCAR.	... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report.
ASCI.	... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Inscriptions.
ASCMen	... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon,
ASIAR. .	.. Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report
ASIMem.	.... Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir
AsP	... Aṣṭasahas'rikāprajnāpāramitā. ed R. mitra, Calcutta. 1888.
ASWI.	... Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India
Āṭā.	... Āṭānātiyasūtra, ed. H. Hoffmann (Bruchstucke des Āṭānātiyasūtra). KITurf. V. 1939.
Avk.	... Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das *BI* 1888-96
Avs'	... Avadānas'ataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* 19. 1958
BASR	... Bulletin de 1' Academic des Sciences Russie
BB	... Bibilotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)
BBh	... Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930-36

Bc. ... Bodhicaryāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, Calcutta, 1901-14

Bcp. ... Bodhicaryāvatāra pañjikā, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, 1902

BD. ... Buddhist Dictionary, by Nyānatiloka (revised edition), Colombo 1956

Beal ... Beal, S. : The Buddhist Tripitaka, 1876

BEFEO ... Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient (Hanoi)

Bendall ... Bendall, C. Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge 1883

Bhkav. ... Bhadrakalpāvadāna. ed. S. Oldenbourg, 1884

BHS. ... Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary, F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953

Bksk. ... Bhavasamkrāntisutra (and commentary, reconstructed in Sanskrit from Tibetan translation), ed. N. Ariyswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938.

BI. ... Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)

BiblB ... Bibliographic Bouddhique (Paris)

BIIMEO ... Bulletino dell' instituto Indiano peril, Medio ed Estremo Orients (Rome)

BM. ... Buddhadatta's Manuals, 1-11, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1915, 1927

BMFJ. ... Bulletin de la Maison Franco Japonaise (Tokyo)

BniPrat ... Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke des Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa), *KITurf,* III, 1926

BOH. ... Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest)

BPrāt. ... Bodhisattvaprātimoksasutra, ed. N. Dutt. *IHQ.* 7, 1931, 259 ff.

BS. ... Buddhistic Studies. ed B. C. Law, Calcutta. 1931

BSOAS. ... Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London

BSS. ... Bombay Sanskrit Series

BST. ... Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)

Buc. ... Buddhacarita, ed. E. H. Johnston. Calcutta. 1935

Bup. ... Buddhaghosuppatti (with translation) ed. J. Gray. London. 1892

Buv. ... Buddhavamsa, ed. R. Morris. *PTS* 1882

BuvA. ... Buddhavamsa *Atthakathā* (Madhuratthavilāsini) ed. I. B. Horner. *PTS. 1946*

Cabaton ... Cabaton, A. : Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pali. Paris, 1907

Catus. ... Catuhs'ataka (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts reconstructed), ed. V. Bhattacharya. Calcutta. 1931

CHJ. ... The Ceylon Historical Journal

CII. ... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

CJHSS. ... The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies

CJSc. ... Ceylon Journal of Science – Section G

Ckv. ... Chakesadhātuvamsa, ed. J. Minayeff. *JPTS.* 1885, 5-16

Cordier ... Cordier, P. : Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, 11-111, 1909-15

Cp. ... Cariyāpitaka, ed. B. C. Law, Lahore 1924

CpA. ... Cariyāpiṭaka *Atthakathā* (Paramatthadipani), ed. D. L. Barua. *PTS.* 1939

CPD. ... A Critical Pali Dictionary, Copenhagen

Cvisp. ... Cittavis'uddhiprakarana. ed. P. B. Patel, *VBS.* 8, 1949

D. ... Digha Nikāya, I-III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, *PTS.* 1890-1911

DA. ... Dighanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sumangalavilāsini). 1-111, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids. J. E. Carpenter, W. Stede *PTS* 1886-1932

Dāthv. ... Dāthavamsa, ed. B. C. Law, *PTS.,* 1925

Dbhg. ... Das'abhūmika-sutra (Gāthā portion) ed. J. Rahder and S. Susa, Extract from the Eastern Buddhist, Vol. V., No. 4, 1931

Dbhs. ... Das'abhūmika-sutra ed. J. Radher, Louvain, 1926

DCBT. ... Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms. ed. W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, London, 1937

DeS. ...de Silva, W. A. : Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts I *MCM.* series A. No. 4, 1938

DeZ. ...de Soysa, Louis A catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon, Colombo, 1885

Dhk. ... Dhātukathā(with commentary), ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *PTS.* 1892

Dhmpr. ...Dharmottarapradipa, ed. D. Malvania, Patna, 1955

Dhp. ...Dhammapada, ed, S. Sumanagala *PTS.* 1914

DhpA. ... Dhammapada Atthakatha, I-V, ed H. Smith, H. C. Norman, L. S.Tailang, *PTS.* 1906-15

Dhpr. ...Dharmapradipika(va), ed. Dharmakirti Sri Dharmārāma (sixth edition). Vidyalankara Press, Ceylon. 1951

Dhs. .... Dhammasangani, ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1885

DhsA. .... Dhammasangani Atthakathā (Atthasālini), ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1897.

Dhscy. .... Dharmasamuccaya, ed. Lin Li Kouang (first part of Sanskrit text with Tibetan and Chinese versions), Paris, 1946

Dhsmg. ...Dharmasamgraha, ed. F. Max Muller and H. Wenzel, Oxford. 1885

Divy. ...Divyāvādāna, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cabridge, 1886

DPPN. ...Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I-II, by G. P. Malalasekera, London, 1960

Dpv. ...Dipavamsa, ed. H. Oldenberg, London. 1879.

Dpv.2. ...The Dipavamsa. ed. B. C. Law. *CHJ.* VIII. Nos. 1-4. Maharagarna. Ceylon, 1959.

Dukap. ... Dukapṭṭhāna, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids. *PTS.* 1906

EB. ... The Eastern Buddhist.

EI ... Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, Government Press).

Ency. Bsm. ...Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. ed. G. P. Malalasekera. Ceylon.

ERE ...Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. I-XIII, ed. I. Hastings Edinburg. 1908-26

EW. ... East and West (Rome).

EWA. ... Encyclopaedia of World Art, I-VIII, McGrawHill

EZ. ...Epigraphia Zeylanica (Ceylon Government Press).

Gg. ...Gaṇḍistotragāthā (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese Kien ch'ui-fan-tsan) ed. Stael-Holstein *BB.XV.* 1913

GM. ...Gilgit Manuscripts, I-III, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar and Calcutta. 1939-50.

GOS ...Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda).

Gst. ...Guhyasamājatantra, ed. Bhattacharyya, Baroda. 1931.

Gv. ... Gandhavamsa. ed. J. Minayeff *J PTS.* 1886. 54-80

Gvyu. .... Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, I-IV, ed. D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi (second edition), Kyoto, 1949

Hattv. ... Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa, ed. C. E. Godakumbura, *PTS.* 1957

Hbg. ... Hobogirin, Dictionnaire Encyclopedique due Boddhisme, ed. P. Demieville, Tokyo, 1929-37

Hetub. ... Hetubinduṭikā (with sub commentary) ed. S. Sanghavi and M. Jinavijayaji, *GOS.* 113, 1949.

HJAS. ... Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies

HOS. .... Harvard Oriental Series.

Hvp. .... Hastavālaprakarana (reconstructed in Sanskrit from Chinese and Tibetan translations) ed. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1918, 267 ff.

IA. .... Indian Antiquary (Bombay)

IAL. .... Indian Art and Letters (London)

IBK. .... Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu (University of Tokyo, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies)

IC. ... Indian Culture (Calcutta).

IHQ. ... The Indian Historical Quarterly.

It. .... Itivuttaka ed. E. Windisch, *PTS* 1889

ItA. .... Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani, I-II ed. M. M. Bose, *PTS*, 1943-36.

J ... Jātaka (with commentary), I-VI ed. V. Fausboll, *PTS.* 1962.

JAOS ... Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JAs ... Journal Asiatique.

JASB ... Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBHU ... Journal of the Benares Hindu University.

JBORS ... Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

JBRAS. ... Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBRS. ... Journal of the Burma Research Society.

JBTS ... Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.

JCBRAS ... Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDLC. ... Journal of the Department of Letters. University of Calcutta.

JGIS. ... Journal of the Greater India Society.

JIH. ... Journal of Indian History.

Jinac. ... Jinacarita, ed. W. H. D. Rouse, *JPTS*. 104-5,1-165.

Jinak. ... Jinakālamali, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, PTS. 1962.

Jinäl.. ... Jinālamkāra (with translation), ed, J. Gray. London. 1894.

Jm. ... Jātakamalā, ed. I-I. Kern, HOS. I Boston. 1891.

JOR. ... Journal of Oriental Reserach.

JPTS. ... Journal of the Pali Text Society.

JRAS. ... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JSS. ... Journal of the Siam Society.

Keith. ... Keith, A. B. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Oxford. 1905.

Khp. ... Khuddakapātha. ed. H. Smith *PTS*. 1915.

KhpA. ... Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā I). ed. H. Smith. *PTS* 1915

Khs. ... Khuddasikkhā. ed. B. Muller, *JPTS*. 1883.

KhT. ... Khotanese Texts, I-II. ed. H. W. Bailey. Cambridge. 1946-54.

KlTurf. ... Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte (Konig"liche Preussische Tufan-Expeditionen)

Kp. ... Karunāpundarika. ed. S. C. Das and S. C. Sastri, Calcutta. 1898.

Ks'yp. ... Kas'yapaparivarta.ed.H.Stael-Holstein 1926.

Ktr. ... Karatalaratna (Sanskrit from the Chinese translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar. 1938.

Kvbh. ... (Karmavibhanga) Mahakarmavibhanga (Lagrande Classification des Actes) et Karma vibhangopades'a (Discussion sur le Mahākarma-vibhanga). ed. S. Levi. Paris, 1932

Kvit. ... Kankhāvitarani, ed. Dorothy Maskell, *PTS*. 1956.

Kvu. ... Kathāvatthu, I-II, ed. A. C. Taylor *PTS*. 1894-95 *KvuA*. Kathāvatthuppakarana Atthakathā ed. Minayeff. *JPTS*. 1889, 1-222

Kvyu ... (Avalokites'varaguna) Kārandavyūha, ed. S. Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873.

Lal. ... Lalitavistara, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST* 1, 1958.

Lank. ... Lankāvatārasutra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.

Ligeti. ... Ligeti Louis Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol. I. BOH. III, 1942-44.

Ls' ... Lokes'varas'ataka, ed. Suzanne Karpeles JAs. 1919,5.11, XIV, 357- 465

M. ... Majjhima Nikāya, 1-IV, ed. V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS*. 1888-1925.

MA. ... Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papancasūdani), 1-V ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I. B. Honer *PTS*. 1922-38.

MBT. ... Minor Buddhist Texts, ed. G. Tucci, *SOR*. IX Part 1. 1956.

MCM. ... Memoir of the Colombo Museum.

Mdhvr. ... Mādhyamakavrtti, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, *BB*. IV, 1902-13.

Mdhvt. ... Mādhyamakāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, *BB*. IX.

Mgh. ... Meghasūtra, ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS*. 1 880-288ff.

Mhbv. ... Mahābodhivamsa, ed. S. A. Strong. *PTS*. 1891.

Mhm. ... Mahāmāyuri, ed. Oldenberg in Zapiski Vostschnago Otdelenija Imp. Rusesk, Archeol, Obschestva, XI, 1899.

Mhps. ... Mahāparinirvānasutra, ed. H. Waldschmidt, Abhandlungen der Deustschen Akademie, Berlin, 1950-51.

Mhs. ... Mahāmājsutra, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke Buddhistischer Sutras, 1) KITurf. IV, 1932.

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VĀCĀ, "speech" or the "spoken word", is inevitably invested with a rather central importance in a predominantly oral society such as ancient India at the time of the rise of Buddhism. In order to reflect this importance, the present article will focus on the role and influence of orality in early Buddhism, while the ethical dimension of verbal activity will be dealt with in a separate entry under VACĪKAMMA, and the early Buddhist attitude towards linguistic conventions will be discussed under VOHĀRA.

According to the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta*, the recently awakened Buddha was at first hesitant to teach, and it was only after an intervention by Brahmā Sahampati that the Buddha decided to proclaim the *Dhamma* to those who were able and willing to listen to his words (*M.* I, 169). Once this decision was taken, the oral delivery of the *Dhamma* began with the proclamation of the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* (*S.* V, 421). Already with this first 'setting in motion of the wheel of *Dhamma*', which constitutes the starting point of the early Buddhist oral teachings, one of the five auditors by the name of Koṇḍañña attained stream-entry (*S.* V, 423).

This is, in fact, the central purpose of the early Buddhist oral teachings, namely to lead to liberating insight. In order to be able to fulfil this purpose, oral instructions need to be clearly comprehensible at the time of delivery, and they also should be easy to memorize. These two requirements have had a considerable impact on the actual shape of the early discourses, whose oral characteristics and features manifest in various ways.[1]

Such oral characteristics can be seen already with the standard opening of a discourse: "thus have I heard, at one time", *evaṃ me sutaṃ, ekaṃ samayaṃ*.[2] According to the commentarial explanation, these words were spoken by Ānanda (*MA.* I, 7), thanks to whose efforts at retaining the words spoken by the Buddha, the teachings were preserved for posterity. When examined from a formal perspective, one finds that the two parts of this standard opening, *evaṃ me sutaṃ* and *ekaṃ samayaṃ*, each consist of five syllables and are thus well balanced metrically. The first word in each part is closely similar, *evaṃ* and *ekaṃ*, differing only in respect to their second consonant. The words *evaṃ, sutaṃ, ekaṃ,* and *samayaṃ* share the *-aṃ* ending, while the words *sutaṃ* and *samayaṃ* also share the same initial consonant. Thus, even though these few words are merely a prose introduction to a discourse, a closer inspection reveals sound similarities that occur with considerable frequency in other prose sections of the early discourses, especially in listings of similar words or in formulaic expressions. These sound similarities involve 'alliteration', repetition of an initial sound, 'assonance', repetition of a sound found in the middle of a word, and 'homoioteleuton', repetition of the final sound. Such sound similarities considerably facilitate memorization and recitation.

Another oral feature of the early discourses is the frequent use of strings of synonyms. Such a string of synonyms serves to safeguard against loss of text, since a whole set of similar words stands much greater chance of being remembered than a single word. Moreover, such a string of terms will also better impress itself on the audience. The members of such strings or clusters of words tend to occur in a metrical sequence that follows the principle of 'waxing syllables'. According to this principle, words with fewer syllables in a series of terms are followed by words with an equal or greater number of syllables. This principle occurs also in listings and enumerations whose members do not share the same meaning.

An example for a string of synonyms arranged according to the principle of 'waxing syllables' is the treatment of the theme "fear", *bhīto saṃviggo lomahaṭṭhajāto* (*M.* I, 231), where the three terms used to express the same basic meaning of "fear" follow each other with a syllable count of 2+3+6. Other examples are the theme "poor", *daliddo assako anāḷhiyo* (*M.* I, 450), where the syllable count is 3+3+4, and its counterpart "wealthy", *aḍḍho mahaddhano mahābhogo* (*M.* I, 451), with a syllable count of 2+4+4. The crescendo effect that results from the application of this principle is a typical feature of the early discourses, further enhanced when word sequences arranged according to the waxing syllable principle also share sound similarities.

The oral nature of the early discourses also manifests in the frequent occurrence of repetition. When treating a particular topic in its positive and negative manifestations, for example, it is a standard procedure in the discourses that the same passage will be repeated with precisely the same words and formulations as used for the positive case, making

only the most minimal changes required in order to adjust these to the negative case. The same procedure becomes even more prominent when a series of different perspectives on a particular topic are described.

In addition to the frequent occurrence of repetition within a single discourse, the early discourses also make recurrent use of 'pericopes', formulaic expressions or phrases that depict a recurrent situation or event. Whether it is a description of how someone approaches the Buddha or of how someone attains liberation, pericopes will be employed with a fixed set of phrases and expressions, and only the most minimal changes will be introduced in order to adapt these pericopes to the individual occasion. These two features, the repetition of passages within a discourse and the use of pericopes throughout the discourse collections, are responsible for the highly repetitive nature of the early discourses.

The above-described oral characteristics of the early discourses testify to the importance of facilitating the precise memorization of the words spoken by the Buddha in order to ensure the correctness of their oral transmission. This oral transmission seems to have started soon after the delivery of the first teachings. When the Buddha sent out his first monk disciples to teach others (*Vin.* I, 21), these disciples would have taken teachings along with them in order to spread the *Dhamma*, teachings that would obviously have been in an oral form. Though the discourses that by that time had been delivered were few, it seems quite probable that already at that time some degree of formalization of these discourses had taken place in order to facilitate their oral transmission. That is, in order to satisfy the requirements of the expanding early Buddhist community, a formalized body of oral material must have already come into existence during the Buddha's lifetime.

According to the account given in the Vinaya, soon after the Buddha had attained final *Nibbāna* the oral transmission was formalized into a canonical body at the so-called first council (*Vin.* II, 287). Whatever be the final word on the historical accuracy of this account, at some relatively early point in the history of Buddhism a formalization of the canonical texts must have taken place. Notably, this formalization was undertaken in a relatively flexible manner, as even discourses not spoken by the Buddha himself were included under what tradition regards as the word of the Buddha (see also BUDDHAVACANA). Discourses spoken in their entirety by disciples, with and without explicit approval given by the Buddha, became part of the canonical collection of discourses systematized in the *Nikāyas* or *Āgamas*.

A particular intriguing case is a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, according to which a monk, on being asked by Sakka if what he had just taught originated from the Buddha, replied with the dictum that "whatever is well said is the Buddha's word", *yaṃ kiñ ci subhāsitaṃ, sabbaṃ taṃ tassa bhagavato vacanaṃ* (*A.* IV, 164). This statement was to play a considerable role in relation to the concept of scriptural authenticity in later Buddhist traditions, as can be seen for example in the *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, which employs this statement in order to defend the authenticity of later scriptures (*Śiks.* 15). The original implications of this passage, however, were only that the monk considered the Buddha to be the real source of whatever he was expounding.

This relatively open attitude towards the category of *Buddhavacana* has led to the inclusion of historically later material under this heading in all Buddhist traditions. This is the case not only for the considerable range of material that the developing Mahāyāna traditions considered to originate from the Buddha himself. The same attitude can also be found in the Theravāda tradition, where the *Atthasālinī* extends the category of *Buddhavacana* even to the *Kathāvatthu*, arguing that the Buddha had already laid down the contents of this work in the foresight that two-hundred-and-eighteen years after his demise the monk Moggaliputta Tissa would give a full exposition of it (*DhsA.* 4).

This type of attitude appears to have, however, only developed at a relatively later point of time, as the above-described characteristics of the early Buddhist oral material document an emphasis on correct and verbatim transmission during the early stages of the development of Buddhism. The task of this transmission was carried out by generations of reciters who transmitted the canonical texts for several centuries purely by way of memory (See also BHĀNAKA).

Anālayo

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VACĪKAMMA, "verbal action", is one of the three main doors of action recognized in early Buddhism. This threefold analysis of deeds is significant in so far as it indicates that early Buddhism does not treat action from the perspective of a body/mind duality, but instead considers body and mind as two components of a triad of channels for activity.

Verbal action is preceded by volitional formations related to speech, the *vacīsaṅkhāras*, which the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* defines to be initial and sustained application of the mind, *vitakka-vicāra*. As the same discourse explains, after having applied and directed the mind one will break out into speech, *pubbe vitakketvā vicāretvā pacchā vācaṃ bhindati* (*M.* I, 301). A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* clarifies that volitional formations related to speech could be generated on one's own initiative or prompted by others. Moreover, such volitions could be formed with clear deliberation or without clear deliberation, *asampajāna* (*S.* II, 40). The point made by this passage is that when breaking out into speech, at times such verbal activity might be instigated by others and the speaker may be reacting verbally in a way that is not in accord with his or her original intentions. Only too easily one gets carried away by one's own words and in the end says something that one later regrets. In particular one who speaks much, *bahubhāṇin*, more easily engages in wrong types of speech and will later have to suffer their evil karmic consequences (*A.* III, 254). For this reason the issue of the mental intentions that motivate verbal activity has received considerable attention in early Buddhism. In an analysis of deeds from altogether ten perspectives, the ten "courses of action" (see also KAMMAPATHA), verbal deeds are distinguished into altogether four types. From the perspective of unwholesome verbal conduct, *vaciduccarita* (*A.* II, 141), these four cover:

(1) falsehood, *musā-vāda*
(2) slander, *pisuṇā-vācā*
(3) rude speech, *pharusa-vācā*
(4) frivolous gossip, *samphappalāpa*

(1) According to the detailed exposition of these four types of unwholesome verbal conduct in the *Sāleyyaka Sutta*, the speaking of falsehood occurs in such situations as when someone is summoned to court or to a meeting and is questioned as a witness, in reply to which this person might say 'I do not know' when in reality he or she knows, or else claim to know or to have seen something that he or she does not know and has not seen (*M.* I, 286). Acting in this way, this person speaks falsehood in full awareness of its untruth, *sampajānamusā bhāsitā*, motivated by some ulterior purpose, be this for his or her own benefit, or for the benefit of another (see also FALSE SPEECH).

Such deliberate speaking of falsehood takes place even among those who are affluent and have a high standing in society (*S.* I, 74). For those who live the life of a householder the speaking of truth is not always easy to observe (*M.* II, 205), but for an *arahant* it is impossible to knowingly speak a falsehood (*D.* III, 133). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* compare speaking lies to excrement, whereas to speak truth compares to a flower (*A.* I, 128). Be it for one's own sake or for that of another, who speaks untruth deserves to be reckoned an outcast indeed (*Sn.* 122).

According to the *Aggañña Sutta*, the appearance of falsehood together with theft are responsible for the deterioration of living conditions in the world and for the need to institute a ruler who will ensure the persecution and punishment of such wrong doings (*D.* III, 92). A verse in the *Dhammapada* explains that those who are willing to speak untruth will be unrestrained to such an extent that any evil deed can be expected of them (*Dhp.* 176). Even speaking a lie for fun is strongly censured in the *Ambalaṭṭhikā-Rāhulovāda Sutta*, according to which one who is not ashamed to speak falsehood is comparable to thrown away water or to a vessel that is turned upside down (*M.* I, 414). *Jātaka* tales report that even in his past lives the Buddha-to-be refrained from speaking falsehood and would not engage in it even for fun (*J.* I, 439 and *J.* V, 481).

(2) The second of the four unwholesome types of verbal conduct is slander or malicious speech, *pisuṇā-vācā*. The *Sāleyyaka Sutta* explains that slander involves repeating what one has heard elsewhere in order to cause division among people, leading to disharmony and quarrelling (*M.* I, 286). According to the definition given in the context of the third *pācittiya* regulation in the *Vinaya*, slander takes place with the intention of endearing oneself and with the purpose of creating dissention among others (*Vin.* IV, 12). Verses in the *Sutta Nipāta* refer to slander in conjunction with conceit (*Sn.* 862: *mānātimānā saha pesuṇā ca*), anger (*Sn.* 928: *kodhaṃ pesuṇiyañca*), and hypocrisy (*Sn.* 941: *amāyo ritta-pesuṇo*). Though these verses do not state so explicitly, to engage in slander and malicious speech would indeed seem to be closely related to conceit and anger, as well as hypocrisy.

Unworthy persons are only too willing to proclaim the failings of others, even if they are not asked to do so, whereas even when asked they find it difficult to disclose the virtues of others (*A.* II, 77). To engage in slander has the propensity of leading to an evil rebirth, and also causes the breaking up of friendships in one's present life (*A.* IV, 247). In the account of the gradual deterioration of living conditions given in the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta*, once slander and malicious speech manifest the life span of human beings decreases by half (*D.* III, 69). A tale in the *Petavatthu* depicts the dire retributions for slander, recording that a monk who had engaged in falsehood and slander was reborn as a *peta* with a stinking mouth (*Pvu.* 2). A *Jātaka* tale describes how through slander two animals that had been close friends were turned into deadly enemies, comparing the effect of slander to a sharp sword driven into someone's flesh (*J.* III, 151).

(3) The third unwholesome type of verbal conduct involves the speaking of rude or harsh words, *pharusa-vācā*, which according to the *Sāleyyaka Sutta* occurs when someone speaks words that are hurtful and offensive to others, words bordering on anger, thereby engaging in a type of speech that is not conducive to calmness of the mind (*M.* I, 286). The definition of harsh speech in the context of the second *pācittiya* rule in the *Vinaya* gives the example of insulting words spoken in regard to such things as someone's birth, name, clan, work, craft, disease, distinguishing [bodily] marks, defilements, attainments and modes of address (*Vin.* IV, 6).

The background narration to this regulation illustrates the need to refrain from harsh speech with a tale that has also been included in the *Jātaka* collection (*J.* I, 191). According to this tale, the owner of an ox had waged on the capacity of his oxen to pull a considerably large row of carts. When the time of the actual contest came, he addressed his oxen with insulting words, with the result that the ox did not perform the feat it was supposed to accomplish. On a second occasion, however, when addressed with gentle and pleasing words, the ox did what was expected of him. The morale drawn from this tale is that one should always refrain from using harsh speech. In contrast to the offensive and hurtful effect of rude and harsh speech, the words of one who speaks what is harmless and agreeable will be sweet like honey (*A.* I, 128).

A tale in the *Petavatthu* describes rather drastic repercussions of engaging in harsh speech. According to this tale, a miserly woman had been addressing her husband with harsh words when the latter would make offerings to monks, wishing the food to become urine, excrement, pus and blood. In retribution for this deed,

she was reborn as a *peta* feeding on urine, excrement, pus and blood (*Pvu.* 8).

The right attitude towards harsh speech spoken by others is illustrated in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which depicts how the king of the *asuras*, on being captured and led to the presence of Sakka, the king of the *devas*, abused and reviled the latter with harsh words (*S.* I, 221). When asked by his charioteer why he kept silent on being abused in this way, Sakka explained that this was neither due to fear or weakness. Much rather, he kept silent when faced with abuse and harsh words out of patience, reflecting that for a wise person like himself it was not fit to engage in combat with a fool.

(4) The fourth unwholesome mode of verbal conduct occurs when someone indulges in frivolous speech and gossiping. The *Sāleyyaka Sutta*'s description mentions speaking at the wrong time and useless words, discoursing on matters that are trivial and unbeneficial (*M.* I, 287). Such frivolous speech is often an expression of an unbalanced and agitated mind, *uddhata citta* (*A.* II, 23). The discourses provide a whole list of topics for gossip that involves various types of "animal talk", *tiracchāna-kathā*, such as talk on kings and robbers, food and drinks, clothing and garlands, villages and cities, women and heroes, and other similar trifles (*M.* I, 513). Several discourses depict heterodox wanderers discoursing on such topics, conversations that are quickly stopped once the Buddha or one of his disciples approaches, as it was well known that the Buddha and his followers were not in favour of such pointless speech. Not only heterodox wanderers, but also some Buddhist monks were apparently fond of loose talk, *vikiṇṇavācā*, which motivated *devas* to upbraid them (*S.* I, 61 and *S.* I, 204), and on one occasion caused *Mahāmoggallāna* to perform a feat of supernormal power in order to bring his fellow monks to their senses (*S.* V, 270).

Several of the marks of a superior being, *mahāpurisalakkhaṇa* (see also MAHĀPURISA), with which according to the traditional account the Buddha was endowed, were according to the *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* the karmic result of his abstention from all of the above described four types of unwholesome speech during previous existences (*D.* III, 170). During his present life, the Buddha's aloofness from the four types of unwholesome speech was a source of inspiration to others and a motivation to pay him a visit (*Sn.* 159). As the *Abhayarājakumāra Sutta* clarifies, the Buddha would speak only words that are true and beneficial (*M.* I, 395).

Abstention from the four unwholesome verbal deeds is a noble mode of speech, *ariya vohāra* (*D.* III, 232), and the instructions given by the Buddha in this respect are a manifestation of his supreme way of teaching (*D.* III, 106). Any recluse or Brahmin who is free from these four unwholesome modes of verbal activity is a worthy recipient of gifts comparable to seeds sown in earth that is free from salt (*A.* IV, 238), and by speaking true words that are not harsh or offensive is worthy of being reckoned a real Brahmin (*Sn.* 632).

A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* offers a straightforward rationale for avoiding these four unwholesome modes of verbal activity. This discourse draws attention to the undeniable fact that one would not like to be deceived, slandered, addressed harshly, or with irrelevant gossip oneself. Hence it is only natural and logical that one should refrain from engaging in these types of speech oneself (*S.* V, 354). To refrain from these four evil verbal action makes one a worthy person, *sappurisa*, but even more worthy is the one who, in addition to abstaining, also encourages others to exercise restraint in regard to verbal deeds (*A.* II, 221).

The importance of avoiding the four unwholesome modes of verbal expression comes to the forefront in the standard description of the noble eightfold path (see also EIGHTFOLD PATH, NOBLE), according to which their avoidance constitutes the path factor of right speech, *sammā-vācā* (e.g. *M.* III, 251). The *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* explains that to implement this path factor requires the presence of right view, in the sense of the ability to clearly distinguish between unwholesome and wholesome verbal activities, and the development of right effort and right mindfulness, in the sense of making an effort to avoid unwholesome verbal activities and being clearly aware during such efforts (*M.* III, 74). In this way, the implementation of wholesome *vacīkamma* involves a substantial part of the noble eightfold path, thereby being of considerable importance for progress on the path to final liberation.

Anālayo

VACĪVIÑÑATTI: (*vāgvijñapti*: Skt.). *Vacīviññatti* is voice or vocal (vacī) expression (*viññatti*), is one of the two modes of self-expression, i.e., two media for the communication of one's thought to another; the other mode being bodily expression (*kāya- viññatti*). It is a material element which arises in response to a thought which is morally wholesome (*kusala*), unwholesome (*akusala*) or indeterminate (*avyākata*). "The manifestation (*viññatti*), the making known (*viññapana*) or the state of having made known (*viññāpitatta*) of that thought through voice is *vacīviññatti*" (*Dhs*. pp. 143-44).

From this it would appear that *vacīviññatti* is vocal sound as a medium of thought-expression. But it is excluded from the sphere of sound (*saddāyatana*) and is included in the sphere of mental objects (*dhammāyatana*) which is cognizable by the mind (*DhsA*. p. 87 f.). This shows that it is not conceived as a variety of sound as such. However, the fact that vocal sound is referred to suggest that it is closely connected with *vacīviññatti*, even as bodily movement with *kāya-viññatti*. Also the fact that it is described as co-existent with thought (*citta-sahabhu*: *Dhs*. 148) shows that, like (*kāya- viññatti*, it is not a discrete material element (*rūpa-dhamma*). That the thought is communicated through vocal sound is admitted. But *vacīviññatti* is not the same as vocal sound, but is causally related to it in the same way as *kāya- viññatti* is to bodily movement (*Vism*. 379).

Whereas the *kāya- viññatti* is a change of the mode (*ākāra-vikāra*) of the air-element (*vāyo-dhātu*), the *vacīviññatti* is a change of the mode of the earth-element (*pathavi-dhātu*)· ibid. 379).Although it is called so, in reality, like the *kāya-viññatti*, it is an *ākāra-vikāra* of all the four primary elements and of whatever secondary element that arises and exists with them (*Vism*. 310, 375). In this case, it is the earth -element that is characterized by more intensity and capability; hence it is called *ākāra-vikāra* of the earth-element (*VismA*. P. 452). This so called *ākāra-vikāra* of the earth element, i.e., *vacīviññatti*, strikes against the vocal apparatus and produces vocal sound through which the thought is communicated (*abhidhammatta-vikāsini*, ed. A.P.Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1961, p. 277).

Why an *ākāra-vikāra* of the earth element and its concomitants is recognized as *vacīviññatti* is because of the fact that, like *kāya- viññatti*, it too has to be co-existent with thought. And the position of *vacīviññatti* in relation to the earth element and its concomitants should be understood in the same way as that of the *kāya- viññatti* in relation to the air-element and its concomitants. Apart from these elements, of which it is and *ākāra-vikāra*, there is no distinct and separate *rūpadhamma* called *vacīviññatti*; hence its inclusion in the category of *anisphanna -rūpa*.

As for the interpretation of *vāgvijñapti* (Pāli: *vacīviññatti*) there is general agreement among the Buddhist schools represented in the Sanskrit literature. Voice or vocal sound as a mode of self-expression or as a medium for the communication of one's thoughts to others is *vāgvijñapti*. It is defined as a sound which is discourse in its nature, i.e., articulates sound, as the pronunciation of syllables. Since it means vocal sound it is brought under the sphere of sound (*sabdāyatana*: *Abhk*. Ch. IV, p. 14 (tr. Poussion); *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, Tr. E. Lamotte, IV, pp. 156, 260; *Mdkvr*. p. 307; *Spūtārtha Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, p. 351).

It is presumably because of this general agreement on the subject that the accounts of *vāgvijñapti* occupy comparatively little space in Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

Upali Karunaratne

VĀHALKAḌA: The term *Vāhalkaḍa* is a modern term for the ancient *āyaka* (Sinhala *ayka*) found in the inscriptions in India and Sri Lanka. It is established now, that *Vāhalkaḍa* as well as *āyaka* mean fronticepieces of *Buddhist stūpas*. Normally there are four such fronticepieces facing the North, the South, the East and the West in the same axis, where the porches and the entrance of stone terrace of a stupa are these screen like ornamental structures have not been found around all the *stūpas*, but according to the archaeological evidences *Vāhalkaḍas* were constructed for selected great, medium and small *stūpas* in Sri Lanka. Indian *āyakas* have been found at Amarāvati, Nāgarjunakoṇḍa and Jaggayapeta in India and Anuradhapura, Mihintale and Polonnaruva in Sri Lanka.

The vision of *Vāhalkaḍa* was common to Buddhists in India and Sri Lanka, but the concept and the designs were different. The Indian *Vāhalkaḍa* consists of a rectangular basement about five feet high with five octagonal pillars on it. The basement is adorned with

bas-reliefs. Such *Vāhalkaḍas* were found at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda,in Āndhrā. They are dated to the 2[nd] century A.C.

Vāhalkaḍas of Sri Lankan *stūpas* belong to the period 1[st] century to the 13[th] century A.C. This covers both Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva periods. Remains of the most beautiful *Vāhalkaḍas* have been found around *stūpas* such as the Kaṇṭaka cetiya *(stūpa)* at Mihintale, Ruwanveli, Mirisaveti, Abhayagiri, Jetavana and Dakkhiṇa *stūpas* in Anuradhapura. Interpretation of the *Vāhalkaḍas* of the Mirisavati Stūpa by J.G Smither runs as follows:

"The newly discovered ornamental structure (hereafter called a fronticepiece) measures 25 feet in length, and has a central projection, advancing 5feet 6 inches, with a bredth of 13 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. To the height of 17 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches it is faced with stone, backed with brick work; but above this level the building appears to have been carried up entirely in brick. The upper portion of the structure has been destroyed. Therefore its original total height cannot now be ascertained, or even conjectured; but what still remains appears to be only the basement of some lofty composition. The present height of the building is 27 feet above the pavement level."

The above interpretation applies to all the *Vāhalkaḍas* in Anurādhapura.

"The basement of the *Vāhalkaḍas* of the Mirisaveti stūpa is 4 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and consists of a single course of plain stone work, 2 feet 2 inches high, resting on a boldly-moulded base 2 feet high, and capped with a moulded slab 10 inches thick, above which the face of the wall recedes about 10 inches. Upon the ledge, or offset thus formed, is a row of twenty-one elephants, all in a kneeling position, with their heads and fore-legs protruding in full relief; those at the two external and two internal angles being placed angle wise. The central elephant of the composition, and those in the two internal angles of the projecting portion of the front, have their trunks uplifted; but the remainder curl their trunk towards the right or left, as shown on the plan. The vertical faces between the animals are ornamented with carved **paterre,** representing expanded lotus flowers; and a moulded capping, covering all, completes the elephant-course. Above this are three plain faces, or bands regularly resending, and slightly diminishing in height as they ascend. These are separated and capped by moulded strings, one of which is ornamentally cut (Smither).

At this level is arranged a row of nineteen peculiar projecting upturned ornaments, resembling brackets which issue from the jaws of (dragons), and are finished with flat tops... The faces between the brackets are ornamented with carved **puterre** like those in the elephant course below, but somewhat larger. A moulded string completes the brackets-course; and above this are two more plain faces (again resending, but both on the same plane), divided and capped by moulded string courses; The lower one of the two being further embellished with a series of vertical, dome-shaped ornaments, separated from one another by short intervals. This ornament is peculiar to Buddhist architecture, and is known as the "Buddhist window".

Above the uppermost of these string-courses is a sculptured frieze, 1 foot high, representing in low relief (only half-an-inch) a long procession of animals advancing towards the north (from right to left) in four divisions, each headed by a man, and in the following order:- First division: man, horse, bull, lion, elephant, horse. Second division: man, elephant, bull, lion, lion, horse, elephant, horse, bull, elephant, lion. Third division: man,lion, elephant, lion, lion, horse, elephant, horse, bull, lion,lion.Fourth division: man, elephant, horse, lion, lion, bull, horse.

The freeze is surmounted by a moulded cornice, grooved on part of its face in such a manner as to represent a Buddhist railing with two (in this case) flat, horizontal bars between unusually narrow posts. Above all is a plain blocking, which is the topmost course of the stone-faced portion of the composition. Details of all the mouldings and ornaments above described, accompany these particulars.

At either end of the *Vāhalkaḍa* are two upright **tones or stelse**(pl.xvii-xviii).These four stone pillars are all monoliths; the inner ones next to the building being $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide on the face, 16 inches deep, and 17 feet 6 inches high above the pavement; and the outer ones $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide on the face, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, and 5 feet 6 inches high from the pavement; below which all four are doubtless carried down to a

considerable depth. The front faces of all these stones are ornamented with carvings in low relief, those on the inner stelae being very elaborate in design, although somewhat rough in execution. They were, however, originally covered with a thin coating of plaster, portions of which still adhere to the stone in **sheltered** places. The inner **stelae are sunk in protile** to receive the ends of the plain bands and moulded sring-courses of the *Vāhalkaḍa*. The carvings, which are almost identical on the two inner stelae have been drawn to scale from careful measurement, and will now be described.

At bottom of the inner stelae at the southern end of the structure, a grotesque squatting dwarf sustains above his head a large urn, by means of a stick which he grasps with both hands and holds horizontally.

From the mouth of the urn issues a tall straight stem, terminating in two large leaves, which bend to the right and left under the pressure of a central object to be presently described, and then take an upward turn, each leaf ending in a small curl. The central object sustained by the stem is the wheel of the law *(cakra)* of the Buddha, resting upon an ornamental pillar. Immediately above the wheel (*cakra)* are two chowries *(cāmaras);* surmounting all is an umbrella. The chowry and umbrella are both insignia of royalty. The chowris as well as the two leaves upon which the pillar rests are also cut in the same rough manner.

As the stem ascends from the urn, two curiously-shaped leaves branch right and left from it at irregular intervals; and at the junction of each pair of leaves with the stem there is a small fully-expanded flower, turned upwards in the front.

On either side of the central stem, and lightly springing as it were from the leaves, are quaint figures of men and animals, arranged in twelve pairs, one above the other, and in the following order from the bottom: elephants, lions, men, lions, men, bulls, men, lions, men, horses, men, lions.

The outer stelae are each ornamented on the front face with six very shallow vertical fluting at top against a narrow, horizontal moulding. Above this is a semi-disc with rays (not radiating from the centre), stopped by another moulding; narrower than the last; and crowning all was formally, a band of ornaments, which is now obliterated. These stelae have sinkings 2¾ inches square in their flat tops, which-as they are not likely in such a position to have been cut for tenons- may have been receptacles for small offerings, such as precious stones.

The inner stelae have tenons at top, and were each capped with a flat, oblong, moulded slab, 11 inches thick, ornamented on each face with a double row of rectangular blocks separated by narrow and shallow grooves. Both of these caps were found lying on the ground. Each cap was originally surmounted by fine stone figures of animals such as lion (north), elephant (east), bull (south) and horse (west); the top bed of the slab being sunk for its reception.

The brick superstructure of the building is in a most ruinous condition; and scarcely any traces remain of its original features, but no doubt it was at one time handsomely ornamented in plaster. Portions of the plain plastering still adhere to the brick work, but, excepting the remains of a few mouldings, all the ornamental plaster decorations have fallen away.

In the middle of the principal front are the remains of a recess or niche, which, no doubt, once contained a figure of Buddha. The recess is 2 feet 9 inches in width, and about 5 feet in depth. The back and sides run out about 3 feet above the flat bottom, or floor, therefore- the upper part being gone- the original height of the recess cannot now be ascertained. At a depth of 2 feet 2 inches below the floor of the recess is a chamber, the wall in front of which has been broken down. The back of this is 8 inches in advance of that of the recess, but the sides of both are on the same vertical plain. The chamber, which is 2 feet 2 inches high, has a brick floor, and was formerly covered with a stone slab 8 inches thick, the **chases** for the reception of which are still to be seen. Judging from the present appearance of the brick work, the face of the wall here has been wit fully destroyed and the stone slab forcibly abstracted, doubtless with the object of obtaining access to the chamber and securing the offerings to Buddha (figured in the niche above) which it most probably continued. Indications of a niche remain on the face of the left wing; and there was, doubtless, another on the corresponding wing, but this part has been completely demolished.

The back and **returned** ends of the *Vāhalkaḍa-* above the level of the second gallery, or *pesāva*, round the *stūpa* is plastered; but below this level down to

the first *pesāva*, the returned ends are of wrought stone, including a moulded cup and base in continuation of the plaster mouldings on the face of the second *pesava*. On the returned ends (only) are traces of two broad, plaster bands, or strings, the mouldings of which have been broken off; and at the height of 7 feet 8 inches above the floor of the second *pesava*, a moulded cornice of peculiar form, constructed of bricks and coated with plaster, is carried along the back of the structure and returned at the two ends. The cornice, which is very much mutilated is $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and is ornamented with a row of goose, one behind the other in a continuous line. All have their heads nestled beneath their left wings, and appear to be sleeping on the surface of water represented by a projecting fillet, on the face of which one leg of each bird is seen.

Faint traces of colour are visible, here and there, on the surface of the small portions of plaster still **in situ**, and these occur not only on the carvings and mouldings, but also on the smooth face of the architecture; showing that the whole structure was originally adorned with paintings. No idea of the stule decoration adopted can possibly be formed from the few remaining indications; but on the eastern *Vāhalkaḍa* at the Ruranveli stupa there were the remains of paintings which these may have somewhat resembled. Examples of them are given here. Later this *Vāhalkaḍa* was reconstructed and now we don't see those paintings. Painting remains of the *Vāhalkaḍas* of Jetavana stūpa were found by the archaeological team of Jetavana project several years ago and those stone slabs with the paintings remains are now in the Jetavana museum. Painting remains of the *Vāhalkaḍa* of Kanṭaka stūpa at Mihintale still can be seen. All these evidences prove that the *Vāhalkaḍas* were plated and adorned with paintings. Even the sculptures must have been plastered and painted. In this way *Vāhalkaḍas* gave more easthetic flaver to the stūpas. See PLATES XXX, XXXI.

Chandra Wickramagamage.

VAIBHĀṢIKA. Derived from the word *vibhāṣā*, an extensive commentary on canonoical Buddhist texts, used especially by Buddhists writing in the Buddhist Sanskrit language, the word Vaibhāṣika denotes an adherent of the orthodox Sarvāstivāda School based in Kashmir who derived their views mainly from the *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā* (s.v). The philosophical system of this Sarvāstivādin Buddhist School also was known by the term Vaibhāṣika. According to Charles Eliot[1] Sarvāstivāda and Vaibhāṣika were two different names for the same school and the latter was due to their identification with the commentary (*vibhāṣā*). He adds that there were two groups of Sarvāstivādins, one of Gandhāra and the other of Kashmir and the name Vaibhāṣika was applied to the latter. Dube[2], however states that the Sarvāstivādins divided themselves into two Schools as Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas, which of course is a reference to another aspect of the Sarvāstivāda history.Murti[3] comments, "The *Mahā vibhāṣā* and *Vibhāṣā* are commentaries of epic proportions on the *Jñ ānaprasthāna* (the main work in the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma Piṭaka), but incorporating matter from the other *Pādas*.... These represent the real *Śāstra* of the Ābhidharmikas and give the name to the system (Vaibhāṣika)"

Ven Dhammajoti[4] holds a similar view when he says, "Subsequent to the compilation of the *MVS* (ie the *Mahā Vibhāṣā Śāstra)* the orthodox Kashmirians who based themselves on it were known as the Vaibhāṣikas. We must bear in mind, however, that the views accepted by the Vaibhāṣikas were not necessarily proposed by themselves for the first time. Many of them must have been the achievement of the great Sarvāstivāda masters up to the time of the composition of the *MVS*. The term "Vaibhāṣika-s" eventually came to connote the orthodox Sarvāstivadins based mainly but not exclusively in Kashmir. It is important to realize that not all of them necessarily subscribed to each and every view sanctioned by the *MVS* compilers. Moreover the evolving nature of the Vaibhāṣika views must also be recognized".

Takakusu (*ERE*.II.198 b) interprets the term *vibhāṣā* as 'option' and states that the *Vibhāṣā* was so named because it contains the different opinions of the leading teachers of the school so that the reader could at his own option adopt whatever opinion he feels inclined to. He seems to fall in line with the interpretation of the term found in Ardha Magadhi,viz "relating some broad meanings out of the innumerable meanings of a sūtra" (*BHS*. s.v. *vibhāṣā*). Ven. Dhammajoti[5], in analyzing the contents of the *MVS*, however observes that since the compilation of the *Jñ ānaprasthāna Śāstra* the Kashmirian Sarvastivādins upheld its supreme authority and raised it to the status of being the Buddha's word. As time went on

they assumed the position of orthodoxy and became increasingly dogmatic and intolerant towards other views not compatible with the *JPS* system. "Partly to consolidate their position as orthodox Sarvastivadins they eventually compiled the encyclopaedic *MVS* which purports to be a commentary of the *JPS*.But in it, besides their own views, the views of the following Sarvastivada schools of thought were also cited and usually criticized and rejected, viz the Dārṣṭāntikas (later Sautrāntikas), the western masters (pascātya; also called the venerables of the west and the 'western *śramaṇas*), the foreign masters (bahirdeśaka also called 'the masters outside Kashmir and, the Gandharan masters). Even the so-called old Kashmirian masters were not spared".

Composition of the Vibhāṣās

Hsüen-tsang[6] attributes the composition of the vibhāṣas to all the three *Piṭakas* to the Arahants who participated in the Buddhist Council held in Kashmir under the patronage of the emperor Kanishka. He says that the *Upadesa Sastra* was composed to explain the *Sūtra Piṭaka*, the *Vinaya Vibhāṣā Sāstra* to explain the Vinaya Piṭaka and the *Abhidhamma Vibhāṣā* Sāstra to explain the *Abhidharma piṭaka*. Each one of them contained ten myriads of verses. After their composition Kanishka ordered them to be engraved on sheets of red copper and deposited in a *stūpa*.He also ordered yakshas to guard them and prevent them from being taken out of Kashmir so that those dwelling in the country might enjoy the fruits of their labour. This is also the assertion made by Hsüen-tsang in the epilogue to his translation of the *MVS*[7]. But neither Taranatha[8] nor Bu-ston[9] refer to the composition of the *Vibhāṣas* at this Council. But Bu-ston refers to a tradition that Arahats Śantiman, Kubjita and many others composed the *Mahāvibhāṣā* containing 100,000 ślokas in which the seven Abhidharma treatises and the *Vinaya* were summerised. He adds that according to the *Prabhāvati* it was composed by Upagupta.Showing the high esteem in which it was held Bu-ston adds that in Yasomitra's commentary it was called the commentary resembling the ocean and, that it was also sometimes referred to as the *vibhāṣā-koṣa*. Vasubandhu is said to have studied the *Vibhāṣā* with the seven Abhidharma works in Kashmir in Sanghabhadra's School[10].

The *Vibhāṣā* which is a exommentary on the Abhidharma work, the *Jñānaprasthāna* by Kātyāyanīputra, according to Takakusu must have been composed sometime after Kanishka's reign. He adds that the *Vibhāṣā* and the *Mahāvibhāṣā* were translated into Chinese in three versions in AC 383, 427 and 650 respectively. Hence he attributes the composition of the original to a date prior to the first of these translations, ie. prior to AC 383 (*ERE*. II *ibid*.) Considering the opinions of various scholars, Ven. Dhammajoti places Kātyāyanīputra, credited with the authorship of the *Jñānaprasthāna* to a date around 150 B.C. Paramartha's biography of Vasubandhu places him around the 5[th] century after the Buddha.But Ven Dhammajoti considers this to be a confounding of the date with the time of the compilation of the *MVS* which he places around the middle of the 2[nd] century A.C[11]. If so one can presume that the Kashmirian Sarvastivādins came to be designated Vaibhāṣikas after this date.

The main tenet of the Sarvāstivadins/ Vaibhāsikas was the existence of the *dharmas* in all the three periods of time,viz the past, the present and the future (s.v. Sarvāstivāda). This and the consequent ideas arising from it have been expressed in different terms by various scholars. For instance Murti[12] says that the Vaibhāṣika system is a radical pluralism erected on the denial of Substance (soul) and the acceptance of discreet momentary entities. Dharma, according to him, is the central conception in this system, as it is in the other systems of Buddhism. The 14[th] century Indian philosopher Mādhavācarya says that the Vaibhāsikas assert direct perception (*Vāhyārthapratykṣatva)* while their rival Sautrantikas assert that external objects merely exist as images and can only be inferred *(Vāhyārthānumeyatva)* (*ERE* II *ibid*).

Resume

The initial stage in the development of the Sarvāstivada philosophy is marked by the appearance of the *Jñānaprasthāna Śastra*, the principal work among the seven texts of the *Sarvastivāda Abhidharma Piṭaka*. Orthodox Kashmirian Sarvāstivadins upheld this work, attributed to the authorship of Katyāyanīputra, as the supreme authority of their Abhidharma system and gave it the status of the Buddha word itself[13]. To consolidate their positions the orthodox Kashmirian teachers compiled the *Mahā Vibhāṣā Śāstra* purported to be a commentary of the *Jñānaprasthāna*. But the controversies within the

school continued without abatement. Since the complication of the *Mahā Vibhāṣā the Kasmirian* Sarvāstivādins came to be designated as Vaibhāṣikas which marked the second phase of the Sarvāstivada/ Vaibhāṣika school. The encyclopaedic *MVS* being too unwieldy, many Sarvastivadin doctors started to compose manuals of Abhidharma to convey their doctrines in a more concise, lucid and systematic manner. Some of them, however, did not stick to the orthodox Vaibhāṣika views. Earliest of these was by one Ghosaka, whose work, the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasa-śāstra* which is said to effectively serve as an introduction to the *JPS* and the *MVS*. However, it is believed, that although it derives its material from these two works and the *Abhidharma- prakaraṇa-śāstra*, another canonical work, it is basically inclined towards the latter and the Gandhara school of Sarvastivadins[14]. This also shows that the controversies within the school continued even during this phase as well.

Towards the end of this phase appears the great philosopher Vasubandhu who is traditionally credited with the introduction of the Vaibhāsika system to the religio- philosophical arena of broader India from its almost jealously guarded position in Kashmir (see supra, Bu-ston's views). After studying the Abhidharma and the commentary under the great master Sanghabhadra in Kashmir he went back to central India and composed the *Abhidharmakoṣa* in verse and a *Bhāṣya* to elucidate the succinctly expressed views in it. But the Vaibhāṣika orthodoxy in Kashmir was not enamoured by his bias towards Sautrantika views. His teacher Sanghabhadra, therefore, composed the *Abhidharma Nyāyānusāra* vigourously criticizing Vasubandhu's views and re-establishing the Vaibhāṣika orthodox views. He also composed the *Abhidharma Samaya-pradīpikā* which contains mainly the defensive part of the *Nyāyānusāra*. Another work which presents an apologia for the Vaibhāṣikas is the *Abhidharmadipa* attributed by some to Sanghabhadra's pupil Vimalamitra, but by others to the *śāstra* master Iśvara[15]. Some scholars like Takakusu (*ERE*.II., 200) have given the appellation neo-Vaibhāṣika to writers like Vasubandhu and Sanghabhadra. But Ven. Dhammajoti thinks this a misnomer as, especially Sanghabhadra's views are identical with those in the *MVS*.

C. Witanachchi.

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VAIPULYA SŪTRA. Derived from the adjective *vipula*, meaning large, extensive, great, abundant etc. the term *Vaipulya Sūtra*, sometimes also *Mahāvaipulya Sūtra*, is used as a designation for a class of Mahāyāna texts of comparatively late origin. Possibly it was earlier used for one of the nine or twelve types of works in the Buddhist scriptures probably replacing the term *vedalla* in 'the nine types' (*navāṅga)* found in Pāli canonical writings. When applied to the said class of Mahāyāna texts, as quite clearly indicated by the name, it refers to a set of scriptures quite extensive in size, containing many developed concepts, legends and myths involving a host of Buddhas headed by Śākyamuni and bodhisattvas headed by such names as *Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara* and *Mañjuśī*. Edgerton

(*BHS* s.v. *vaipulya*) renders the term into English as (work of) 'great extent' while Burnouf has 'development'. Kalupahana1 has used the words 'great' and 'comprehensive'. Burnouf opined that the *Mahāvaipulya Sūtras* are posterior in origin to simple sūtras in general. He divides the latter into two types chronologically. In type one, incidents referred to are placed contemporaneous with the Buddha while in type two such events are of a much later date, as eg.the time of emperor Aśoka. *Mahāvaipulya Sūtras* are even later than the second type, but yet they also contain material taken from older texts[2]. But this Burnouf's idea of simple *sūtras* in opposition to the *vaipulya* or developed *sūtras* is not acceptable to all scholars. For instance Max Muller says that this is not recognized by Buddhists, nor is there even a special name known to him for these simple *sūras*. He grants that there is a difference between the Vaipulya Sūtras and some others translated by Burnouf. He thinks that Burnouf's view, that in the *Vaipulya Sūtras* there are necessarily Bodhisattvas as followers of the Buddha Śākyamuni, is no longer tenable, unless the short *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* is classed as a *Vaipulya Sūtra*. In it, says Max Muller, Bodhisattvas constitute a considerable portion among the followers of Śakyamuni Buddha. But this *sūtra*, though a *Mahāyāna sūtra*, is not called a Vaipulya *Sūtra*. Burnouf also looks upon the Buddha Amitābha as another personage peculiar to Vaipulya *Sūtras*. Yet he is also the Buddha glorified in the shorter *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* as well although he is called here Amitāyus and not Amitābha[3]. Undoubtedly he is the the same as the Buddha Amitābha of the longer *sūtra* and presides over the Western Paradise, the Sukhāvatī world.

Macdonell (*ERE*. VIII.p.880) states that Mahāyāna, not representing a homogenious sect, does not possess a canon of its own. But there are nine *dharmas* or religious texts, which, composed at different times and belonging to different sects, are also called *Vaipulya Sūtras*. The most important of these, as also recognized by other scholars, is the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra*, the most characteristic work of the Mahāyāna school. Its original form, according to Macdonall, perhaps dates from 200 A.C. Among the other texts of this category are the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* extolling devotion to *Avalokitśvara*, the *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* mentioned above, the *Gandavyūha Sūtra* which gives prominence to Bodhisattva *Mañjuśrī*, the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmiśvara* (or the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra)*, the *Samādhirāja Sūtra*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* and the *Lalitavistara*, which last like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, calls itself a *Mahāvaipulya Sūtrānta* (*Lal*.p.316). The nine dharmas referred to by Macdonell here should be those recognized as such in Nepa[4]. Kern (*SBE* XXI p.ix) gives a slightly different list of the nine dharmas, viz. 1.*Ashtasahasrikā prajñā pāramitā*; 2. *Gaṇḍavyūha*; 3. *Dasbhūmīśvara*; 4.*Samādhirāja*; 5. *Lankāvatāra*; 6. *Saddharma-Puṇḍarika*; 7. *Tathāgata-guyhaka*; 8. *Lalitavistara*; *Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa*. In the opinion of Edward Conze[5] the Mahāyāna Sūtras comprise two categories, viz. (a) the early seminal *sūtras* and (b) the later expanded (*vaipulya*) *sūtras*.

The seminal *sūtras* are very brief and rarely exist separately. They are usually found embedded in the later expanded *sūras*. Unfortunately he has cited no examples to prove his theory. There is also a Mahāyāna tradition which divides the Buddha's life into four sectors devoted to preaching by him of a particular class of his teachings. Accordingly the first twelve years of his life, called the *Āgama* period, was devoted to the teaching of *Hinayāna*. In the second eight years, called the *Vaipulya* period, he taught a mixed doctrine of *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*6. This analysis does not classify the *Vaipulya Sūtras* as the most essential teachings of the Buddha. Above them are placed teachings on wisdom and the absolute in the Thathāgata store.

Kalupahana[7], as many others, regards the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra* as the first major text that claims to be a part of the *vaipulya* tradition. It represents, according to him, the culmination of the transcendentalism (*lokottaravāda)* known to the Pāli *Kathāvatthu*. By the time this work came to be finalized, says he, even some of the texts like the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* belonging to the *Sarvāstivādins* (but the latter text is usually regarded as the *vinaya* of the *Lokottaravāda* school of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*[8]), but emphasizing the transcendence of the Buddha, were included under the category of the *Vaipulya Sūtras*. He[9] also calls the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* one of the most important texts of the so-called *Mahāyāna* being included in the category called the *Vaipulya Sūtras*.

The importance given to *Vaipulya Sūtras* has been enhanced by some of the Mahāyāna texts themselves which speak of the good consequences of reading, studying, remembering etc. of these *sutras* and also not speaking ill of them. This undoubtedly was a

strategy adopted by Mahāyānists, who were late comers to the field of Buddhism, to popularize their own brand of Buddhism and guard them against the criticism of the more orthodox schools of Buddhism. According to the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* there are three classes of beings born in *Sukhāvati* world. Of these the second class is those who study and recite the *sūtras* of the *Mahāyāna* doctrine for instance the *Vaipulya Sūtras* (Nanjio B. nos.23,24-28 and many others)[10]. Those beings who will be reborn in the middle form of the highest grade are those who do not necessarily learn, study or recite those *Vaipulya Sūtras*, but fully understand the meaning of the truth (contained in them), and having a firm grasp of the highest truth, do not speak evil of the Mahāyāna doctrine but deeply believe in the principle of cause and effect etc[11]. Then there is the one who commits many evil deeds, though he be a very stupid person not ashamed of or sorry for the evil deeds committed and, if he, at his dying moments, meets a learned teacher who would recite and laud the headings and titles of the twelve divisions of the *Mahāyāna* scriptures, he could be freed from the greatest sins and be reborn in the highest form of the lowest grade in the *Sukhāvatī* world[12].

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VAIROCANA : Derived probably from *vi-rocana*, meaning ' shining upon, brightening, illuminating and, the proper noun Vairocana, the sun or the god of the Sun (also applied to Vishnu), Vairocana can be taken to mean 'from or belonging to the Sun, son of the Sun, son of Vishnu' or the son of any person named Vairocana etc. Several legendary or mythical personages by the name Vairocana are known in Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit literature. For instance, a son of the Asura king Bali by the name Vairocana is known in Sanskrit. In the *Mahāvastu* (1.59) is mentioned a universal monarch named Vairocana who was a former life of the Bodhisattva Maitreya. In the *Vairocanābhisambodhi-tantra* is recorded a great deity by the same name, who conferred the *vajrābhiseka* to Siddhārtha and who created, through meditation, *vajra bodhisattvas* of many kindfs (*ERE*.1.990). The Pāli form *verocana* is found used in the *Samyukta Nikāya* (1.51) in a description of the Sun deity Suriya. Here the Sun deity is called the "Orbed shining one of fiery heat" (*Verocano maṇḍalī uggatejo*). The same source (225*f*.) also names an Asura king called Verocana who visited the Buddha along with Sakka. But Vairocana is best known in later Mahāyāna Buddhism as one of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, also called simply Jinas. It is this Buddha Vairocana we are concerned with here.

It is difficult to say when the conception of the group of five Dhyānī Buddhas originated, says Charles Eliot[1]. They are known in Japan but especially worshipped in Nepal, Tibet and Jāvā with Vairocana taking the principal position while each of the other four is assigned to a point in the compass. Eliot also point to a certain similarity between the concept of this pentad of Buddhas and the worship in Hinduism of Śiva and Vishnu, each represented by five forms. He also points to the worship of a group of five deities by Manicheans, which may be, according to him, influenced by Buddhism. In Japan the group of five Buddhas is named Go-chi-nyorai.

Vairocana is an important figure in Far- Eastern Buddhism as well as in Tibet, Nepal and Jāvā. There is a tendancy to postulate him as the Ādi- Buddha (s.v.), the primal spiritual essence as conceived in some Mantrayāna sects. In the Ādi- Buddha system of Nepal Vairocana is one of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, created by him by five acts of contemplative power. By the twofold power of knowledge and contemplation, to which they owe their existence, they give birth to Bodhisattvas of contemplation

(*dhyāna*). Samantabhadra is the Bodhisattva thus created by Vairocana. They are the actual creators of the universe which are destroyed periodically and newly re-created by the Bodhisattva of that particular age. At present we are in the fourth universe thus created by Avalokiteśvara who has the Buddha Śakyamuni as his instructor human Buddha (mānusī Buddha). The Buddha Krakusanda was the human Buddha of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra created by Vairocana (*ERE*.1.94 b.). When the Ādi- Buddha concept appeared in Nepal, Vairocana was set up as the Ādi- Buddha by Mantrayānists. But he was, before that, worshipped as the first of the Dhyāni Buddhas of the actual universe and is best known under that name[2].

In Japan, Vairocana is the principal object of worship in the Mantrayānist Shingon sect and was, at an early period, identified with the Sun Godess. Represented by the gigantic Buddha statue at Nārā, he was well known in Japan, but was never so popular as the Buddha Amida. A pantheistic and philosophic concept, rather than a saviour like Amida, the doctrines concerning him are very abstruse. While pointing to the possibility of an Iranian origin of Vairocana, outside India, Eliot[3] also refers to numerous Indian solar deities from Vedic times that could have influenced the origin of his conception.

It is difficult to trace the origin of Vairocana in Sanskrit literature and, his images are also very rare and not early. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (*Sdmp*.p.252 etc) sometimes refers to a Buddha world named Vairocana-raśmipratimaṇḍita, 'Embelished by the rays of the Sun'.But the main scripture referring to him is the Avataṃsaka Sūtra (Chinese Hua-yen; Jap.Kegon) which has been identified by some scholars with the *Gandha-vyūha* or, may be, the latter is merely a portion of it. There are a number of whole or partial Chinese translations of this text with at least three main ones. The earliest, dated between 317-421 A.C, is in sixty volumes. The second, of eighty volumes, is dated between 395-9 A.C. and the third, in forty volumes, is dated between 796-8 A.C. Whole or partial translations of this text form one whole section of the Chinese Tripitaka.

Vairocana and the Yoga System

Although the Tibetan Mahayanists do not contribute to this view, the Chinese and the Japanese Buddhists of the Yogācarya school associate the founding of the *yoga* system with Vairocana. They claim that Vairocana transmitted the *yoga* doctrine directly to the Hindu sage Vajrasattva— apparently a supernatural personage according to Eliot[4]— who is believed to have lived in an iron tower in South India. Nāgarjuna is said to have visited him and learnt from him the doctrine of the Maṇḍala of the Two Parts (ie.the Vajradhātu and the Garbhadhātu) which he transmitted to Nāgabodhi, his disciple. It was from him that Vajrabodhi learnt it and, in his turn, taught it to his disciple Amoghavajra. These two, the teacher and pupil, introduced it to China, in 720 A.C., where Hui-kuo, a disciple of Amoghavajra, spread it in all parts of the country. Towards the end of the 8th century, Kukai (Kobo Daishi) introduced it to Japan and founded the Shingon sect.

In mid -4th century A.C. Asanga, believed to have been inspired by the Bodhisattva Maitreya, grafted the Yogacarya school on to Mahāyāna. It is claimed that by means of *tantra*, *dhāranī* and *mantra*, recited to the accompaniment of music and *mudrās*, one can reach mental fixity, characterized by neither the presence nor the absence of thought, and the presence of the sixfold bodily and mental happiness (*yoga*) resulting in miracle making power.

The fundamental principle of the *yoga* system is the ecstatic union of the individual with the universal spirit. In Japan, Vairocana is looked upon as the highest vehicle of this mystic union which is called the 'action of Dai-nichi Nyorai. The *mudrā* of Vairocana is said to express this union. As the Dhyāni Buddha, Vairocana has the *dharma-cakra mudrā* which is called *thaldong- shesrab*, ' the union of Wisdom and Matter, by the Tibetans. As the Ādi- Buddha he presents ' the *Mudrā* of the Six Elements' which expresses the same principle. Though rare in Tibet, it is commonly found in Japan. In this *mudrā* the index finger of the left hand is shown to be clasped by the five fingers of the right hand, with the six fingers indicating the six elements, which, when united, express 'the sixfold bodily and mental happiness'. In this union the five fingers of the right hand represent the five material elements, while the index fingure of the left hand represents the flame, symbolic of the Ādi- Buddha, for the sixth element, the mind, is a particle of his essence. In Nepal and Tibet the union of the spiritual and the material is expressed by the divinity and his *śakti* — in this case the Vajradhātvīvarī — positioned in the *yab-yum* (s.v.) attitude. In it the *yab* represents

the *vajradhātu* while the *yum* (ie.the *śakti)* represents the *garbhadhātu*. But in the Far East Buddhists never adopted this form of expression so common in Tibet and Nepal[5].

Kakuhan (Kokyo Daishi), who founded a new branch of the Shingon sect, identified Varocana with the Buddha Amida .Since the whole world is believed to be a manisfestation of Vairocana, we are already in Amida's paradise and, we have only to realize it in order to know that we are saved[6]. The Tendai sect recognized Vairocana to be the Dharmakāya and Shaka (Śakyamuni) to be the Nirmānakāya. Shaka is regarded as only a different aspect of Vairocana. The conciliatory attitude of the Tendai sect towards the Shingon also helped to popularize the worship of Vairocana[7]. In the Javanese *Kuñjarakarṇa* Vairocana is not only the *primus inter pares* but he is the Supreme Lord to whom other Jinas give heed. He teaches a doctrine of 'identity', ' I am you, you are I ', Only a few monks attain emancipation because they refuse to recognise Buddha, ie Vairocana, as indentical with Śiva' (*ERE*.1.99 a)

Vairocana in Shingon Funeral Ceremonies

In Japan, the Shingon sect associates Vairocana with their funeral ceremonies. Before the dead body is removed to the temple, it is placed before a temporary altar in the house, on which stand the thirteen Buddhas reverenced by the Shingon. This thirteen include Vairocana, his eleven disciples and his manifestation, Fudo, who are looked upon as guardians of the spirits of the dead. This funeral ritual indicates that, the Shingon worship Vairocana in his manifestations as the Supreme Buddha, Dhyānī Buddha and Fudo, the form he takes to combat evil, with the flames about him symbolizing the destruction of evil. The Kegon sect worships a triad of Vairocana with Fugen (Samantabhadra) and Monju (Mañjuśrī)[8].

Vairocana in Sculpture and Painting

As indicated above, statues of Vairocana as Ādi Buddha or Dhyānī Buddha are extremely rare in Nepal and Tibet while he is frequently found, both in sculpture and paintings, in Japan. In Tibet, as Ādi Buddha, he is always represented as a Bodhisattva, seated cross-legged, with the hands in the *mudrā* of the Six Elements, or else, he may be represented with his special symbol, the wheel, balanced in his hands, which show the *dhyāna mudrā*. As Dhyānī Buddha he is shown, in Tibet, wearing the monastic garb with short curly hair, *ushnīśa*, *ūrṇa* on the forehead, and long lobed ears. When accompanied by his *śakti*, he is dressed as a Bodhisattva and holds a wheel and a bell. The *śakti* is represented as encircling his body with her legs and holds a skull cup and a knife or a wheel. When painted, Vairocana is white and, seated on a blue lotus when accompanied by *śakti*.

The goddess *Uṣṇīṣavijayā* holds in her hands, lying in *dhyāna mudrā*, a vase, believed to contain a particle of the essence of Vairocana, symbolizing the spiritual enveloped by the material, or the two parts, Vajradhātu and the Garbhadhātu.

In Japan Vairocana is represented wearing the high head –dress of a Japanese Bodhisattva but, nevertheless, in monastic garb with the right shoulder bear. He wears no ornaments and the hands show the *mudrā* of the- Six Elements. The polar star is worshipped in Japan under the form of Dai-nichi Nyorai. He is painted white and is clothed in white and seated on a white lotus. He wears an ornate crown and the hands held in *dhyāna mudrā* have the tips of the thumbs touching each other[9].

Sum up of some details[10]:

Name: Tibetan :
Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdsad or rnam-snaṅ
(Maker of Brilliant Light).
Mongolian : Masi-geigülün joqiaqci (Maker of perfect Light)
Chinese :P'a-lu-che-na
Japanese : Dai-nichi Nyorai- (Great Sun) or Roshana

Symbol : cakra (wheel)
Colour : white
Vāhana : lion
Śakti : Vajradhātīśvarī (white)
Support : blue lotus

As Ādi – Buddha
Element : ether
Mystic *mudrā* of the Six Elements (earth, water, fire, air, ether and wisdom).
Vairocana
As Dhyāni- Buddha

Dhyāni Buddha :
Dhyāni Bodhisattva : Samantabhadra *Mudrā* : *dharmacakra* (teaching) Mānushi Buddha: Krakusanda

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VAIŚĀKA See **VESAK**

VAIŚĀLI See **VESĀLI**

VAIŚĀRADYA See **VESĀRAJJA**

VAITULYA SŪTRA See **VAIPULYA SŪTRA**

VAITULYAVĀDA : A term used in certain Sri Lankan Siṃhala historical writings, with its Pāli equivalent Vetullavāda or Vetulyavāda in the Sri Lankan Pāli chronicles and commentaries, to designate certain non-Theravāda doctrinal texts identified by some scholars as a reference to Mahāyāna wrintings. Senarath Paranavitāna and Kern, for instance, identify Vaitulya teachings with Mahāyāna and observe that there is hardly any reason to question this identification[1]. This identification seems to have the approval of the great philosopher monk, Asanga who takes the three terms *vaipulya*, *vaitulya* and *vaidalya* as synonyms and defines *vaipulya* as the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka*[2]. It is significant in this respect that the Siṃhala work *Nikāyasangraha*[3] uses the term *Vaitulyapiṭaka* in describing the Vaitulya texts introduced to Sri Lankan monks, in the 3[rd] century A.C, as words of the Buddha. Walpola Rahula4 is of opinion that the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the Sri Lankan Pali chronicle, did not have any particular Mahāyāna school in view when he used the term vetulla, but used it to describe any sect of Mahāyānism that presented views and interpretations not acceptable to the monks of the Mahāvihāra of Sri Lanka.

Various references to the terms *vaitulya* and *vaipulya* used in Sanskrit works of Northern Buddhists are attested. For instance Edgerton (*BHS*. s.v. *vaitulya*) quotes the statement *sarvamahāyāna-sūtra vaitulya parmāmṛta*. The neo- Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharmadīpa* refers to the Sautrantikas as those who have reached the portals of Vaitulyaśāstra[5]. The *Sikśāsamuccaya* also has *nāhaṃ vaitulya- śikṣitaḥ* (*Śiks*,354.6).

Vaitulya Views in the Kathāvatthu?

Referring to a few controversial views criticized in the 3[rd] century B.C. *Kathāvatthu*, its commentary states that they are at present (*etarahi*) held by the Vetullakas also known as the Mahāsuññatāvādins[6]. W. Rahula[7] says it is not certain whether the Vetullas who came to Sri Lanka in the 3[rd] century A.C. actually held these views. Kalupahana[8] thinks that the term may not have been in use at the time the *Kathāvatthu* was compiled, but the *Kathāvatthu* commentary has identified the transcendalist views criticized in the *Kathāvatthu* as that used by the Vaitulyavādins. Dube[9], discussing the view that the Vetulyakas cannot be Pre- Christian, says that the proto- Mahāyāna tenets of the Vetulyakas are nothing but the postulations of such schools as the Mahāsaṅghika Lokottaravādins about the supernatural (*lokottara)* aspects of the Buddha. He further says, that, if the evolution of the Mahāyāna proper is placed in the 1[st] century B.C., there is no reason why their essentials should not have arisen by the 3[rd] cent.B.C, ie.the time of the compilation of the *Kathāvatthu*. However, even if these views were present at the time of the compilation of the *Kathāvatthu*, they would have received the Vaitulya label only several centuries later. What the commentator actually says is that they were held by the Vetullakas at his time (*etarahi* = at present).

Vaitulyavāda in Sri Lankan Buddhist History

Vaitulya or Vetullavāda is first mentioned in the reign of king Voharika Tissa (269-291 A.C.). This king is said to have suppressed Vetullavāda and, keeping the heretics (lit.evil ones) in check by his minister Kapila, made the religion *(sāsana)* to shine. (*Mhv.* xxx vi.41). This brief statement in the Great Chronicle is elaborated in the Siṃhala work, the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*[10] according to which the Dharmarucis of the Abhayagiri monastery presented the *Vaitulya-Piṭaka* as the Buddha word. The *Vaitulya-Piṭaka*, says this work, was produced by a set of Vaitulya brahamins who entered the Sangha, disguised as monks, in the reign of King Dharmaśoka to ruin Buddhism.

Attributing the *Vaitulya-Piṭaka* to a set of brahamins shows, says Walpola Rahula[11], that these texts were in the Sanskrit language. Monks of the *Theriya* sect compared the newly introduced texts with the *Dharma* and *Vinaya* and, finding they do not tally, rejected it as *non-dharma*. Hearing this the king got a minister named Kapila, versed in all branches of knowledge, to examine it and finding it to be not the word of the Buddha, he got the texts consigned to the fire and, condemning the monks who accepted it, glorified the religion. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (xxii.41-42) uses the term vitaiṇḍavāda, which may be rendered sophistry, to designate the heretical doctrines suppressed by Voharika Tissa. The use of this term by the older chronicle shows that the term Vetullavāda was introduced into the picture after the compilation of the *Dīpavaṃsa*. It is, however, found occasionally used in the Pāli commentaries. But none of these works, chronicles or commentaries, help us to find the actual contents of these texts rejected by the Theriya monks.

It is significant that all attempts of introducing *Vaitulyavāda* to Sri Lanka coincided with periods of intense Mahāyāna activity in India[12]. The first appearance of Vaitulyavāda in this country in the reign of Vohārika Tissa took place after the tremendous activities of Nāgārjuna., the great Mahāyāna Buddhist philosopher whose name is closely linked with the concept of 'void' (*śūnyatā)*. It is noteworthy in this respect that the *Kathāvatthu* commentaror calls the *Vetulyakas Mahāsuññatāvādins*. One of the foremost pupils of Nāgārjuna was Aryadeva, also sometimes called the *Deva Bodhisattva*. He is said to have come to Nagarjuna from the Island of the Siṃhalas ie. Sri Lanka[13]. A Buddhist monk answering to the name Deva is actually mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as having received the patronage of king Voharika Tissa. Pleased with a sermon delivered by this Elder the king honoured him by restoring five buildings for him *(Mhv.*xxxvi.29). According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (xxii.41) the king listened to a sermon on the sick (*Gilāna-suttanta)* delivered by this Elder, gave medicines to the sick and five most excellent dwellings to the Elder. Some have tried to identify this Elder Deva with the Deva Bodhisattva.

The second attempt to introduce Vaitulyavāda to Sri Lanka which took place in the reign of king Goṭhābhaya (309-322 A.C.)— Goḷubā of the Nikāya Sangraha— led to more drastic consequences. "Purifying the religion by censuring the evil ones", says the *Mahāvaṃsa* (xxxvii.111*f*), "he seized monks, sixty in number, dwelling in the Abhayagiri vihāra, who had turned to the Vetulya doctrine and become a thorn in the doctrine of the Buddha, condemned them and banished them to the further shore". The *Nikāya Saṅgraha*[14] adds that the king assembled the monks of the five great monasteries— of the Mahāvihāra—questioned them on the newly introduced doctrines and, finding them not the Buddha word, selected sixty of those who had accepted them, branded them and exiled them. He got down the Vaitulya texts, consigned them to the fire and glorified the religion.

A Cholian Buddhist monk named Sanghamitra, who had befriended some of the exiled Sri Lankan monks, was enraged at the plight of these Vaitulya adherents, vowing either to make the Mahāvihāra monks to accept Vaitulya doctrines or, failing, to destroy the Mahāvihāra, crossed over to Sri Lanka. Once here, by cunning, he won the heart of the king and became the teacher of his two sons of whom the younger Mahasen became his favourite. When the elder prince succeeded his farther, Sanghamitra went back to India only to return with the accession of his favourite pupil Mahasen (334-362 A.C.) failing to win over the monks of the Mahāvihāra to vaitulyavāda he got the king to prohibit alms to them who were labelled as indisciplined. Failing to obtain alms from the people for three days, monks belonging to Mahāvihāra fraternity abandoned their monasteries in the capital city and took refuge in the Central Hills and Rohana in the South, for they did not wish to accept heretical doctrines to save their lives. When a number of monasteries of the Mahāvihāra were deserted for a time, Sangrhamitra, with the able assistance of the minister named Sona, his ally, got nearly three hundred and sixty four monastic buildings including the famous Lohāpasāda demolished and use the building materials to strengthen the monastic complexes of the Abhayagiri Vihāra.

But king Mahasen, Sanghamitra and his allies had soon to reap the evil coseqences of their actions against the Mahāvihāra, whose adherents rose up against their diabolical actions. One of the king's closest friends, the minister Meghavannābhaya, rose up in rebellion, fled to the hills, raised an army and marched against the king. But hours before the two armies met in confrontation, the friendship between the king and

the minister got the better of it. They met in secret pow-wow to thrash out their differences. The minister was able to convince the king of the wrong steps taken by him and extract a promise to restore the Mahāvihāra, thus saving the oldest Buddhist establishement of Sri Lanka from going to oblivion. In the turmoil that ensued both Sanghamitra and his ally Sona lost their lives. Thus ended the worst attempt to establish Vaitulyavāda in Sri Lanka with victory for the older Theriya tradition[15] *(Mhv. xxxvii.1ff.)*

But not all Abhayagiri monks were ready to follow the attractions of the Vaitulya doctrines. A monk named Ussiliyātissa of this monastery, knowing the consequence that the earlier acceptors of these doctrines had to face, left the Abhayagiri Vihāra with a following of three hundred and went over to live at the Dakkhinagiri Vihāra (Dakunugirivehera of the *Nikāyasanghraha*). Later they formed the Sāgaliya fraternity which had the Jetavana monastery built by king Mahasen as their centre[16].

Commenting on the introduction of Vaitulyavāda in the reign of Goṭhābhaya, Walpola Rahula says that it was the period in which the Yogacāra school of Asanga and Vasubandhu became powerful in India and mystic and magical practices began to be introduced into the Buddhist system[17]. It is significant in this respect that the monk Sanghamitra is also called an expert in exorcism etc (*bhūtavijjādikovido Mhv.* xxxvi.113)

The connection of Yogācāra idealism with the attempted introduction of Vaitulyavāda to this country is also brought up by Kalupahana[18]. Discussing the place occupied by the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* in the history of Buddhist Philosophy, Kalupahana ventures to suggest what appears to be an unorthodox idea in the eyes of Mahāyāna scholars, that this *Sūtra*, compiled in the 4th cent. A.C., was brought out with the purpose of converting Sri Lanka to Mahāyāna. This *Sūtra*, the name of which means 'Descent into Lanka' or 'Entry to Lanka' is said to have been preached by the Buddha to the mythical Rākṣasa king Ravana of the Island of Lanka when the Buddha came there on his invitation. What is more important in Kalupahana's speculations is the eighth chapter of the *Sūtra* on 'meat eating' (*māṃsabhakṣaṇa*), which appears to be a variant version of the myth of the origin of the Siṃhala race from what is given in the Sri Lankan Theravāda tradition. This story in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* refers to a king who was united with a lioness in the forest which gave birth to children who came to be called Spotted- feet (Kalmāṣapāda). On account of their evil habit-energy when their food had been flesh, they ate meat even after becoming king. Kalupahana thinks this to be an allusion to the Siṃhala race, who according to the above mentioned origin myth, descend from a male and female born of a union between a human princess and a lion. Since the custodians of the Mahāvihāra tradition of Sri Lanka belonged to this 'Lion Race' the chapter on meat eating in the Sūtra is a condemnation of their tradition, which unlike Mahāyānists, were liberal enough to allow meat eating in their tradition. Kalupahana also points out that the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* of Asaṅga composed before the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, dealing with almost the same subject matter, is a much better and systematic work than the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, an unsystematic and haphazardly got up work composed in a hurry. Therefore, thinks kalupahana, this work must have been worked out with the sole purpose of converting Sri Lanka to Mahāyāna. If his argument is valid, kalupahana speculates that Sanghamitra, who came to Sri Lanka vowing to convert Mahāvihāra monks to Vaitulyavāda, must have been armed with this *Sūtra*. However it has to be noted that when Sanghamitra portrayed the Mahāvihāra monks as indiscipline, flesh-eating, is not given as one of their offences. (*Mhv.*xxxvii.4-5; *Dpv* 22.71-74, *MhvA*.II.676f.)

Another attempt at introducing Vaitulyavāda to the country took place in the reign of king Silākāla (524-537 A.C.), a former monk, who was also known as Ambasāmaṇera in Pāli and Ambaherana Salamevan in Siṃhala. He had been in India as a layman and was ordained a monk at Buddhagaya during his sojourn there. Possibly he had come in contact with Mahāyāna during his stay in India. During his reign a young merchant named Pūrṇa who went on business to Kasi (Benares) returned with a book, claiming to contain the teachings of the Buddha, which he presented to the king calling it *Dharmadhātu*. The king, who accepted it as genuine *dharma*, housed it with honour near the palace and ordered it to be taken to the Jetavana Vihāra for ritualistic worship. This was later made into an annual festival. However the Sāgaliya monks who had a history of anti-*vaitulya* views were at first loth to participate in these rituals. But, it is said, they were persuaded by Abhayagiri monks to honour the *Dharmadhātu*. Yet the Mahāvihāra monks and some of the Anurādhapura citizens dissociated themselves

from these rituals[19]. (*Mhv*.XLI.37-40). Yet the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*[20] avers that Vaitulyavāda which was suppressed several times by pious kings, prevailed among the foolish people of this country from the time of king Silākāla. This assertion shows that the influence of Vaitulyavāda or Mahāyāna could not be completely irradiated from this country for a long time. Evidence for the presence of Mahāyāna beliefs and worship in Sri Lanka have been discovered from many parts of Sri Lanka including the Rohana principality in the South. One of the tallest, if not the tallest, freestanding statues of the Bodhisatrva Avalokiteśvara has been discovered from this region. One of the strongest Theravāda centres of the South Western Sri Lanka, Toṭagamu Vihāra, was also a centre of the worship of this Bodhisattva. Even today Avalokiteśvara, in the form of god Nātha is worshipped in a temple dedicated to him in Kandy in Central Sri Lanka. He is one of the four guardian deities honoured in the annual *perahara* ritual dedicated to the tooth relic of the Buddha. According to the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*[21] Parakramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.) credited with the unification of the three sects, is said to have disrobed many impure monks belonging to the *Dharmaruci*, *Sāgaliya* and *Vaitulyavāda* sects. Since, by this unification, all sects were brought into the ambit of the Mahāvihāra, it is possible that Vaitulyavāda lost whatever strength it commanded during the Anurudhapura period giving complete success to the Theiya tradition.

An important event in the history of *Vaitulyavāda* in Sri Lanka took place in the reign of Aggabodhi I (569-601 A.C) according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XLII.35), but somewhat before that, in the reign of Silākāla, mentioned above, according to the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*[22]. A great Elder named Jotipāla, who came from India, challenged the Vaitulyavādins to a public debate and defeated them in controversy. The latter text states that this Elder made it so that Vaitulyavāda did not prevail in the country during the period. Showing that there were strong supporters of Vaitulyavāda, a high dignitary named Dāṭhāpabhuti, smarting under the defeat, raised his hand in anger to strike the Elder. But the king was highly pleased with him and assigned to him a dwelling in the same *Vihāra* and put him under the protection of his nephew, also named Aggabodhi. Commenting on the work of Jotipāla, Walpola Rāhula[23] notes that this was the period of the great Indian Buddhist logicians, Dinnāga and Dharmakirti, when much importance was given in India to the study of logic and public disputation on religious topics. It would not have been difficult for Jotipāla hailing from India, and probably in touch with the latest theories of Buddhist thought, to have defeated the Sri Lankan adherents of Vaitulyavāda.

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VAJIRABUDDHIṬĪKĀ: *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* is the oldest *ṭīkā* among the *vinaya ṭīkās*, and written to explain difficult areas of the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *vinya* commentary of Buddhaghosa. Since it is written by a Thera named Vajirabuddhi it is called *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*. It is also called *Vinayagandhi* or *Vinayaganthi*. *Sāratthadīpanī* another *ṭīkā* written for the *Samantapāsādikā* by Sāriputta Saṅgharāja of

Polonnaruwa has criticized certain views contained in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*. Hence it is clear that the *Vajirabudhiṭīkā* has been written prior to the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The *Sāratthadīpanī* is supposed to have been written soon after the convocation held under the patronage of King Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186). Therefore it is possible to assign the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* to a date in the latter part of the eleventh century or early part of the twelfth century. In other words it would have been written in the late Anuradhapura period or early Polonnaruwa period.

Nothing much is known about Vajrabuddhi Thera. No doubt, he would have been an authority on *vinaya*. It is not clear whether he was from Lanka or from Jambudipa. Burmese *Gandhavaṃsa* makes reference to two Vajirabuddhi Theras i.e. Mahā Vajirabuddhi and Culla Vajrabuddhi. The *Gandhavaṃsa* further says that Mahā Vajirabuddhi composed a treatise (*pakaraṇa*) called *Vinayagandhi* (*Mahā Vajirabuddhi nāma ācariyo vinaya ganthi nāma pakaraṇa akāsi Gandhavaṃsa* p. 60) apparently referring to the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*. It is important that the *Gandhavaṃsa* has identified both Mahā and Culla theras as natives of Jambudipa (*Gandhavaṃsa* p. 75).

In the meantime Mabel Bode, while identifying Mahāvajirabuddhi Thera as the author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*, calls him "Mahā Vajirabuddhi of Ceylon" (*Pali Literature of Burma*, Mabel Bode p. 46). Moreover she states that Mahāvajrabuddhi Thera was a contemporary of King Dhammaceti (1460-1491) of Burma and the author Mahāvajrabuddhi sent a copy of the work (*Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*) to King Dhammaceti (ibid. p. 40). A contradiction is seen regarding this statement. As already discussed the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* is referred to in the *Sāratthadīpanī* written during the reign of King Parakramabahu I (1153-86). The author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* cannot be a contemporary of the Burmese King Dhammaceti of the 15th century. The fact that the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* was written prior to the reign of king Parakramabahu (1153-1186) is not disputed. There appear to be a confusion in the present context.

It is important that the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* is reported to have been included among the standard authoritative *vinaya* texts in the Kalyani inscriptions of King Dhammaceti at Zaingganaing near Pegu, Burma (*Pali Literature of Ceylon* – Malalasekera p. 257-8). *Cullaganthipada*, a non extant *Vinaya* gloss is said to have included references to the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* along with the other *Vinaya* texts such as the *Sāratthadīpanī* and the *Vimativinodanī* (Mabel Bode, ibid. p. 76).

The *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* is not yet available either in the Roman script or in Sinhala script. But according to the catalogue of ola leaf manuscripts of Sri Lanka there are 14 manuscripts of *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* in the temple libraries. However it is reported that it is printed in the Burmese script in Burma.

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VAJRACCHEDIKĀ PRAJÑĀ PĀRAMITĀ
See **PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ**

VAJRAPĀṆI : Mahāyāna/ Tantrayāna Bodhisattva, possibly evolved out of the Yakkha Vajirapāṇi, referred to sometimes in early Buddhist literature, both Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit, who in turn may have originated from the Vedic god Indra or Śakra (Pāli-*Sakko Devānaṃ Indo*), the wielder of the diamond thunderbolt (*vajira/ vajra*), also the god of rain and thunder. Sakka is also, at least once , referred to as Vajirahattha, Bearer of the Vajra, the subduer of Asuras (*D*.II.259). Twice in Pāli discourses (*D*.I.95, *M*.I. 231) the yakkha Vajirapāṇi is figured as coming to the assistance of the Buddha to force a person, with whom he was in discussion to answer a reasonable question put to him by the Buddha and thus save him from certain destruction. They were already warned that refusal to answer a reasonable question (*sahadhammikaṃ pañhaṃ*) put to them by the Buddha up to three times would result in splitting their heads into seven. Both had already twice passed on the Buddha's question without an answer when Vajirapāṇi appeared above them in the sky before they could remain silent to the third time inviting self- destruction. In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* Vajirapāṇi appeared above Ambaṭṭha with a burning iron hammer and, in the *Cūla Saccaka Sutta*, above Saccaka with a burning iron thunderbolt, to terrify them to answer the question put to them by the Buddha. The commentator in both instances (*DA*.1.264, *MA*.II.277*f*.) identifies the yakkha Vajirapāṇi with Sakka, the king of gods, who is called Vajirapāṇi because he carries a *vajira* in hand. In order to make him get rid of the wrong view he stood there assuming a hideous form with a large head with tusks like knobs of a *kandala* plant and terrifying

eyes and nose. Grünwedel also identifies Vajrapāṇi with Śakra[1].

The name Vajrapāṇi occurs also in Buddhist Sanskrit sources. The *Divyāvadāna* (p.129), for instance, states that Vajrapāṇi, out of compassion for a large number of people entrapped within a wall, struck it with the *vajra* to break open an exit for them (s.v. Vajrapāṇi *BHS.* for this and other instances). According to the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (GM.III.xvii;[2]) Vajrapāṇi is said to have accompanied the Buddha on the latter's visit to Kashmir and the Uttarapatha. In the Mahāvastu (I.216) the Buddha is said to have once assumed the form of Vajrapāṇi. According to Hsüen Tsang, the Shakya Tathāgata once came to Udayana (U-chang-na) with Vajrapāṇi to subdue the evil Nāga Apalāla. There the Tathāgata beat the side of the mountain where the Nāga lived with the mace of the spirit Vajrapāni. Then the terrified Nāga came out of its lair and paid reverence to the Buddha[3]. It is also said that when the Nāgas were listening to the Buddha's sermons, Vajrapāṇi, on the instructions of the Buddha, guarded them from *garuḍas,* their mortal enemies. To deceive the *garuḍas* he is said to have assumed the form of a *garuḍa* bird with the head, wings and claws of a *garuda.* At the Buddha's passing away Vajrapāni is said to have thrown away his diamond scepter and rolled in the dust out of grief. He is always represented in red colour in Japanese paintings of the scene of the Buddha's demise[3]. Showing the connection of Vajrapāṇi with rain, hence through it with the Vedic god *Indra,* Northern Buddhists appeal to him when in need of rain or when it is too abundant[4].

Vajrapāni in Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna is both the ferocious emanation of Vajradhara and the spiritual reflex, the Dhyāni Bodhisattva, of the Buddha Akshobhaya. He is rarely represented alone in sculpture but often in a triad with Amitāyus (or Mañjuśri) and Padmapāni. He is often seen in religious paintings and miniatures of Nepalese books represented as holding the *vajra* and standing with his legs crossed on the left of the Buddha Dipaṅkara or on the right of Tārā. In Gandhāra sculptures he is also a person accompanying the Buddha Gautama, holding an object which can be identified as a primitive form of the *vajra.* Here too he stands with his legs crossed. In certain paintings of Chinese Turkistan is seen a similar person holding the primitive *vajra.* A Vajrapāṇi carrying a most ornate thunderbolt has also been discovered[5].

The non- Tantric form of Vajrapāṇi is very rare. Sometimes he is represented seated with locked legs, and balancing the *vajra* in his hands placed on the lap in the 'meditation' *mudrā.* But he is also found with the hands in the 'earth-touching' *mudrā* with the *vajra* on the palm of the left hand placed on the lap. A Vajrapāṇi brandishing the *vajra* in his right hand with the left hand showing the *vitarka mudrā* is also found.

In what appears to be a Buddhist version of the myth of " the churning of the Milky Ocean by gods to discover nectar (*amṛta),* Vajrapāṇi is made the guardian of *amṛta* which came to the surface from the bottom of the ocean. In the Buddhist myth, all Buddhas who met on the summit of Mt. Meru, decided to churn the ocean with the Mt.Meru, in order to bring up the *amṛta* lying at the bottom of the ocean, to use it as an antidote against the terrible poison, *halāhala,* in possession of the demons, probably the Asuras, who wanted to use it for the destruction of mankind. Once the *amṛta* surfaced the Buddhas put it in charge of Vajrapāṇi. Seeing a moment of heedlessness in Vajrapāṇi's conduct, Rāhu stole it ensuing a fearful struggle for its retrieval. Rāhu was ultimately vanquished but the Elixir of Life had got contaminated with *halāhala* while in Rāhu's possession. To punish him for his lapse the Buddhas forced Vajrapāni to drink the contaminated *amṛta* which made him turn dark blue in colour. In fact Vajrapāni is shown mostly as dark blue in colour in paintings. This mythical incident also may be the reason for the presence of Vajrapāṇi as the guardian of *amṛta* in the triad with Amitāyus holding the vase of nectar and Padmapāṇi carrying the ewer (*kalaśa)* of nectar.

Vajrapāṇi is also one of the eight Dhyāni Bodhisattvas found in Northern Buddhist temples. There he is represented standing with the *vajra* in his right hand and the left held in the *Varada murdā* or the *vajra* and the *ganṭhā* on lotus flowers held by their stems in his hands in *varada* and *vitarka mudras.*

Here, if painted, he is white in colour. He is also sometimes depicted seated in *rājalīlā* with the right or the left leg pendent. The right hand holds the *vajra* at the breast while the left leans on the lotus pedestal behind the left knee or on the left knee, in *varada mudrā.*

In Nepal Vajrapāṇi is represented holding a lotus with a *vajra* on it held with the right hand by its stem while the left is in *varada mudrā* or may have a *vajra* on the palm. In paintings he is white in colour.

In Japan Vajrapāṇi is not popular and is found more often in mystic diagrams than in sculptures. In the Garbhakośa- maṇḍala, the sixth assembly is the Vajrapāṇi enclosure in which there are twenty different forms of Vajrapāṇi presided over by Kongosatta.

Dharmapāla Forms

In Tibet there are several ferocious Dharmapāla forms, recalling the role of yakkha Vajirapāṇi in early Buddhist discourses, assumed by Vajrapāṇi to combat various demons. Among the most important of these are:-

(i) Vajrapāṇi Ācārya in which he is represented in human form with disheveled hair standing on ends and wearing a skull crown. Here he has a third eye and an angry expression. Around the neck is a serpent necklace and round the waist he wears a belt of heads with a tiger skin shown underneath. He steps to the right and carries a *vajra* in his uplifted hand. If painted he is dark blue and is generally surrounded by flames in which are small *garuḍas*.

(ii) Acala Vajrapāṇi has four heads four arms and four legs. His symbols are the *vajra*, sword, lasso and skull-cup *(kapāla)*. He treads on demons.

There are also forms of Vajrapāṇi which fall into the *yi-dam* or tutelary deity *(iṣṭa devatā)* category. They are invariably represented with their *śakti*. One such *yi-dam* form is Nīlambara Vajrapāṇi who has one head with a skull crown, a third eye, four or six arms and sometimes a *vajra* and a snake in the disheveled hair. Two hands are held at the breast in a mystic *mudrā* and the second uplifted right hand carries a *vajra*. He steps to the right on a crowned person lying on a bed of serpents.

Mahacakra Vajrapāṇi is another *yi-dam* form with three heads with a third eye, six arms and two legs. It is painted blue but the right head is white while the left one is red. Symbols are the *vajra* and the serpent. He holds the *śakti* with the two original arms. The *śakti* holds a skull-cup and a chopper. He steps to the right on Brahma and the left foot is placed on Śiva. *Yi-dam* forms are less fierce than Dharmapāla forms.

A Snake Charm Deified

Vajrapāṇi the Thunderbolt Wielder is the deified form of a snake charm, the protector against snake bite. In this form he is seated on a lotus throne supported by peacocks. The noose with which he binds snake demons is held by one end in the right hand while the left at the hip holds the other end of the noose. Two Bodhisattvas, *Sarva-nirvānavishkambhin* and *Samantabhadra*, accompany him. With snakes coiled round his hands and ankles, he wears many ornaments as well as a high crown. If painted he is white, but has a blue form as well which differs slightly from the above in that the noose in the left hand is attached to a double *vajra (viśvavajra)*. But in the white form the crossed *vajra* symbol is placed at his left above the accompanying Bodhisattvas.

The Garuḍa Form

Usually he is represented standing with the wings and claws of a *garuḍa*. He may have a human head with a beak or the head of a *garuḍa*. The wings are spread and, if painted, he is dark blue in colour. The right hand may hold a chopper and in the left hand is a bowl. He stands on a demon or a dying Nāga. Sometimes he carries a sword and a gourd- shaped bottle or his two hands may be held together in salutation *mudrā*.

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4. *ibid.* p.51
5. *ibid.* (All what follows come from the same source)

VAJRĀSANA: (Pali Vajirāsana, Sinh. Vidurasuna). The 'Diamond Seat' or 'Throne' of the Buddha in the centre of the Bodhi Terrace (Bodhimaṇḍa) at the foot of the Bodhi Tree at Buddhagayā,on which he is believed to have sat at the time of his realization of Enlightenment. The word is, however, conspicuous by its absence in early Buddhist literature in Pali or Buddhist Sanskrit.Neither Rhys Davids nor Edgerton has listed the Pali or the Buddhist Sanskrit versions of the word in their Pali- English or Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionaries respectively.

The word used in early writings for the Buddha's seat at the Bodhi Tree is *pallaṅka* (Skt. *paryaṅka*) which is also the word commonly used for the seating posture of a meditator. The latter usage is seen in the phrase often found in early *suttas*, viz. 'sits having bent the knees in cross-legged posture' (*nisīdati pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā*) or simply as 'sat in cross-legged posture' (*pallaṅkena nisīdi).* The Mahāvastu also uses the same words in describing the Bodhisattva sitting at the Bodhi tree (*niṣādi paryaṅkam - ābhujitvā Mhvu.*II 268). Coomarswamywho[1] observes the absence of the term in Pali texts, however, says that it is common in the Mahāyāna *sūtras*. Unfortunately he does not cite a single instance in evidence. But I observe that the more common term in Mahāyāna *sūtras* is *siṃhāsana*, 'the lion throne'. It is used in the *Lalitavistara* (p.109 *f.*) and the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra* (p.43). According to Chrles Luk[2], not only the seat in the Bodhimaṇḍa, any place where the Buddha sits, even on the bear ground, is referred to as *siṃhāsana*. In fact Coomaraswamy[3] also observes that the lion-throne is the form actually favoured in the case of the oldest representation of the Buddha in human form at Mathura and it long survives in literature and art, often in combination with the lotus. The term lion-throne (*sīhāsana)* is also rarely found in the Pali texts.In the *Theragathā* (1095) a monk expresses his yearning to shatter Māra with his host on the lion-seat.This could be an indirect reference to the Buddha's victory over Māra seated on the lion-throne. In fact the commentator (*Thag*A.III,p.152) interprets the term as the 'stable seat, the invincible cross-legged posture' (*thirāsane,aparājita pallaṅke).* The Buddha's seat at the Bodhi Tree is often described as 'invincible' (*aparājita*).

Numerous references to a certain type of seat or divan,as it is rendered into English, called *pallaṅka* is also found in Pali texts. Various rules regarding its use by monks and nuns are found in the *Vinaya*.The commentators describe it as made with animal figures carved on legs (*AA*,II, 292). Monks are allowed to make use of them after removing the animal figures (*Vin*.II.170). The word *pallaṅka* when used to indicate the sitting posture of a meditator is explained by Budhaghosa as, "herein crosswise (*pallaṅko)* is the sitting position with the thighs fully locked *(samantato ūrubaddha- āsanaṃ bandhat')*. Monier Williams[4] also explains *paryanika* as 'a bed ,couch or sofa' and also gives the sense used by Buddhists to indicate a sitting position with legs bent crossways under the body. It is quite possible that the two meanings were later mixed up and later Buddhists imputed the idea of a diamond seat or divan on the earlier idea of the sitting posture of the Bodhisatta at the Bodhi Tree.

From Pallaṅka to Vajrāsana

There is hardly any indication in the discourses of the Pali Nikāyas of the ascetic Siddhattha's striving at the foot of the Bodhi Tree for the realization of Buddhahood.The *Majjhima Nikāya* (I.166 *f.*) merely gives a very brief account of the surroundings of the place at Ūruvelā which he chose for the practising of meditation " There I saw a delightful stretch of land and a lovely wood and grove, and a clear flowing river with a delightful ford and a village for support nearby .... Indeed this does well for striving of a young man set on striving. So I,monks, sat down just there thinking: "Indeed this does well for striving"". There is no mention here of a Bodhi Tree, a Bodhimaṇḍa or a *pallaṅka* seat. Even the *Padhāna Sutta* (*Sn*.p.74 *ff.*), which speaks of the defeat of Māra by the Bodhisatta, does not mention the Bodhi Tree.However the river Nerañjarā is mentioned there. The attainment of the Buddhahood at the foot of the Bodhi Tree is mentioned for the first time in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*.There it is said that immediately following his Emancipation the Buddha continued to sit in meditation at the foot of the Bodhi Tree (*bodhirukkhamūle*) in the same cross-legged posture *(ekapallaṅkena)*, for seven days, experiencing the bliss of Emancipation (*Vin*.I.1.). One has to wait for the appearance of the Pali commentaries and, of course, the Buddhist Sanskrit works like the *Mahāvastu* to get a detailed picture of the *bodhimaṇḍa*, the Bodhi Tree and the Bodhisatta's preparation for his final effort for Emancipation.

Commenting on the above *Majjhima* passage, Buddhaghosa says that on the Visākha fullmoon day the Bodhisatta bathed in the river Nerañjarā, ate the milk porridge offered by Sujātā and, in the evening, climbed on to the Bodhi Circuit (*bodhimaṇḍala)* with the eight handfuls of grass given by Sotthiya, and inspected the foot of the tree for a suitable spot to sit in meditation.Three sides of the tree, the south the west and the north, he found to be unstable and not strong enough to bear his virtue. Only the eastern side was found to be stable and, there an extent of land of the size of a divan (*pallaṅka*) was noticed to be stable like an *indakhīla*.Determining this to be the location of the destruction of the 'cage of defilements'(*Kilesa-pañjara)* of all the Buddhas, he took that grass with their topends and scattered them on the spot.The grass thus scattered appeared in a form as if marked out by a painter with a tuft of cotton or hair. He sat upon this seat of grass having made a firm determination, marked by a fourfold effort *(caturaṅga-viriya)*, not to break up the cross-legged posture without gaining Buddhahood (*MA*.II.182 *f*). In the *Jātaka* Commentary Introduction (*J*.1.12 *f*) it is said that as the grass was scattered a couch or divan *(pallaṅka)* of fourteen cubits appeared instantly on that spot. The grass arranged itself in such a form which not even the cleverest painter or modeler could have been skilled enough to copy. Whatever manner in which the grass arranged it was still a seat or carpet of grass which spontaneously took a magnificent form.It was not of any other material, either of diamond or of any other precious material.

Aśvaghoṣa, in his *Buddhacarita*,says that the Bodhisattva took clean grass from a grass-cutter and going to the great, pure tree, seated himself with a view for Enlightenment (*Buc*.II,XII.119). He does not expand on the nature of the seat except to say that he sat in the supreme immovable cross-legged posture with his limbs massed together like the coils of a serpent *(ibid*.120).Both the *Mahāvastu* (II.131,268) and the *Lalithavistara* (p.207) speak of the seat of grass made with the grass obtained from the grass-cutter *(yāvasika)* named Svastika. But both these works also speak of a sort of magical fantasy said to have occurred with reference to that Bodhi Tree and the seat under it.The *Mahāvastu* says that the gods who assembled there witnessed or imagined, each according to one's dispositions, in the Bodhi Tree, a tree made of different precious materials, gold, silver or some precious stone and of different heights and, at the foot of each one of them, a throne (*simhāsana)* of different heights and also made up of different precious materials.But beings of gross dispositions (*lūkhādhimukta*) perceived the Bodhisattva seated on a mat of grass and said that he will awaken to the Supreme Enlightenment seated on a mat of grass. In the *Laidithavistara* the fantasy was witnessed by the Bodhisattva himself.Entering into a certain concentration he saw numerous Bodhi Trees of different precious materials and of different heights with thrones of varying heights and also made up of different precious materials. Seated on each one of the thrones was also seen a Bodhisattva.Here one could see how a possible grass seat could have been transformed into a diamond seat at a later stage. Yet the term *vajrāsana* is not yet traceable in these writings.

Archaeological Evidence

One of the earliest instances of the use of the term *vajrāsana* is found in an inscription on the inner face of the coping of the southern railing of the Mahābodhi Temple at Buddha Gaya[7]. Cunnigham has dated it in the 2nd century A.C, in the reign of the Indo-Scythian king Huvishka whom he credit with the building of the great Temple. Other scholars have,however, disputed cunningham's claim regarding the date of the building of the great Temple[8]. A small shrine called the "Diamond – throne temple" by some scholars, is believed to have been constructed by Emperor Asoka at the Bodhi Tree. In fact a slab of sandstone, called ' a throne' by archaeologists, and certain other suggestive ruins have been discovered at the place. It is also noted that two sculptured representations of what appears to be this shrine are found among the bas-reliefs of Bharhut which go back to the Second century B.C. One of them contains the legend " The Bodhi Tree of the Blessed Sakyamuni".In what appears to be a faithful representation of this small shrine are seen an open pavilion supported on pillars with the "*vajrāsana*" in the centre. Behind it rises the Bodhi Tree, high above the building. The top of the stone slab is decorated with flowers, but it has no image on it. However what is noteworthy is that, although archaelogists and various scholars call it "*vajrāsana*" there is no contemporary evidence from Asokan times to designate it so. Yet there is ample evidence to show that this stone seat was held with great respect and honour at Buddha Gaya[9].

Chinese Notices

Fa-hian[10] who came to India in the early 5[th] century A.C. does not mention a *vajrāsana*. The Bodhisattva, he says, spread the grass of good omen (which Beal interprets as *Kusa* grass) given by a *deva*, at the foot of the pei-to tree and sat down on it, facing the east. But Hsüen-tsang who came to India in the 7[th] century has given a deatailed account of the myths and legends prevalent at Buddha Gaya regarding the *Vajrāsana* and the Bodhimaṇḍa. In his itenarary (repeated in his biography) he says that the *devas* of the pure abodes directed the Bodhisattva to the Bodhi Tree, under which is a diamond throne, seated on which all past Buddhas of the *bhadra kalpa*, the present world-cycle, obtained true enlightenment. In the centre of the enclosure surrounding the Bodhi Tree is the diamond throne, (*vajrāsana*). It appeared at the time of the formation of the earth at the beginning of the *bhadra-kalpa*. It is in the centre of the great chiliocosm and goes down to the limits of the golden wheel and, upwards it is flush with the ground. All the one thousand Buddhas of this world-cycle sat on it and entered the '*vajra-samādhi*'. Hence it is called the diamond throne. This is the place where the Buddhas attain the holy path and is also called the Bodhimaṇḍa, says Hsüen-tsang[11]. This account quite clearly shows that the term *vajrāsana* was in vogue among Buddhists in India in the 7[th] century A.C. and along with it was a well developed myth and legend regarding its nature and its place in Buddhological conceptions. The terms *bodhimaṇḍa* and *vajrāsana* are also found in a Chinese inscription dated in 1033 A.C.[12]. As recorded by Hsüen-tsang many Sri Lankan monks visited the sacred Bodhi Tree on pilgrimage. A monastery built by a Sri Lankan king was in existence at Buddha Gaya even during his day. Many Sri Lankan monks were in residence in this monastery at the time he visited the place[13]. As the term *vajrāsana* was in vogue in the period, it would have been communicated to Sri Lanka through such pilgrims.

Vajrāsana (Vidurasuna) in later Sri Lankan Literary works

In a number of Pali and Sinhala works produced in Sri Lanka after the 12[th] century A.C. is found, in addition to the older term *pallaṅka*, the term *vajrāsana* or its Pali and Sinhala forms, with reference to the seat of the Buddha at the foot of the Bodhi Tree. The 13[th] century Pali poem *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*[14] refers to the Bodhisatta's seat under the Bodhi Tree, as *vajrāsana*. It also arouses the wonder of the reader by saying that " as the Bodhisatta made the grass-spread at the eastern side of the tree, the earth split in twain and a grand fourteen cubit seat, decorated with carvings, sprang up". With a firm resolve the Bodhisatta sat down on it, says the poet. Several post 12[th] century Sinhala works like the *Butsaraṇa*, *Pūjāvaliya*, *Thūpavaṃsa*, *Saddharmālaṅkāra* and *Nikāyasaṅgraha* have also used the term *vajrāsana* or its Sinhala form *vidurasuna*. However it is not certain from where these authors derived the use of this term. As suggested above one of the possible sources were the pilgrims returning from Buddhagayā in India. It is also known that Sinhala writers of this period had access to Sanskrit Buddhist works and sometimes used them extensively. Some of them could have found this term *vajrāsana* used in them.

Another possible source was the Vajrayānist elements which had entered Sri Lanka already in the Anuradhapura period[15]. The reign of Sena I (846-866) is usually regarded as the period when Vajrāyāna was introduced to this country. But there is evidence that it was known, practiced and taught in the country even prior to this. Two teachers Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, who became quite well-known in China, visited Sri Lanka in the 8[th] century. The latter is said to have been introduced to certain Tantric rituals by a teacher named Samantabhadra while in Sri Lanka. He is even assumed by some to be a Sri Lankan[16]. But others have controverted this view. Among sculptures discovered in Sri Lanka are figures of such Vajrayāna deities as Vajrapāni, Vajrasattva, Jambala, Tārā and Cunda. These show that their worship and cults associated with them were prevalent in the country[17]. Coomaraswamy[18] points to the *vajra* symble engraved on the pedestal of the seated Buddha statue in the Gal-vihāra at Polonnaruwa as an indication that the Buddha's seat was known at the time as *vajrāsana*. Thus it is possible that the presence of Vajrayānist elements in the country at a certain period may have influenced the use of Vajrayānist symbols as well as terminology by even Theravāda Buddhists of Sri Lanka.

Vajrāsana Posture in Buddha Statues

Seated Buddha statues sculptured with the 'gesture of calling the earth to witness' also named the 'earth-touching gesture' (*bhūmisparśa- mudrā*) are also called

Vajrāsana Buddhas. In Tibet, according to Alice Getty[19], the term Vajrāsana is used for a particular form of Gautama Buddha, representing Aksobhaya Buddha seated in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. In such statues in Tibet a *vajra* is placed on a lotus in front of the statue which confirms its name as a *Vajrāsana Buddha*. Cunningham[20] points to several such statues at the Mahābodhi Temple. He thinks that the object of a particular Buddha statue in this posture, placed in a niche in the back wall of the original temple, was meant to indicate where the original Vajrasana Throne stood. To underline it, as it were, a polished Vajrāsan Throne of grey sandstone has been placed right under the figure of the Buddha. The reason why these statues were named Vajrāsana Buddhas was that they represent the Bodhisattva vanquishing Māra, while seated on the Vajrāsana at the Bodhi Tree.

Vajrāsana Symbolism

Early Pali commentarial works as well as secondary works and also early Buddhist Sanskrit works envisaged the Bodhisatta's seat at the Bodhi Tree, was of the grass he scattered there.Even when the emergence of a magnificent fourteen cubit seat is spoken about, it is still said to be of grass intricately arranged by itself.But later Pali and Sinhala works speak of a seat springing up from beneath the earth. It is said to have been covered with engravings (*nā nā citta -vicittitaṃ*).This seems to tally with the description of the slabs recovered from the Mahābodhi Temple ruins by Cunningham and called Vajrāsan Thrones by him[21]. The idea of a seat springing out from within the earth seems to indicate that it was there all the time and came out at the opportune moment. The *Kālingabodhi Jātaka* (*J*.iv.233) also indicates that the victory seat of all Buddhas is located at the spot in the Bodhi-circuit all the time. It is no more the mere seat of grass. What Hsüen-tsang has heard at Buddha Gaya is the same story. The Diamond Throne existing at the centre of the Bodhimanda through out the aeon, the *bhadra-kalpa*. He could have in actual fact seen the polished stone slabs symbolizing the *vajrāsana* at the Bodhi Tree.

But it is quite clear that what is emphasized over and over in the *Padhāna* sutta, the Pali Commentaries and in post-commentarial literature as well as in Buddhist Sanskrit works is the Bodhisatta's firm resolve not to give up his struggle to win Emancipation even at the cost of his very life.His resolution was not to loosen his cross-legged posture without realizing his goal of Emancipation.The seat is described as impartite or adamantine in form (*abhejja-rūpa)*, which was first applied to the sitting posture, also described by Aśvaghosa as " the supreme, immovable cross-legged posture" Later this admantine quality of the Bodhisatta's mental resolution was transferred on to his seat. Coomaraswamy[22] also points to the idea of the *vajirūpama –citta* or 'diamond like mind' or 'admantine mind' found in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (I.124). "Just like there is no gem or rock ", says the Buddha , "which a diamond cannot cut, even so a person, by the destruction of the inflows *(āsavas)*, himself, in this very life, comes to know thoroughly the release of the mind, release by insight.... and abides therein" He thinks that through this use it is possible to think of a psychological origin to the idea of the *vajrāsana*. The mind of a person who has penetrated the four Noble Truths is also sometimes compared to an *indakhīla* planted in the earth and which cannot be shaken by the winds blowing from the four quarters. So is the firmness of the mind of one who has seen the Truths (*Sn*.229). Thus the admantine quality is not only in the resolution of the Bodhisatta but also in the one who has reached the goal of Emancipation. So it is quite apparent that originally the concept of the Vajrāsana or Diamond Throne was only a symbolic expression used to demonstrate the Bodhisatta's admantine will to reach his goal and the nature of the emancipated mind of the Buddha .

In a way this is also confirmed by Hsüen-tsang who, after saying that the seat was made with diamonds confesses in the same breath that it is called *vajrāsana* because all Buddhas , while seated on it, entered into the *vajra-samādhi*. Thus the admantine nature was not in the seat but in the mental conditions and attainments of the person seated on it and later transferred on to the seat.

Significance of Kuśa grass for the Seat

Although the grass obtained by the Bodhisatta from Sotthiya (*Bdst Skt Svastika)* is merely called grass *(tiṇa or tṛṇa)*,sometimes it is also called Kusa grass (*Skt kuśa)*. In Vedic rituals Kuśa grass played an important role as it was used for the *barhis* in Vedic sacrifices. It is a bed or layer of Kuśa grass strewn over the sacrificial ground and especially over the *vedi* to serve as a sacred surface on which to present the oblation and to serve as seat for gods and sacrificers[23]. Both the Mahabhārata

and the Bhagavatgītā refer to the use of grass as a seat in *yoga* (*Buc*.II p.186 n.119). But there is also an interesting revelation made by Monier Williams. He says that according to some lexicographers the word *vajra* is used for a variety of white- flowering Kuśa grass. This however has not been found by him in any published text .However one may wonder whether the Bodhisatta's seat at the Bodhi Tree came to be called *vajrāsana* because it was originally considered to have been of Kuśa grass.The sharp point of a blade of Kuśa grass (*kuśāgra)* is also used to indicate the sharp intelligence of a person *(kuśāgra-buddhi)*. Since, as also shown above, a diamond could cut or penetrate through any gem or rock the sharp blade of kuśa grass also may have acquired this name due to its sharpness. The penetrative wisdom of the Bodhisatta in seeing through the truths of existence while seated on a seat of Kuśa grass could have led to his seat at the Bodhi Tree, the Tree of Wisdom, being called *Vajrāsana* by Buddhists in their popular parlance.

See PLATE XXXII.

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VALABHI : Valabhi or Balabhi is a celebrated Buddhist seat of learning (University) that flourished in Gujarat in Western India, circa 4-8 century A.C. Valabhi is also an important place for the Jains of the Svetambara sect, since their canon was finalized and reduced to writing at their council held at Valabhi in the 6th century A.C. The records of the Chinese pilgrims like Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing and some inscriptions recording some grants for Buddhist monasteries are the sources available for the study of this reputed seat of learning. However the information provided by the Chinese travellers is not so extensive as what they have provided regarding the Nalanda University. Therefore a detailed picture of Valabhi is not possible to obtain.

Kingdom &City of Valabhi: The ruins of the city of Valabhi have been discovered by Colonel Tod at Walā, in the east of Peninsula of Gujarat, 18 miles north east of Bhaonagar. According to Huien-tsang the Kingdom of Valabhi included the peninsula of Gujarat known as Saurāstra and the districts of Bharoch and Surat. In an inscription of the 5th century A.C., it is described as the beautiful kingdom of Valabhadra. Valabhi was the capital of Maitraka kings for the period of 475 -775 A.C. Hieun Tsang calls it *"Fa-la-pi"*. It was 6000 *li* (1200 miles) in circuit. The capital has a circumference of 30 li (6 miles) . The people were wealthy and there were hundred (families) whose wealth amounted to millions .The rare merchandize brought from distant countries were in abundance. King Harsha gave his daughter in marriage to King Dhruvabhaṭṭa of Valabhi and extended his influence over Valabhi. According to *Dasakumaracharita* a rich master mariner lived in this city in Saurastra named Grhagupta, who had a daughter named Ratnawati, whom a merchant's son Balabhadra, came from Madhumati to marry.

The seat of learning at Valabhi: The kingdom of Valabhi was famous for its seat of learning with an international reputation, comparable to a modern university. Apparently the seat of learning was also named after the city. As per inscriptional evidence the first vihāra at this complex was founded by Princess Duḍḍa, the daughter of the sister of Dhruvasena I(579-549 A.C.) of Valabhi (Grant of king Guhasena of Valabhi in the I.A. IV 174). The Duḍḍa vihāra was very large and it was often mentioned as Vihāramaṇḍala. Within a century between (519-689 A.C.) nine other buildings were erected in or near Valabhi by different persons or by kings themselves. The king Dhurasena I, made a grant in favour of another vihāra called "Sri Bappapada" which was founded by Acarya Sthiramathi (I.A. VI 9). The Maitraka kings of Valabhi undoubtedly a great patron of Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in the region, as seen in the cave inscriptions in the region.

Hiuen Tsang who came to Valabhi in 640 A.C. says that there were one hundred Saṅghārāmas and 6000 monks. It is important that he reveals that they belong to the Sammitiya sect of the Hīnayāna. Thus it is clear that the Sammitiyas were powerful in the region. I-tsing who came to India in 671 A.C. visited Valabhi. He refers to Nālanda and Valabhi as places where scholars used to reside for two years to complete their education. Valabhi, like Nālanda attracted students from all parts of India to hold discussions of "all possible and impossible doctrines" and achieve fame, when their opinions were accepted by the masters of Valabhi. The monastery at Valabhi was equipped with a library which was considered as deserving of a Royal Grant for the express provision for the purchase of books *saddarmasya pustakopa chayartha*,(in the "Grant of Guhasena I" of A.C. 559 I.A. Vii 67 f). Further it is clear from the records of I-tsing that the students of Valabhi, like those from Nalanda, after their graduation, used to present themselves at the courts of the king to prove their capacity, present their theories, and even demonstrate their administrative talent to be employed in the government service. Thus it is clear that the University of Valabhi besides religious education provided secular education on vidyās like Dharma, Niti, Vartta or chikitsa sastras and helped them to secure employment.

It is important as recorded by Hieun T-sang; the university at Valabhi specialized in the Hinayāna, as the University of Nālanlda specialized in the Mahāyāna. Renowned Buddhist scholars Sthiramati and Gunamati were also associated with this seat of learning as recorded by Hieun T-sang.

There is an interesting reference to Valabhipura in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva (11[th] century A.C.). Accordingly a brahmin named Vāsudatta is reported to have sent his son Vishnudatta who was 16 years of age to Valabhipura for his education. It is seen that brahmin Vasudatta has preferred Valabhi to Benares or Nalanda to send his son for his education, inspite of the distance and the risk of traveling to Valabhi in Western India from his native place Antaravedi in the Gangetic valley.

Alexander Cunningham after perusing native histories and local traditions concludes that the extinction of the Gupta race and the establishment of the Valabhi era and also the foundation of the city of Valabhi should be around 319 A.C. When this seat of learning ceased to exist is not exactly known. Perhaps the falling of the kingdom of Valabhi and the deprival of the royal patronage might have brought the end of this reputed seat of learning.

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VAMMIKA SUTTA, the "discourse on the anthill", is the twenty-third discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* I, 142-145). This discourse has four parallels preserved in Chinese translation (*T.* I, 918b-919a; *T.* II, 282a-c; *T.* II, 379c-380a; *T.* II, 733b-c).[1]

The *Vammika Sutta* describes how a *deva* presented the monk Kumāra Kassapa with a riddle-like description of an anthill and various items that are to be unearthed from it, such as a bar, a toad, a fork etc. Once all these items are taken out of the anthill and discarded, a *nāga* will appear, which is to be worshipped. Kumāra Kassapa approached the Buddha with this riddle and received the explanation that these various items stand for different mental defilements that are to be eradicated, while the *nāga* represents the attainment of liberation.

The commentary reports that, after receiving this explanation and practising diligently in accordance with it, Kumāra Kassapa became an arahant (*MA.* II, 134; cf. also *J. I,* 148 and *T.* II, 733c26). This successful outcome of the explanation given by the Buddha is what makes the *Vammika Sutta* worthy of note, as it depicts a rather unique mode of instruction that enabled a monk to reach final liberation.

Kumāra Kassapa apparently had a personality that was prone to the use of imagery, as can be seen from the *Pāyāsi Sutta* (*D.* II, 319). This discourse reports that he delivered a whole series of imaginative similes in a discussion with a sceptic Brahmin, so much so that the Brahmin, even though already convinced, continued to oppose Kumāra Kassapa just in order to hear more similes and explanations (*D.* II, 352).

The *Vammika Sutta* indicates that the Buddha would have been aware of this propensity of Kumāra Kassapa and was able to skilfully employ the series of images related to the anthill in order to bring home to his disciple that he should meditatively unearth within himself all those states and conditions that obstruct the attainment of liberation.

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Reference

1 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

VĀSEṬṬHA SUTTA, the "discourse to Vāseṭṭha", is found twice in the Pāli canon, once as the ninety-eighth discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and again as the ninth discourse in the third chapter of the *Sutta Nipāta*. According to the introductory narration, the Brahmins Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja had approached the Buddha in order to get his opinion on whether one becomes a true Brahmin by dint of birth or rather through virtue. In reply, according to the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* the Buddha delivered a series of verses in which he set forth what, according to his understanding, is required in order to become a true Brahmin. The significance of the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* derives from these verses, which offer a vivid testimony to the early Buddhist conception of sainthood, and at the same time clarify its stance on matters of race and caste. The present article will briefly survey these verses and then examine the main points they make.

The first theme broached in these verses is that essential differences of the type that are seen between different animals cannot be found between human beings. To illustrate this point, a survey of the plant and animal world is undertaken - such as grass, trees, insects, quadrupeds, snakes, fish, and birds - concluding that the variety that can be observed here shows that there are indeed many kinds of birth, *aññamaññā hi jātiyo* (*Sn.* 601-606). In contrast to such variety, a survey of differences among human beings shows that, in as much as essential bodily components are concerned, no essential differences can be found (*Sn.* 607-611).[1]

Thus "according to the Buddha, *jāti* or caste is primarily a biological term and it signifies 'species'. The social divisions among men cannot be treated as '*jātis*' or castes in this sense. These divisions are merely occupational and not congenital, as a *Brahmin* and a member of one of the other castes can mate together ... for the purpose of procreation, while a male of one species and a female of another species cannot procreate offspring as in the case of men".[2] This leads to the inevitable conclusion that distinctions among humans are merely based on conventions, *vokārañca manussesu samaññāya pavuccati* (*Sn.* 611).

Such conventions are then examined in the next verses, which indicate that human beings are to be reckoned in accordance with their respective occupations (*Sn.* 612-619). This examination culminates by announcing the principle underlying

the Buddhist conception of a true Brahmin, according to which one does not become a Brahmin by birthright or lineage, *na cāhaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ brūmi yonijaṃ mattisambhavaṃ* (*Sn.* 620). Instead, to become a true Brahmin requires purification of the mind.

The theme of the true Brahmin is then treated in the next set of verses from a series of related perspectives (*Sn.* 620-647). After this exposition of the early Buddhist conception of sainthood under the heading of being a true Brahmin, the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* reaffirms that distinctions among humans are merely conventions. What in truth accounts for differences among humans are their deeds (i.e. their karma), not their birth, *na jaccā brāhmaṇo hoti, na jaccā hoti abrāhmaṇo, kammanā brāhmaṇo hoti, kammanā hoti abrāhmaṇo* (*Sn.* 650). The final two verses take up again the Buddhist conception of sainthood, proclaiming that through self-restraint and celibacy, and by transcending rebirth, one becomes a true Brahmin (*Sn.* 655-656).

The first part of the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* shows unequivocally that early Buddhism does not leave any room for race prejudices. As highlighted by Malalasekera and Jayatilleke, "it is argued on biological grounds that ... mankind is one species". "The apparent divisions between men are not due to basic biological factors, but are 'conventional classifications'".[3] A complementary perspective on the same theme is offered in the *Aggañña Sutta*, which traces the designation of the Brahmin and Warrior castes to conventions that arouse out of specific situations during the evolution of mankind (*D.* III, 93).[4]

This discourse is spoken to the same two Brahmins, Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja, that are also the audience of the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*. While with the conclusion of the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* they became lay followers, by the time of the *Aggañña Sutta* they are in the process of becoming Buddhist monks (*D.* III, 80). Similar to the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, the *Aggañña Sutta* also sets out on the topic of the nature of a true Brahmin, only that by now Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja are no longer inquiring about this topic themselves. In the case of the *Aggañña Sutta*, the reason for taking up this topic is rather that Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja are confronted with the negative reactions of other Brahmins to their presumed loss of caste status through going forth in the Buddhist order. It is this criticism by other Brahmins that forms the rationale for the Buddha's exposition of the *Aggañña Sutta*, which thus can be seen to complement, by way of allegory, the exposition given in the first part of the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* on the origin of distinctions among men in worldly conventions.

The theme of the basic unity of mankind, broached in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, stands in clear contrast to any caste or racial prejudice, which assumes that social position and spiritual ability are inherited at birth. The clear stance that early Buddhism took against caste prejudice finds its perhaps most explicit expression in the admission policy of the Buddhist order, as the Buddhist monastic institution was open to members of any caste. A passage in the *Vinaya* illustrates this policy with a simile that indicates how, just like the great rivers of India lose their name on reaching the sea, so too all caste distinctions are left behind on entering the Buddhist order (*Vin.* II, 239).

The discourses offer several analyses of caste prejudice, undertaken from a set of related angles (See also CASTE). The *Esukāri Sutta* counters the belief that one's occupation is destined by one's birth in a particular caste, revealing that this is simply a presumption of the Brahmins (*M.* II, 178). The *Madhura Sutta* takes up the same theme, pointing out that in actuality those who have wealth are able to avail themselves of the services of others, independent of caste affiliation (*M.* II, 84). These discourses draw out in more detail the presentation in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, according to which the respective occupation accounts for the designation to be given to a human being.

The claim to be a Brahmin by birthright, rejected in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, comes in for a rather humorous treatment in the *Assalāyana Sutta*. In a pun on a Ṛgvedic myth,[5] the *Assalāyana Sutta* inquires how it is that Brahmins claim to originate from the mouth of Brahma when Brahmin women are seen to become pregnant and give birth (*M.* II, 148). The same discourse also takes up the contrast between deeds and birth that is the basic theme of the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*. As the *Assalyana Sutta* points out, an evildoer will go to hell and one who performs wholesome deeds will be reborn in heaven, independent of whatever caste they may come from (*M.* II, 149). The *Madhurā Sutta* rounds off this argument by noting that an evildoer will not only go to hell, but also receive punishment here and now by the king, independent of whether the culprit is a Brahmin or a member of any other caste (*M.* II, 88).

The culmination of the exposition in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* lies in its depiction of the true Brahmin. A considerable number of the verses in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* that throw into relief the true Brahmin as the emancipated sage can also be found in the chapter on Brahmins in the *Dhammapada* (*Dhp.* 396-423). The underlying theme of these verses is the early Buddhist re-interpretation of the term Brahmin as standing for one who has reached liberation and purification of the mind, instead of designating someone who is born from Brahmin parents.[6] Purification of the mind is, according to early Buddhism, also required for the path to communion with Brahmā. The path to such communion with Brahmā is the theme of yet another discourse given to Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja, the *Tevijja Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. In this discourse, the Buddha disclosed the path to communion with Brahmā to Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja, explaining that it requires the development of the *brahmavihāras* of loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity (*D.* I, 250).

Yet, to become a true Brahmin in its Buddhist sense requires taking purification of the mind even further, as indicated in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, since a true Brahmin is one who has eradicated all mental defilements and reached final liberation.

Yassa gatiṃ na jānanti
devā gandhabbamānusā,
khīṇāsavaṃ arahantaṃ,
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
Whose track is not known,
To gods, spirits and men,
An *arahant* with influxes destroyed,
Such a one I call a Brahmin indeed. (*Sn.* 644)

Yassa pure ca pacchā ca
majjhe ca n' atthi kiñcanaṃ,
akiñcanaṃ anādānaṃ,
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
To whom before and behind,
And in between there is nothing,
Having nothing, holding nothing,
Such a one I call a Brahmin indeed. (*Sn.* 645)

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References

1 Cf. also the *Divyāvadāna* ed. by Vaidya, Darbhanga 1999: 323.14.

2 Barua: "Early Buddhism and the Brahmanical Doctrines", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, 12.1, 1967: 53.

3 *Buddhism and the Race Question*, UNESCO, Paris 1958: 35 and 37.

4 For a detailed study of this discourse cf. Collins: "The discourse on what is primary (Aggañña-Sutta)", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 1993, 21: 301-393.

5 Norman: "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism", *Collected Papers*, vol. 4, 1993: 272, notes that here "the Buddha satirises the Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda".

6 Norman op. cit. p. 275 explains that whereas "in brahmanical Hinduism a brahman (<bṛṃh - 'to be strong') was a brahman by birth", "the Buddha ... by adopting a different etymology (<bṛṃh - 'to destroy') ... was able to justify his view that a brahman was one who had destroyed evil".

VASSĀVĀSA. The term *vassāvāsa* (Bdst.Skt. *varṣāvāsa*) literally means 'residence during rains', but with reference to Buddhist monks and nuns and also to various other sects of religious recluses and ascetics who have renounced home life, it has the special meaning of 'rains-retreat' observed according to the rules and regulations of discipline of each such sect. Apparently there were two main reasons that could have led to this practice among home renouncing religious groups in ancient India. One was the physical impossibility of staying in the open air and travel about in the torrential rains experienced in North India during the rainy season. Muddy paths and lanes, sometimes covered with water, were extremely difficult to travel along. The many streams and rivers in spate often restricted the movements of the wandering ascetics and recluses during the rains. Secondly, the extreme concepts of *ahiṃsā* held by most of these ascetics and recluses, especially the Jains and Ājīvakas, led them to severely curtail their movements out of doors during the rains. As revealed by the views expressed by the protesting public against the Buddhist monks who continued their touring through the country even during the rainy season, these religious recluses believed that they

would injure all forms of life including plant life and tiny creatures that come up with the rains after the long dry period, by travelling during the rains. Jains, for instance, believed that all elements,even fire, could contain numerous lives (*jeeva)*. Each drop of water could be the abode of such lives and one could injure them by walking in rain or wading across a stream. Most of their activities or non-activity were controlled by this extreme form of *ahiṃsā*.

Inception of the Rains-retreat.

According to the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (I.137 *ff)*, at a time when the rains-retreat had not yet been initiated for his disciples by the Buddha, it was reported to him that the general public was vehemently criticizing his disciples for travelling about during all seasons, viz.,the winter, the summer and the rainy season. "How can these recluses, sons of the Sakyan", they complained, "travel about during the winter, the summer and the rains, trampling down green grass, injuring one-facultic life and destroying many creatures"? How could these Buddhist monks, they queried, travel about in the rains when even recluses of other sects, supposedly following poorly declared doctrines, find a rains residence and stick to it and, even birds build nests on top of trees and stick to them during rains. When all these criticisms were brought to the notice of the Buddha he at once took steps to enjoin his disciple monks to go on retreat during the rainy season (*anujānāmi bhikkhave vassāne vassaṃ upagantuṃ)*. The Buddha, unlike such religious teachers as Jina Mahāvīra, did not go into extreme forms of ahiṃsā. But, as quite clearly shown by the rules of discipline laid down for his disciples, he respected all forms of life. However he was more concerned with the mental attitude of non-injury to life rather than any form of unintended, unconscious injury caused during one's normal activity. Therefore his prompt action to enjoin the rains-retreat must have been due to his concern for public opinion and respect for other's religious views as long as they were not harmful to the religious life of his disciples. An untarnished image of the Saṅgha in the eyes of the people was an important factor for the stability of the religion. Whatever may be the immediate reasons for instituting the rains-retreat for Buddhist monks, in time to come it was to play a significant role in the development of a number of important clerical as well as lay Buddhist institutions.

When, Where and How the Rains-retreat should be Observed : There are two dates on which the rains- retreat should be entered upon (*vassūpanāyikā*, Bdst.Skt *varṣāpanāyikā*). The earlier (*purimikā*) is to be entered upon on the day following the *Āsāḷhi* full moon day and the later (*pacchimikā*) one month after that day. Both these periods last for three months of the four month rainy season .All monks (*bhikkhu*) and nuns (*bhikkkhuṇī*) are compulsorily expected to observe this three months rains –retreat, without completing which they are disallowed from going on tour. Not to observe the retreat is an act of wrong –doing (*dukkaṭa)* for a monk. It is also an offence for a monk to pass by a residence with intention of avoiding rains-retreat. However, when King Bimbisāra, for some unspecified reason, requested the monks to delay by one month their entering the rains-retreat the Buddha allowed them to abide by the ruling of kings *(rājānuvattituṃ)*.

Monks who were expected to observe the rains-retreat had, at first, to find a suitable residence by themselves to spend the rains retreat. Since, in the earliest period of the history of the Saṅgha, the monks were not in the habit of living in one place during the whole year, they seem to have experienced some problems in securing a suitable shelter to spend the rains retreat. Even when the custom of donating residences to the Buddhist monks by lay devotees had started, they did not become permanent residents of these places all at once. All these houses were donated to the whole community of monks who had the right to occupy them temporarily when not in occupation. Since they were left unoccupied and closed up for long periods they were not properly maintained continuously and soon became delapitated. At the beginning most such houses must have been temporary wattle and daub constructions. As such there are instances when a monk or a group of monks repaired a residence belonging to the Saṅgha with the intention of spending the rains-retreat therein (*Vin*.II. 166).Such monks would sometimes reserve a residence for themselves and exclude others taking up residence. But the Buddha ruled such reservation should be done only for a period of three months during rains and not for the favourable season, probably meaning the dry period (*utu-kāla, ibid 173)*.It is possible that, at least in some areas, lodgings were in short supply at that time. As a result there were disputes among monks for lodgings during the rains. The Buddha, therefore, ruled that lodgings should be allocated to monks for residence during the rains. The *Vinaya* speaks of three

assignments, to be done by a monk of integrity, selected and appointed by the Saṅgha. Such a person should have five qualities, viz., one not falling into a wrong course through desire (*chanda*) hatred (*dosa*), stupidity (*moha*)or fear (*bhaya*) and one who knows what is taken and what is not taken (*gahitāgahitaṃ jāneyya*). The Vinaya rules also go into details as to how the assignments should be made. Significantly the first two assignments are made on the day following the Āsāḷha full moon (*purimako*) and one month later (*pacchimako*). They are the two days on which the monks enter upon the rains-retreat. Hence the lodgings were really meant for the duration of the retreat. However, the third assignment is made on the day following the invitation (*pavāraṇa*), which comes at the conclusion of the rains-retreat. This is called 'the intervening'(*antarāmuttaka*) and the lodgings are said to be meant for the next rains-residence (*āyatiṃ vassāvāsatthāya*). It is difficult to understand why such an assignment of accomadation was made eight or nine months ahead of the next rains-retreat. Perhaps it was done in expectation of the same assignees returning to the same place for the next rains-retreat as well. Any how this has led some to conclude that a system of permanent dwellings for Buddhist monks was gradually evolving at the time.

In any case the difficulty of finding suitable accommodation for monks seems to have been a problem for them for a long time. May be due to difficulty in finding a proper shelter, some monks entered rains retreat without lodgings or in the open air. As a result they underwent much hardship. The Buddha, therefore, ruled that they should not enter rains-retreat in the open air or without proper lodgings. The difficulty they faced in finding such suitable shelter is seen by some of the places they tried out. Among them were a hollow tree, a fork of a tree, a charnel-house, under a sunshade and a large clay pot used to store water. All these were, when brought to his notice, were disallowed by the Buddha. But he allowed them to enter rains-retreat in a cow-pen (*vaja*) and move with it when it was shifted. The commentary explains this as a dwelling place of cow-herds (*VinA* p.1071).Monks are also allowed to enter rains-retreat in a caravan or a boat if they are available in at the commencement of the rains. In the Vinaya texts are also seen the possible beginnings of a custom for lay devotees to invite one or a number of monks to spend the rains in a house owned by them. It is a custom which became very popular in later times and continues up to the present day. However it is declared an offence to accept such an invitation and to enter rain-retreat in another place (*Vin*. I. 152 *f*).

To Return within Seven Days

A monk or nun who observes the rains-retreat is expected to stick to the same residence, where the retreat is entered upon, for the duration of the earlier or later period of three months. This however does not mean that they have to be indoors or within the premises always without leaving it at any time. For instance those who spend the retreat have to go out to collect their forenoon meals. This would not involve travelling for a very long distance from one's lodgings and therefore, one can walk about in and around them. This nevertheless would naturally debar a monk from travelling to distant places even when some important matter demands. Yet the monks could not completely ignore the demands of their lay followers, on whom they depended for their material needs. They also had to fulfill their obligations by their colleagues in the Saṅgha. The Buddha was quite liberal in understanding these organizational problems faced by his disciples. Thus he amended the rules to give some leeway for monks to meet these demands from the other members of the Saṅgha as well as from the laity. If one person out of seven groups of Buddhist followers, viz. male and female lay followers, monks, nuns, women trainees (*sikkhamānā*), and male and female novices, invites a monk or several monks on rains-retreat, sayings, "let the masters come, I want to give a gift, and to hear the *dhamma* and to see the monks", they are allowed to go, only if sent for and not otherwise, and only if the business can be completed within seven days. They should therefore return within seven days. Although the desire to listen to the -*dhamma* and to see the monks are included, the main reason for the invitation happens to be rather mundane than spiritual. The main factor that occasioned the invitation is the construction of some building for members of the Order or for oneself by the person who invites. In the case of a male or female lay follower the reason for the invitation also could be the marriage of one's son or daughter, or that one has fallen ill.

If an invitation is received from one belonging to any of the five groups,viz.monks,nuns, women trainees (*sikkhamānā*) and male and female novices, who has fallen ill, "I now,am ill, let monks come,I want monks to come", a monk or a group of monks on rains retreat

is allowed to go if the business could be completed within seven days. They should return within this period. In such a case, however, they are allowed to go even without an invitation, all the more if invited. To these five groups were also later added a monk's mother and father who have fallen ill. But in the case of brothers, sisters, relatives or a person living with monks, they are allowed to go only if invited to come. In case one visits an invalid member of the Order or one's parents one should think " I will look about for a meal for the invalid, or for the person tending the invalid or seek medicine for the invalid or inquire after his health or tend him myself". The same rules apply when a monk is invited by any one from the five groups in the Saṅgha to assist him in some disciplinary matter or when some dissatisfaction has arisen in one's mind regarding the religious life. In the latter case one should go with the intention of allaying it or getting someone else to do so or give a talk on the Dhamma.The same applies when a wrong view has arisen in the one who invites. One also should go to help a monk or nun who has committed a grave offence deserving probation and, if the penalty has been served, to help him or her to be rehabilitated. If a formal act of discipline like for instance, one of censure (*tajjaniya*) or of guidance (*nissaya*) is to be carried out by an order of monks (*saṅgha*) one is allowed to go to help the offender with or without invitation. If the formal act is already carried out one could help the punished person to conduct himself properly so that the *saṅgha* can revoke the punishment in time. Monks are also obliged to go if a woman trainee or a male novice is desirous of obtaining higher ordination or a female novice wishes to become a trainee by taking up the necessary precepts (*sikkhaṃ samādiyatu kāmā*). A monk on rains-retreat also is allowed to go, under the same rules, on matters connected with the Order.

Cutting Short the Rains-retreat

The Buddha was a strict disciplinarian who always wanted his disciples to be strictly disciplined by the set rules. But at the same time he was also concerned with their mental and physical comfort and well being. In fact two of the reasons given for laying down rules of conduct for them are the comfort (*phāsutā*) and excellence (*suṭṭhutā*) of the Saṅgha. As such even if the rules of rains residence are expected to be strictly observed, if there was a danger to the lives or the physical wellbeing of those on retreat, they are allowed to dispute the retreat and even leave the place without incurring any guilt of transgressing a rule of discipline. Some of the reasons recorded are danger from wild beasts, reptiles, thieves and evil spirits. There are also the cases of either the village where the monks were residing or their lodgings were either burnt down by fire or carried away by flood, and the monks were faced with a shortage of food or lack of lodgings. If, without all this, the monks were beset with a shortage of food, coarse or sumptuous or beneficial food or medicine or attendants, those on rains-retreat are allowed to cut short their retreat as it may be a danger to their lives. Monks are also allowed to cut short their retreat if their religious life is engendered by women and various other types by trying to lure them away with material gains. They also can take the same step to avoid being involved with persons sowing seeds of dissension and schism in the Order or, to go out to help settling such attempts at schism or division, either by oneself or through others known to one.

Rains-retreat and the Bhikkhunīs

Rules concerning the rains-retreat laid down for monks apply to the nuns as well. However, while all the rules of conduct related to the rains –retreat of the monks are found in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the rules of conduct for the nuns starts with the *Cullavagga*. But a number of them have also been included among the *Pātimokkha* rules in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga*.At the very inception of the Order of Nuns (*Vin*.II.255) two rules relating to the rains-retreat have been included in the eight grave matters (*garu-dhammā, Bdst.Skt. guru-dharmāḥ*) made binding for life on nuns. A nun, accordingly, should not enter upon rains-retreat in a residence where there are no monks and, having spent the rains a nun 'should invite'(*pavāretabbaṃ*) before both orders in respect of three matters, viz. what was seen, heard and suspected.These two rules have also come to be included in the *Pātimokkha* as *Pācittiya* rules (*ibid*.IV 313.314). According to the *Pācittiya* rules it is also an offence (*ibid*.296) for a nun to go on tour (*cārikaṃ careyya*) during the rains-retreat and, not to go on tour (*cārikaṃ pakkameyya*) at least for a distance of five or six *yojanas* after ending the retreat (*ibid*.297). Miss Horner[1] has translated the word *cārikā* in both these rules as 'almstour'.This would mean that nuns were prohibited from going even on alms rounds during their rains-retreat. However she has translated a similar statement[2] in reference to monks simply as "*walked*

on tour"(*cārikaṃ caranti*). There is no reason to translate the word *cārikā* differently in the case of nuns.Moreover the interpretation of the words *cārikaṃ careyya* in the Suttavibhanga (*ibid.*IV.297) also shows that an almstour is not meant here .Accordingly, the prohibition for nuns to travel during rains could be in a village close enough for a cock to reach (*kukkuṭasampāte gāme*) or in what is not a village, in the jungle (*agāmake araññe*). Nuns certainly would not have gone on almstours in the jungle where there was no village.

Vassāvāsa- based Religious and Social Institutions

The above reference was made to the possible development of a system of permanent residences for monks derived from an earlier system of temporary residences during the three month period of rains-retreat.Sukumar Dutt was one scholar who try to portray the original Buddhist Community of Monks as one of homeless wanderers. But Prof.Dheerasekera[3] rejects this extreme view of Dutt and emphatically states that " life in community and life in seclusion were undoubtedly in existence side by side even in the earlier phase of the *sāsana*" .But he goes on to say that " to affirm this is not to lose sight of the fact that both monasteries and community life grew in stature in the centuries that followed the establishment of the *sāsana*".The institution of rains residence undoubtedly played a big role in these developments.

Reference was also made above to a possible shortage of suitable lodgings for monks going on rains-retreat and steps taken by the Buddha to assign lodgings to monks during the rains.Devout lay followers stepped into partly solve this problem by inviting monks to spend the rains in a building of theirs. An early instance of this is seen when King Pasenadi invited a certain monk to spend the rains in a dwelling provided by him. In post- canonical legendary didactic tales this practice could be often seen. As the rainy season approached monks would go to the Buddha and obtain his instructions and subjects of meditation and, with his perminion, go out looking for a place to spend the rains. Knowing this, devout villagers would also, sometimes, prepare suitable lodgings for monks and await their arrival in their villages and offer them lodgings and other facilities for the rainy period (See eg.*DhpA*.1 pt.II p.291). This practice of inviting a monk to spend the three month rains-retreat in a house belonging to a layman, sometimes in a newly built house, is practised even at present in Sri Lanka.

For whatever reason the rains-retreat was started, it provided the monks a period of rest in one place free from their mostly wandering lives. Early disciples of the Buddha did not allow this valuable resting period to go waste. As shown by numerous legends they utilized it for their spiritual growth. The legendary tales also often speak of the successes achieved by such monks in reaching their intended spiritual goals during the rainy season. While the monks achieved their spiritual goals the laity, who supported them by providing them with lodgings and other facilities and attending upon them, enhanced their store of merit and also enriched their virtuous qualities by fulfilling their duties by the clerics.

The institution of the rains-retreat of the Buddhist monks has helped to bring the clerical and lay communities of Buddhists, especially in Theravāda countries, closer to each other. The laity who are normally expected to provide the community of monks their material needs through out the year takes a keener interest in providing the needs of the monks during the rainy season. The apparent reason is that the monks are not free to move about as in the other seasons and that they are supposed to take a greater interest in spiritual exercises during this period. As a result Buddhist temples became hives of religious activity with the increasing visits of the laity who provide alms to the monks and participate in regular ceremonies of worship, sermons and chanting conducted by the monks for the benefit of the laity. The conclusion of the rains-retreat is celebrated by Buddhists, in almost every monastery, with alms giving and offering of robes to the monks who observed the retreat, with the offering of the *kaṭhina* robes taking the pride of place. Only one monk,among those who had observed the early period of three months, in each monastery is entitled to receive a *kaṭhina* robe (s.v.*kaṭhina*).

C. Witanachchi.

References

1. *Book Of The Discilpine* (*SBB* XIII), P.T.S, pt 3.1.322
2. *ibid* (*SBB* XIV) pt.4 p.184
3. Dheerasekera, Jotiya, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, Ministry of Higher Education Research Publication Series, Sri Lanka, M.D.Gunesena and Co.,1982,p.6 *f*

VASUBANDHU (4th – according to others 5th - century A.C.) was the second great exponent of Vijñānavāda, the "Consciousness School" of Mahāyāna Buddhism, after Asanga, its founder. Vasubandhu's outstanding position in the Great Vehicle is underlined, for example, by the fact that even nowadays he is regularly commemorated in the Chan / Zen monasteries when the names of the Chan patriarchs[1] are chanted. Several traditional accounts are available providing biographic information on Vasubandhu, for instance *The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha*, Hsüan Tsang's *Records of the Western Kingdoms* or chapter XXII of *Taranatha's History of Buddhism*.[2] According to these accounts, Vasubandhu, born at Purusapura (modern Peshawar), was Asanga's younger brother or half-brother who, endowed with extraordinary intelligence and integrity, became a monk in the Sarvastivāda Order. Having mastered the canonical scriptures of the Srāvakayāna, he went to Kashmir where, *inter alia*, he studied the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma, the *Vibhāṣā* (See ABHIDHARMA-MAHAVIBHASA) in particular, under Sanghabhadra or more likely, according to Chinese tradition, under Sanghabhadra's teacher. Vasubandhu, later composed the verses (*kārikās*) of the *Abhidharmakoṣa* in accordance with Kasmira Sarvastivada-Vaibhasika doctrine. However, when he wrote the *Abhidharmakosabhasya*, i.e. his autocommentary on the *karikas*, he often rejected orthodox Sarvastivadin teachings in favour of Sautrantika viewpoints and, above all, asserted his intellectual independence.[3] Vasubandhu's auto-commentary prompted Sanghabhadra to write two texts with a view to confirming Kasmira Vaibhasika orthodoxy and refuting what he considered erroneous interpretations in the *Kosabhasya*. Sanghabhadra's two works, preserved only in Chinese (Taisho 29, Nos. 1562, 1563), are commentaries on the *Kosabhasya*, viz. the *Nyāyānusāra* and the *Abhidharmasamayapradipika*. In the former work Vasubandhu's deviations from Sarvastivada-Vaibhasika positions are harshly criticized, and the latter, omitting the refutations of the Kosakara's (author of the *Abhidharmakosabhasya*) views, can be regarded as Sanghabhadra's exposition of 'neo-Vaibhasika' teaching in response to Vasubandhu's criticisms.[4] A third commentary on the *Kosabhasya* that has been preserved in its Sanskrit original is the *Abhidharmadipa* together with its prose commentary entitled *Vibhāṣaprabhavrtti*. This work, too, contains "hostile references to the Koṣakāra". It has been tentatively ascribed "either to Sanghabhadra or to one of his disciples."[5] According to tradition, Sanghabhadra sought to challenge Vasubandhu even in a public debate, but such a contest never took place. Vasubandhu is said to have considered his rival a good dialectician wanting, however, in profundity.

Going into details, the biographic accounts narrate Vasubandhu's conversion to the Great Vehicle under the influence of his elder brother Asanga. Vasubandhu is reported to have become deeply impressed by Mahayana discourses, especially by the *Akṣayamatinirdeśsutra* and the *Dasabhumikasutra* on which he wrote commentaries, followed by numerous exegetical works on other Mahayana discourses and treatises. In spite of his extensive literary activities he is also described both as having been an itinerant monk fond of travelling and a meditator, putting great store by contemplation in solitude. Much as he was a renowned debater, he would not engage in debate unless it served the purpose of propagating the Great Vehicle. Apart from Purusapura and Kashmir, Vasubandhu is associated with the following places: Sākala, i.e. Sāgala, the well-known former venue for the *Milindapanha*, present-day Sialkot in Pakistan; Ayodhya where Vasubandhu *inter alia* acted as mentor to the royal family of rulers of the Gupta Dynasty; and the monastic university of Nālanda, according to Taranatha, where he well-nigh incessantly taught, wrote commentaries and compendia and guided the residents of that famous seat of learning. Paramartha says that Vasubandhu died at Ayodhya, whereas according to Bu ston and Taranatha he passed away in Nepal while on tour, disseminating Mahayana teachings. The biographies characterize Vasubandhu as a most altruistic person who utilized all donations, especially prize money as a result of his successes in public debates, now and then showered on him to build monasteries, hospitals, rest-houses and schools. Thus, Mahayana Buddhists recognized Vasubandhu as a veritable Bodhisattva.

As regards Vasubandhu's identity and date, considerable controversy among scholars was caused due to different dates of his birth handed down by tradition and due to a prodigious number of works ascribed to him. In addition, in Yasomitra's *Abhidharmakoṣavyākhyā* a "Vrddhācārya Vasubandhu" is mentioned.[6] First of all, the discrepancy in the dating and the reference to a "senior teacher Vasubandhu" has given rise to the thesis that on the one hand Asanga's younger brother who

converted to the Great Vehicle and became the author of many Mahayana works and, on the other, the Kosakara were two different persons. This thesis, it seems, has not found favour with the majority of scholars.[7] In support of the tradition that the Kosakara and the author of important Yogacara-Vijnanavada texts such as the *Pancaskandhaprakarana*, *Vimsatika* or *Trimsika* are one and the same, it may suffice to point out just a few passages in the *Kosabhasya* that either unmistakably convey a Mahayana perspective in general – apart from the numerous Sautrantika positions in the text ushering in Mahayana Yogacara – or a Vijnanavada one in particular. In the third chapter of the *Kosabhasya* describing 'the World', for instance, in one section the altruism of Bodhisattvas is esteemed, and the section is summarized by the following verses containing the Mahayanist classification of Dharma practisers and non-practisers into three types[8]:

"The inferior person, by all means, is intent on his personal happiness, The middling person on the termination of suffering, not on happiness because in it inheres suffering;

The best person desires, through his personal suffering, the happiness of others and, once and for all, the cessation of [their] suffering; for their suffering is his suffering."[9] As has been pointed out,[10] several times one of the important terms of Yogacara-Vijnanavada occurs in the *Kosabhasya*, viz. *asrayo... paravrtto*, *asrayaparivrtti* ('transformation / revolution of the foundation/receptacle'). The expression *asrayo...paravrtto* is found in Vasubandhu's critique of the Sarvastivadins' concept of *prapti* ('acquisition') by his citing the Sautrantikas' attitude towards it. Whilst to the Sautrantikas *prapti* is just a designation (*prajnapti*), the Sarvastivadins take 'acquisition' as a substance or 'thing in itself' (*dravya*). According to the latter, mental defilements (*klesa*) can only be overcome through the disappearance of the *prapti* of those defilements. The Sautrantikas reply to this by stating that overcoming or not overcoming mental defilements depend on the kind of *asraya* involved (*asrayavisesa*): "It is the *asraya* of the Noble Ones that is transformed in such a manner through the efficacy of the Path of Seeing [the Truths] and Meditation that it is impossible for the mental defilements they had to get rid of to manifest themselves again."[11] Similarly, the term *asrayaparivrtti* is employed by Vasubandhu thrice in his treatment of *karman* when dealing with the Noble Ones whose 'continuity' (*samtati*) is pure because of the 'transformation of their foundations' through Seeing the Truths and Meditation.[12]

A careful examination of 'Yogacara elements in the *Abhidharmakosabhasya*' has recently lead to the conclusion that in the *Kosabhasya* "Vasubandhu uses the term Sautrantika to designate positions in the *Yogacarabhumi* that he prefers to those of orthodox Sarvastivada" and that he "adjusts the traditional Sarvastivadin *abhidharma* so that it no longer conflicts with the central theories of Yogacara."[13] Lastly, the "Vrddhacarya Vasubandhu" who in part occasioned the thesis that the Kosakara and the Yogacara Vasubandhu were different persons, has been described as "indeed an earlier Vasubandhu, who worked within the (Mula)Sarvastivadin or Vaibhasika tradition. Considering the lack of references to him elsewhere, he seems to have been a relatively minor figure in the history of Indian Buddhist thought. There is no reason whatsoever to suppose that he turned later to the Mahayana as did (according to the biographies) the Kosakara."[14]

As for the great number of works attributed to Vasubandhu,[15] first of all, a group of twelve writings will be surveyed briefly,[16] and the outline of Vasubandhu's œuvre will be concluded with some references to further works dealt with by modern scholars so as to give at least a rough idea of Vasubandhu's exceptional versatility as a thinker and author.

Twelve works ascribed to Vasubandhu have been grouped together on grounds of sufficient internal and external evidence for the Koṣakāra's authorship. For the grouping of these 'authentic' works two main criteria have been used: a) cross-references in the writings of Vasubandhu himself or in those of his commentators (Yasomitra, Gunaprabha, Prthivibandhu); b) style, sources drawn upon, methodology and development of ideas. Vasubandhu's prose style has been aptly described as being unmistakably distinctive: "It is confident and learned, replete with citations and allusions to canonical and other literature, and to the opinions of different teachers or schools... His verse is terse: compact, concise, mnemonic..."[17]

The treatise preserved in Tibetan translation that has been called Vasubandhu's "most brilliant work,

far surpassing the already brilliant *Abhidharmakosa*... awaiting study and translation",[18] is the *Vyakhyayukti* ("Appropriate Means of Exegesis") in which the author sets forth both in an inventive and sophisticated manner principles of hermeneutics together with practical examples of how one should proceed with explaining the discourses (*sutra*) of the Buddha. One of the aims of the author is the vindication of Mahayana *sutras* as also being the word of the Buddha by quoting and then refuting the arguments of certain followers of the Sravakayana. The latter, not considering the Mahayana scriptures authentic *buddhavacana*, base their arguments on form (normative structure of the Tripitaka), content (doctrinal norms vs. Mahayana innovations) and on criteria which the Buddha is reported to have laid down for what should be accepted as his word. In reply to the Sravakayana followers' charge of Mahayana discourses being inconsistent with the original teachings of the Buddha, Vasubandhu cites apparently contradictory passages from the Sravakayana canon, thereby demonstrating prima facie scriptural inconsistency in the Sravakas' canonical texts as well. Now the author avails himself of the opportunity to apprise the Sravakas of a hermeneutic device to cope with textual inconsistencies through exegesis, viz. the interpretation of crucial passages on the one hand as intentional (*abhiprayika*) teaching of indirect or provisional meaning (*neyartha*) requiring further elucidation and, on the other, as teaching of certain or definitive meaning (*nitartha*). Moreover, Vasubandhu subjects the Sravakas' notion of Tripitaka canonicity to scrutiny and points out the fact that the Sravakayana canon is incomplete, since "Ananda did not know all the *sutras*,"[19] and that there actually is no "teaching of the Buddha well-known to all schools" due to the different arrangement of the canonical texts by different schools and because of their disagreement on the canonicity of certain *sutras*.[20] At the end of Vasubandhu's textual debate with the Sravakas there is mutual agreement about a definition of *buddhavacana* as that which tallies with what is contained in the *sutras* teaching the Four Noble Truths, "with (a notion of *vinaya*) as the disciplining of the afflictions and with a notion of reality as dependent origination." Here Vasubandhu emphasizes that the Mahayana is, indeed, quite compatible with this definition.[21] The *Vyakhyayukti* strongly influenced both Indian and later on Tibetan masters such as Bhavaviveka, Haribhadra, Bu ston or Sa skya Pandita. The importance of this work cannot be overestimated. Closely related to it is the *Vyakhyayukti-sutrakhandasata* ("One Hundred Extracts from the Discourses for the 'Appropriate Means of Exegesis'"), being a collection of excerpts from the scriptures, indispensable for a proper understanding of Vasubandhu's quotations in the former treatise, giving the extracts only in abbreviation.

Posterior to the *Vyakhyayukti* is the *Karmasiddhiprakarana* ("The Treatise Establishing [the Factual Teaching of] Action") because in this work Vasubandhu refers to the former text. Although the author addressed the *Karmasiddhi-prakarana* mainly to followers of the Sravakayana, he composed the treatise as a supporter of the Mahayana, for he cites the *Samdhinirmocanasutra* – one of the basic Yogacara discourses – and presents the Yogacara classification of the "store consciousness" (*alayavijnana*).[22] Only a Tibetan and a Chinese version of this text have been preserved.

The *Pratityasamutpādādivibhanga-nirdesa* ("Elucidation of the 'Beginning' of Dependent Origination and Its 'Explana-tion'") is a commentary[23] on the *Pratitya-samutpadadivibhangasutra*, preserved in Tibetan translation and in some Sanskrit fragments from Nepal. In style and methodology the commentary resembles the other writings of Vasubandhu who also in this text refers to the *Samdhi-nirmocanasutra* and the *Yogacarabhumi* (on the definition of 'nescience' (avidya)) and, likewise, includes his conception of *alayavijnana*. The *Pancaskandhaprakara-na* is a short "Treatise on the Five Aggregates", preserved only in Tibetan and Chinese. Prthivibandhu, one of the three authors commenting on the *Pancaskandhaprakarana*, remarks that the *Abhidharmakosa* is addressed to "one who understands a developed exposition" and the *Pancaskandhaprakarana* to "one who understands a condensed exposition". A relationship between the *Pancaskandha-prakarana* and the *Kosabhasya*, Asanga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and Vasubandhu's *Trimsika-karikas* has been noted.[24]

The *Gāthāsamgrahaśāstra* is a 'compilation of' twenty-one 'verses' quoted from canonical Sravakayana literature, and the *Gatharthasamgraha-sastra* a prose commentary on that 'verse collection', clarifying the 'subject-matter' (*artha*) of the verses. The commentary neither quotes from nor refers to any Mahayana texts, nor contains any specific

Mahayana notions, but it does draw on Asanga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and rely heavily on the *Abhidharmakosa*. The first verse of the *Gathasamgrahasastra* along with its commentary from the *Gatharthasamgrahasastra* is found as a separate work in the *bsTan 'gyur*, entitled *Ekagathabhasya*, also attributed to Vasubandhu. Concerning the latter text, it has been observed that a commentary of it, the *Ekagathatika*, is ascribed to Dignaga, who also wrote a brief commentary on the *Abhidharmakosa*, the *Marmapradipa*. Since Dignaga's authorship of the latter and his connection with Vasubandhu – traditionally Dignaga's erstwhile teacher - has been doubted by some scholars, the *Ekagathatika* might be a piece of evidence in support of the tradition.[25]

Within the group of twelve of Vasubandhu's writings the last four have become fairly accessible thanks to a number of studies and translations by scholars from the East and West,[26] viz. the *Vimsatika*, the *Vimsatikavrtti*, the *Trimsika* and the *Trisvabhavanirdesa*. The *Vimsatika*, "[Tract in] Twenty (-two) Verses", along with the prose autocommentary *Vimsatikavrtti*, and the *Trimsika*, "[Tract in] Thirty Verses", are also known under the collective title *Vijnaptimatrata-siddhi*, "Proof of Ideas (Imagining / Mind / Consciousness / Notification) Only".[27] The *Vimsatika* is both a summary and defence of Yogacara idealism in which Vasubandhu right from the beginning expressly denies extra-mental facts: *khams gsum pa 'di ni sems tsam mo*, 'the whole world is Mind Only'. With the help of examples of dream and collective hallucination he argues that limitation in place and time, intersubjectivity and causal effectiveness can all be justified by the teaching of 'Mind Only'. To the raised objection that the Buddha did in fact affirm the existence of matter and the like Vasubandhu reacts by refuting the relationship between a composite and the subtle atoms composing it by means of what has been described as the "'neither one nor many' reasoning... which takes two forms: that any entity is neither one individual nor many different things, or that the part-whole relationship is impossible, for the parts are neither one with nor different from the whole."[28]

One passage in the *Vimsatika* may be singled out which because of its elliptical diction has led to different modern interpretations. Unlike the majority of scholars agreeing with the interpretations of the ancient masters like Santaraksita and other Yogacara-Madhyamikas, some claim that Vasuban-dhu like other Yogacara authors, did not deny external objects.[29] With reference to the *Vimsatika*, ad v. 10d, it has been averred that through the teaching of *vijnaptimatra* the non-substantiality of all *dharmas* is taught, but not the denial of their existence. Further, with reference to "the ineffable aspects of reality, and the clear admission that beings in their ineffable nature are beyond the experience of ordinary men" it has been concluded that Vasubandhu's "criticism of realism cannot by any means imply a denial of extra-mental reality."[30] A translation of the elliptical passage under discussion may be attempted by taking into consideration, as far as possible, overall Yogacara thought in Vasubandhu:

"[By stating that] a phenomenon (fact, factor of existence) is absolutely non-existent one does not penetrate the insubstantiality of phenomena. [One does,] however, [penetrate it] through ['transconceptual' insight into the meaning of] **'essentially [false] imagination'** (10d). What the ignorant imagine the 'own-being' of phenomena, [viz.] subject, object etc., on account of essentially [false] imagination is their [discursive] insubstantiality (*nairatmya*) [which, however, is] not [realized by discursive thought], but through essentially ineffable ['transconceptual' insight] which is the sphere of the Buddhas. Thus 'Ideas Only' is just [discursively understood] by what is basically having another idea of it. [Only] by penetrating insubstantiality through the realization of 'Ideas Only' [as 'transconceptual' insight] is the insubstantiality of all phenomena penetrated, but not by denying their existence. Otherwise of an idea there would be just another idea as its object and thus the [realization of] 'Ideas Only' could not be accomplished due to the fact that ideas relate to objects."[31]

This passage has been commented upon as follows: "Empirical consciousness has a necessary objective reference and even if the external object be known to be unreal the reality of the idea of the object as its content will remain uncancelled. But content distinct from consciousness is only an imaginary construction."[32] As for "unreal imagination" being "not entirely unreal" according to Vasubandhu's *Madhyantavibhaga-Bhasya* I. 4, corre-sponding to the Madhyamikas' conven-tional truth without which absolute truth cannot be realized, See YOGĀCĀRA.

The *Trimsika*[33] treats the store consciousness (*alayavijnana*) and the three kinds of "nature"

(*trisvabhava*). It also gives in verse some of the classifications found in the prose *Pancaskandhaprakara-na* and to some extent bears a close relationship to the latter text. Again, the three *svabhavas* are discussed in the *Trisvabhavanirdesa* ("Description of the Three [Kinds of] Nature")[34] in a perspicacious and exhaustive manner even though the text consists of only thirty-seven verses. Vasubandhu chiefly deals with the relationship of the *svabhavas* to each other, *inter alia*, by describing them in terms of 'being and non-being', 'duality and unity', 'difference and identity'. In order to facilitate understanding his extremely pithy verses, Vasubandhu draws an analogy between magical creation and the three *svabhavas*: By the power of his incantations (*mantra*) a magician makes his spectators take a piece of wood for an elephant. The elephant stands for imaginary nature (*parikalpita*) and its subject-object duality; both the elephant and duality are imaginary creations without any real existence. The magical creation per se, that which is falsely imagined by the spectators to appear in front of them symbolizes relative or dependent nature (*paratantra*), and the non-existence of the elephant, the non-existence of duality, corresponds to absolute nature (*parinis-panna*). The incantations of the magician represent the store consciousness: the *mantras* create the magical illusion and, likewise, the 'perfuming seed-planting impressions' (*vasana*) making up the store consciousness bring about relative nature by passing from a subliminal to a conscious level of subject-object duality, i.e. the *ālayavijnāna* is the cause of *paratantrasvabhava* (See ĀLAYA-VIJÑĀNA). Finally, the piece of wood as the magician's requisite for his magical creation is symbolic of *tathata*, ultimate reality or absolute nature, the 'only remaining entity', viz. the non-existence of duality. In the magical show the only real thing is the piece of wood, and in the *parinispannasvabhava* ultimate non-duality. The realization of *tathata*, in Vasubandhu's words, consists – with reference to the three *svabhavas* – in insight-knowledge (*parijna*), relinquishing (*prahana*) and obtainment (*prapti*):

"Then insight-knowledge is considered the non-recognition [of what is falsely imagined]; relinquishment [is considered] the non-perception [of relative nature with its subject-object duality], and signless[35] recognition – that is obtainment and the realization [of the ultimate reality of absolute nature]."[36]

Besides the commentaries on Mahayana discourses referred to above that are ascribed to Vasubandhu, the following two works may also be mentioned because of their importance especially in the context of the religious history of East Asia, viz. Vasubandhu's commentaries on the *Saddharmapundarikasutra* and *Sukhavativyuhasutra*.[37] Exegetical works explicating Yogacara treatises are also attributed to Vasubandhu such as the *Madhyantavibhaga-Bhasya* ("Commentary on Distinguishing the Middle from Extremes")[38] or the *Dharmadharmata-vibhagavrtti* ("Commentary on Distin-guishing Factors of Existence from Their True Nature").[39] Furthermore, Vasubandhu is credited with having written four tracts on logic, for instance the *Vadavidhi*,[40] thereby – together with Asanga – preparing the ground for the development of Buddhist logic proper.

References

1 See Bangwei Wang, "The Indian Origin of the Chinese Buddhist Chan School's Patriarch Tradition", in: Bhikkhu Tampalawela Dhammaratana, Bh. Pasadika (eds.), *Dharmaduta*. Melanges offerts au Ven. Thich Huyen-Vi a l'occasion de son soixante-dixieme anniversaire. Paris, 1997, pp. 261-270.

2 For bibliographical information and biographic details see ASANGA; see also Stefan Anacker, *Seven Works of Vasubandhu*. Delhi, 1984, pp. 7-28.

3 See ABHIDHARMA-KOSA-BHAŚYA, ABHIDHARMAKOṢA-SAŚTRA.

4 See Collett Cox, *Disputed Dharmas. Early Buddhist Theories on Existence*. An Annotated Translation of the Section on Factors Dissociated from Thought from Sanghabhadra's *Nyāyānusāra*. The International Institute for Buddhist Studies (IIBS). Tokyo, 1995, pp. 53-63.

5 See ABHIDHARMA-DĪPA.

6 Unrai Wogihara (ed.), *Sphutārtha Abhidharma-koṣavyākhyā by Yasomitra*. Tokyo, 1932-36, reprint 1971, p. 35, line 20.

7 For a survey of the scholarly debate on the date of Vasubandhu and on the discussions about two Vasubandhus See Akira Hirakawa *et al.*, *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Part One, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese. Tokyo, 1973, pp. I-X. See also Robert Kritzer, *Vasubandhu and the Yogācārabhūmi*. Yogācāra Elements in the

Abhidharmakosabhasya, IIBS. Tokyo, 2005, pp. XXII-XXX.

8 For a discussion of the Mahayanist 'three persons doctrine' See Bh. Pasadika, "Once Again on the Hypothesis of Two Vasubandhus", in: V.N. Jha (ed.), *Kalyana-Mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume*. Delhi, 1991, pp. 15-21.

9 See Prahlad Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakosabhasyam of Vasubandhu*. Patna, 1967; revised 2nd ed. with introduction and indices by Aruna Haldar. Patna, 1975, p. 182, line 16-19 (III.94): *hinah prarthayate svasamtatigatam yais tair upayaih sukham madhyo duhkhanivrttim eva na sukham duhkhaspadam tad yatah / srestah prarthayate svasamtatigatair duhkhaih paresam sukham duhkhatyantanivrttim eva ca yatas tadduhkhaduhkhy eva sah //*

10 Hirakawa 1973, p. XI.

11 See Pradhan 1975, p. 63, line 21-22: *asrayo hi sa aryanam darsanabhavanamargasamarthyat tatha paravrtto bhavati yatha na punas tatpraheyanam klesanam prarohasamartho bhavati /*

12 *Ibid.*, p. 232f., line 25-27. 2. As for *asrayapara(i)vrtti* – *alayaparavrtti*, see ASANGA, n. 39.

13 Kritzer 2005, p. XXX.

14 See Peter Skilling, "Vasubandhu and the *Vyakhyayukti* Literature", in: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2000), p. 312. Apart from the reference in Yasomitra, the author also mentions as parallel ("not a simple borrowing from Yasomitra") to the *vrddhacarya* a place in Sthiramati's commentary on the *Kosabhasya* preserved in the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur* (Peking ed., Vol. 146): *slob dpon dbYig gnen sna ma* = "Purvacarya Vasubandhu".

15 For a list of Vasubandhu's writings extant in the original Sanskrit in toto or in fragments and in Chinese / Tibetan translations together with the nos. of the Taisho ed. / Peking ed. of the Tibetan Tripitaka (ed. D.T. Suzuki) See Thich Man Giac, *The Philosophy of Vasubandhu*. Los Angeles, 1990, p. 52ff. Full bibliographical information on works attributed to Vasubandhu, covering notably research done by Japanese scholars, is provided in Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism. A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*. Tokyo, 1980, pp. 268-273.

16 The survey owes much to Peter Skilling: See Skilling 2000.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 298f.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 350. A few passages have been translated in Jose Ignacio Cabezon, "Vasubandhu's *Vyakhyayukti* on the Authenticity of the Mahayana *Sutras*", in: Jeffrey R. Timm (ed.), *Texts in Context. Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*. Albany (New York), 1992, pp. 221-243.

19 Cf. *Vin. II* (*Cullavagga*, Porana-/ Puranattheravatthu), p. 289f.: After the First Council of Rajagaha Purana, accompanied by a large order of monks, is asked to "submit himself" to *dhamma* and *vinaya* as "chanted" by the participants in the Council. Purana, however, prefers to bear in mind what he has personally heard in the presence of the Buddha.

20 Cf. ASANGA, n. 66, where, with reference to the discussion of *Tathatā*, the conception of non-duality is compared with Western insights thanks to recent scientific discoveries. Similarly, a rigorous scientific approach presupposing a thoroughgoing critical and self-critical attitude, sometimes claimed to have been adopted exclusively by contemporary theologians and scholars of religious studies, can also be seen in Vasubandhu as Vijnanavada philosopher (for instance in the sense of his exposing subjectivity in spite of his idealism) in general and as hemeneutist in particular as revealed by his *Vyakhyayukti*. On Vasubandhu and Western parallels see Bimal Krishna Matilal, *Logic, Language and Reality. An Introduction to Indian Philosophical Studies*. Delhi, 1985, p. 228ff.

21 After Cabezon 1992, p. 232.

22 For modern translations of the *Karmasiddhiprakarana* see Etienne Lamotte, *Le Traite de l'Acte de Vasubandhu*. Melanges chinois et bouddhiques, vol. 4. Bruges, 1936, and the English transl. based on Lamotte's by Leo M. Pruden, *The Treatise on Action by Vasubandhu*. Berkeley, 1988. See also Anacker, 1984, pp. 93-156. As for *alayavijnana*, see the full-scale study by Lambert Schmithausen: *Alayavijnana. On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogacara Philosophy*; Part I, II. IIBS. Tokyo, 1987, 2007.

23 Comprehensive bibliographical information on this text – also entitled *Pratityasamutpadavyakhya* – is given by Marek Mejor in: a) "On the Formulation of the *Pratityasamutpada*: Some Observations from Vasubandhu's *Pratityasamutpadavyakhya*", b) "On Vasubandhu's *Pratityasamutpadavyakhya*", in: *Studia Indologiczne* vol. 4 (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 136-161.

24 See the annotated French transl. by Jean Dantinne, *Le Traite des Cinq Agregats*. Brussels, 1980; for an English transl. see Anacker 1984, pp. 51-82. A Danish transl. is found in Christian Lindtner, *Hinayana. Den tidlige indiske buddhisme*. Copenhagen, 1998, pp. 167-177.

25 Skilling 2000, p. 307.

26 Regarding the group of twelve works by Vasubandhu, comprehensive bibliographical information, also covering recent publications, is provided *ibid.*

27 As for the synonymity of *citta, manas, vijnana* and *vijnapti*, see *Vimsatikavrtti* ad v. 1: *sems dan yid dan / rnam par ses pa dan / rnam par rig pa zes bya ba ni rnam grans su gtogs pa'o /* quoted in: Jürgen Hanneder, "Vasubandhus Vimsatika 1-2 anhand der Sanskrit- u. tibetischen Fassungen", in: Konrad Klaus, Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds.), *Indica et Tibetica*. Michael Hahn Felicitation Vol. Vienna, 2007, pp. 207-214. Hanneder points out that, in fact, vv. 1, 2 of the *Vimsatika* and the *vrtti* pertaining to them – apart from the remaining text – are not preserved in their Sanskrit original and that the Sanskrit given in the various editions is a retranslation by Sylvain Levi who edited the text for the first time in 1925. Hanneder also mentions a) a facsimile edition of the Sanskrit text in: Katsumi Mimaki, Musashi Tachikawa, Akira Yuyama (eds.), *Three Works of Vasubandhu in Sanskrit Manuscript. The Trisvabhavanirdesa, the Vimsatika with its Vrtti, and the Trimsika with Sthiramati's Commentary* (Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 1). Tokyo, 1989; b) a Polish transl. of the *Vimsatika* by Piotr Balcerowicz, Monika Nowakowska in *Studia Indologiczne* 6 (1999), pp. 5-44.

28 See Tom J.F. Tillemans, *Materials for the Study of Aryadeva, Dharmapala and Candrakirti*, Vol. I. Vienna, 1990, p. 63. See also ASANGA on the atom, n. 46-48.

29 See a) Paul J. Griffiths, *On Being Mindless. Buddhist Meditation and the Mind-Body Problem*. La Salle, 1986, pp. 82-84, 177, n. 19; b) Lambert Schmithausen, "Vijnaptimatra(ta)", in: Joachim Ritter *et al.* (eds.), *Historisches Worterbuch der Philosophie*. Basle, 2001, p. 1059, n. 33; c) L. Schmithausen, *On the Problem of the External World in the Ch'eng wei shih lun*. IIBS, Tokyo, 2005, pp. 10f., 52ff.

30 See Thomas A. Kochumuttom, *A Buddhist Doctrine of Experience. A New Translation and Interpretation of the Works of Vasubandhu the Yogacarin*. Delhi, 1982, pp. 23, 174.

31 Anacker 1984, p. 416 (*Vimsatika* ad v. 10d): *na khalu sarvatha dharmo nastity evam dharmanairatmyapraveso bhavati / api tu* ***kalpitatmana//*** *yo balair dharmanam svabhavo grahyagrahakadih parikalpitas tena kalpitenatmana tesam nairatmyam na tv anabhilapyenatmana yo buddhanam visaya iti / evam vijnaptimatrasyapi vijnaptyantaraparikalpitenatmana nairatmyapravesat(d) vijnaptimatravyavasthapanaya sarvadharmanam nairatmyapraveso bhavati na tu tadastitvapavadat / itaratha hi vijnapter api vijnaptyantaram arthah syad iti vijnaptimatratvam na sidhyetarthavatitvad vijnaptinam //*

32 See Sitamsusekhara Bagchi, "Vimsatika of Vasubandhu", in: Satkari Mookerjee (ed.), *The Nava-Nalanda-Mahavihara Research Publication* Vol. 1. Nalanda, 1957, p. 379.

33 Apart from a number of translations of this Yogacara classic into modern Eastern and Western languages there exists a Danish transl. in: Christian Lindtner, *Mahayana. Den senere indiske buddhisme*. Copenhagen, 1998, pp. 93-99.

34 A detailed study of "The Trisvabhavakarika of Vasubandhu", including a critical edition of the text, by Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti appeared in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 11 (1993), pp. 225-266. A German transl. of the same text is found in Hans Wolfgang Schumann, *Mahayana-Buddhismus*, Munich, 1990, pp. 95-102.

35 Reminiscent of *Ps.* II, pp. 35f., 68; *Vism.*, p. 658: *animitto vimokkho.*

36 Tola, Dragonetti 1983, p. 251 (v. 32): *parijñanupalambho 'tra hanir akhyanam isyate/ upalambho 'nimittas tu praptih saksatkriyapi sa//*

37 A summary of the *Sukhavativyuhopadesa* (extant only in Chinese) is provided by Kajiyama in: Katsumi Mimaki *et al.* (eds.), *Yuichi Kajiyama, Studies in Buddhist Philosophy.* Selected Papers. Kyoto, 1989, pp. 30-33 ("Transfer of Merits in Pure Land Buddhism").

38 See Gajin M. Nagao (ed.), *Madhyantavibhaga-Bhasya.* Tokyo, 1964; Nathmal Tatia, Anantalal Thakur (eds.), *id.*, Patna, 1967; Ramchandra Pandeya (ed.), *Madhyantavibhaga-Sastra* (with *Bhasya* of Vasubandhu and *Tika* by Sthiramati). Delhi, 1971.

39 See Klaus-Dieter Mathes (ed., transl.), *Unterscheidung der Gegebenheiten von ihrem wahren Wesen. Dharmadharmatavibhaga* with Vasubandhu's *Vrtti* (edition of the Tibetan text and German transl.). Swisttal-Odendorf, 1996.

40 See Anacker 1984, pp. 31-48 (*Vada-vidhi*, "A Method for Argumentation"); for further details see Man Giac 1990, pp. 114-177 ('Some Logical Results').

Bhikkhu Pasādika

VASUMITRA (2nd century A.C.) was one of the leading scholars of the Sarvāstivāda School and successor to Kātyayaniputra (redactor of the Jñānaprasthāna, the first canonical work of the Sarvastivadins' Abhidharmapitaka). A special council of the Sarvastivadins was held in Kashmir in the 1st or at the beginning of the 2nd century. According to Paramartha, it was Katyniputra who presided over that council, whereas the later Kashmiri tradition ascribes the presidency and redaction of the Mahāvibhāṣā to Vasumitra (See ABHIDHARMA-MAHĀVIBHĀṢĀ, ABHIDHARMA LITERATURE, MAHĀVIBHĀṢĀ). In all likelihood the Tripitaka of the Sarvastivada School was codified in the 1st century to the end of which the Vibhāṣā can be dated, attributed to Katyayaniputra, followed by the Ifahurihhasa, datable to Ca. 200 AC.1'

In the Chinese Tripitaka seven works are included that are considered to have been authored by the Sarvastivadin master Vasumitra, viz. the Taisho nos. 1540-1542, 1549, 2031-2033: no. 1540 — Hsüan Tsang's translation of the [Abhidharma] dhātukāya[padasastra]]: nos. 1541, 1542 — Gunabhadra's / Bodhiyasas' and Hsüan Tsangs translations, respectively, of the [Abhidharma] prakarana [padasastra]; no. 1549 of this work no Sanskrit title has been preserved, and also the translator's name is uncertain (Samghabhadra?); the Chinese title of the work can be translated as "Sastra compiled by Vasumitra Bodhisattva"; nos. 2031-2033 are three different translations of the Samayabhedoparacanacakra, also attributed to Vasumitra, respectively translated by Hsüan Tsang and (two different recensions"?) by Paramartha. The Chinese translations of the Sanskrit title of this text reveal that it is a treatise on the various/eighteen schools (of the Srāvakayāna). Whilst the former nos. are listed among the Abhidharma works, the latter three are included in the collection of "historical and biographical accounts". Due to the different topics dealt with in the above works attributed to Vasumitra, traditional chroniclers already speak of several different authors hearing the name Vasumitra.

As for the Abhidharmika Vasumitra's Dhātukāya and Prakarana in their original Sanskrit versions, unfortunately only fragments in the form of quotations and manuscript remains have come down to us. Two quotations of the Dhatukaya are given in each of the two commentaries, viz. in Yasomitra's Abhidharmakosavyakhya and in the Abhidharmadipa Vibhasa prabhavriti; the Abhidharmakosabhasya contains twenty-four quotations from the Prakarana, the Kosavyakhya sixteen, the Vibhasaprabhavrti and the Arthaviniscaya-Nibandhana three each. Among the manuscript remains from Turfan so far five pieces have been identified and published as Prakarana fragments.²

Bhikkhu Pasādika

References

1 See Andre Bareau. Les sectes bouddhiques du petit vehicule. Paris, 1955, p. 131 ff.

2 Two fragments have been edited by Junkichi Imanishi, three by Lambert Schmithausen (together with his translation and copious notes) in: Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Volker M. Tschannerl (eds.), Vividharatnakarandaka (Adelheid Mette Felicitation Vol.), Indica et Tibetica 37, Swisttal-Odendorf, 2000, pp. 481-492: "Zwei Fragmente

aus dem Prakarana" L. Schmithausen also provides full bibliographical information on both the Prakarana quotations and J. Imanishi's publications.

VĀSTUVIDYĀŚĀSTRA: A Sri lankan Sanskrit *śilpa* text dealing with monastic architecture and imagecraft, belonging to the Mahāyāna tradition and ascribed to Bodhisattva *Mañjuśrī*. The text is in the form of an answer given by the Buddha to certain questions raised by Bodhisattva *Mañjuśrī* concerning the *vāstuśāstra* and allied arts. It contains nearly 1600 stanzas in *śloka* metre and the two sections treating of the subjects of architecture and iconology are differently titled, viz. *Vāstuvidyāśāstra* (Chapter 1-3) and *Citrakarmaśāstra* (Chapters 4-18) respectively. One of the oldest and the most comprehensive of *śilpa* texts on Buddhist art hitherto discovered, the work has survived in a single palmleaf manuscript found from a Buddhist temple in Gampola in Central Sri Lanka and now kept in the Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka. Although it is difficult to ascertain the year of its compilation, there is no doubt that it records a *śilpaśāstra* tradition that was in vogue much anterior to the 7th century A.C. and enjoyed popularity at least up to the 9th century.

In its section on monastic architecture the work describes the process of building a typical Mahāyāna monastery and gives details of twenty- four kinds of different *ārāma* layouts. One type of layout differs from another mainly in the positioning of the five major edifices, namely, the *caitya*, the *bodhiveśman*, the image- house, the chapter house (*sabhā*) and the monks' residence (*prāsāda* or *munivāsa*), which again determines the positions of ancillary buildings. The small *caitya* described here had a *gaja-stambha* (or yūpa), a *chatra- daṇḍa* (umbrella –pole) and an umbrella, all made of wood. The single umbrella later developed into what can be called a 'pile of umbrellas' which ultimately took the form of the present spire. This change took place after the 7th century. Similary the Buddha image described in the section on imagecraft has the *uṣṇīṣa* (the protrusion on the head of the Buddha) and no *siras-paṭa* which comes into appearance only in the 7th century and after. This section describes in proper order the whole process of fashioning clay images, from the enumeration of species of trees that are deemed suitable for making the image-core (*pratimā- śila*) to the placing of the eyes. It also lays down the measurements in minute detail for standing and seated Buddha and Bodhisattva images in terms of the Superior *Ten-tāla* measure and the medium *Ten-tāla* measure respectively.

The *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, a pali work belonging to the ninth century, says that King Devānampiya Tissa (3rd century B.C.) who donated part of his pleasure park Mahāmeghavana to Ven. Mahinda, directed the chief artisan to layout the Mahāvihāra in accordance with the *Siṃhavikrānta* plan (*sīhavikkhantaṃ katvā*), in which the various edifices were placed at the points touched by the different limbs, the tail and the gaze of a gigantic imaginary lion standing and looking back with head turned. This in fact is one of the twenty-four types of layout described in the *Vāstuvidyāśāstra*. Since we cannot believe that king Devānampiya Tissa who flourished in the pre- Christian era had the knowledge of such a sophisticated architectural tradition, the reference to the *Siṃhavikrānta* layout by the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* author may be explained as an attempt made at endowing a time- honoured architectural layout to the Mahāvihāra which had not been built in accordance with any preconceived plan. The *Siṃhavikrānta* layout was probably the closest to the existing layout of the Mahāvihāra. However, this shows that the architectural tradition laid down in the *Vāstuvidyāśāstra* was still in vogue in the ninth century Sri Lanka.

This work was edited for the first time by the present writer and published together with an English translation in two volumes. The bibliographical details of the two volumes are as follows:

1. The *Vāstuvidyāśāstra* Ascribed to *Mañjuśrī*, edited & translated into English by E.W.Marasinghe, Bibliotheca Indo- buddhica Series, No. 67, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1989.

2. The *Citrakarmaśāstra* Ascribed to *Mañjuśrī*, edited & translated into English by E.W. Marasinghe, Bibliotheca Indo- Buddhica Series, No. 81, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1991.

E. W. Marasinghe.

VAṬADĀGE: The literal meaning of the term *Vaṭadāge* is circular relic house. But practically it means circular stūpa-shrine which is the most popular type of stūpa-shrines in Sri Lanka. As a result of this

popularity now people use this term for all types of stūpa-shrines.

In the first part of the *Mahāvamsa* or the greater chronicle of Sri Lanka we find *Thūpaghara* and *Cetiyaghara* to mean stūpa-shrine. But in the second part of the same chronicle both these terms were replaced by the term *Dhātugeha* (dāge in Sinhalese). In India we find *grhastupa* and *caityasālā* for stupa-shrine. Among the archaeological monuments in India there are two types of stūpa-shrines; one is circular and the other is rectangular in plan. A circular stūpa-cave is found at Guntapalle.[1] The roof is fixed to the ceiling above the stūpa. There are no columns to support the roof. The *caitya-sālā* (stūpa-hall) at Ajanta is of rectangular plan[2] carved out of a living rock. This *caitya-sālā* has its roof in arch shape carved out of the ceiling of the cave. There we see columns on left and right carved out of the walls of the rock. The last type of stūpa-shrine has not been found in Sri Lanka.

The *Mahāvamsa* refers to a stūpa-shrine in the realm of Nāgas. According to this account the house was built above the *stūpa*. This is the type we see at Guntapalle, in India. This must have been the original type of stūpa-shrine. Therefore the circular type has the longest history.

The concept and plan of the stūpa-shrine seemed to have originated in India. Sri Lankan Buddhists must have copied it from them.

The religious significance of the Vaṭadāge: The sacred objects of Buddhist worship are threefold; 1. *sārīrika* (remains of the mortal body of the historical Buddha), 2. *pāribhogika* (the items used by the historical Buddha) and 3. *uddesika* (the lion throne or the image of the Buddha). The *sārīrika* is the most valuable of them. All these are indexical signs which help one to recall the Buddha and concentrate on him. By doing this he can experience the joy. As evident from the early Buddhist arts of India devokes made offerings to the Buddha but not to the *-cetiyas* or the indexical signs. People worshipped and made offerings not to the *cetiyas* but to the Buddha. Later Buddhists worshipped and made offerings not to the Buddha but to the *cetiyas* or the indexical signs.

After the cremation of two chief disciples of the Buddha namely Sariputta and Moggallana, remains were collected and built *stūpas* over them. When the Buddha passed away his mortal body was cremated and the remains were distributed among eight representatives and they built *stūpas* and enshrined them. Later those relics were taken out and distributed among the Buddhist countries by Emperor Asoka. They enshrined most of them in newly built *stūpas*. By circumambulation the *stūpa*, lighting lamps and offering flowers to them one could accumulate good deeds as a result of which he can be born in heaven after his death.

Buddhist *stūpas* are the dwellings of absolute Buddha. The absolute Buddha is living in them. Buddhists perform various rituals for the Buddha and they place their offerings before the *stūpa*.

From the third century A.C. Sri Lanka had Tantric Buddhist influence. They introduced a set of conceptual Buddhas as Dhyāni Buddhas. These Buddhas were accepted by the monks of the Abhayagiri Vihāra, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. They seemed to have placed a *maṇḍala* of such five Buddhas around the stūpa in the *Vaṭadāge*. The Buddhist theme in the *Vaṭadāge* at Medirigiriya in Polonnaruwa district has been identified by some scholars as the *maṇḍala* of five Dhyani Buddhas.[3] In this theme the *stūpa* symbolizes Vajrasatva in *nirvāna* and the other four seated Buddhas are Ratnasambhava (South), Akṣobhaya (East), Amitābha (West) and Amoghasiddhi (North). This *maṇḍala* of five Buddhas symbolizes the All Embracing Body of Law (*Dharmakāya*). A bronze statue of Vajrasatva was found at Medirigiriya. Therefore the *Maṇḍala* in the *Vaṭadāge* at Medirigiriya could be identified as the *maṇḍala* of five Dhyāni Buddhas.

The monks of the Mahāvihāra who opposed Tantric Buddhism introduced new theme for their *Vaṭadāges*. Without solid concept they just placed images of past four Buddhas namely Kakusanda, Konāgamana, Kāśyapa and Gautama. Gautama the Buddha is represented in this theme as a *stūpa* containing the bodily relics and anthropomorphic image of him.

The Buddha images crowned by the *raṃsipuāja* (a cranial bump) belong to Abhayagiri school[4] and Buddha images without such symbol belong to the Mahāvihāra school. In the later Mahāvihāra type of Buddha images were crowned by a flame-like symbol to represent the wisdom light emitted from the bottoms of the uṣnīsa

(frontal bone).[5] Abhayagirivihāra school also accepted this symbol and they fixed it on top of the *ramsipuñja*. So in their Buddha images we could see double symbol to represent the same wisdom rays as evident from the Buddha at Avukana.[6] In the light of these identical features one could identify *Vaṭadaāges* of each school.

It is evident from the inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.) that anointing the Buddha the images of Buddha in the *Vaṭadaāge* at Ambasthala of Mihintale took place. It was one of the rituals performed by the monks of Abhayagiri Vihāra in their *Vaṭadaāges* . They borrowed this ritual from Tantric Buddhists.

Architectural Significance: The remains of *Vaṭadaāge* at Hatthikucchi Vihāra in Rājangane, Kurunegala District, is of square in plan.[7] The *stūpa* stands in the centre but there are no Buddha images around it. There are four entrances with stone doorframes. Originally there must have been walls and a roof for the stūpa-shrine. There is no doubt that this *Vaṭadaāge* belongs to pre-Tantric period. Most probably this stūpa-shrine and the monastery around it belonged to the Mahavihara school.

Both *Thūpārāma* and *Lankārāma* stūpa-shrines are in circular shape. Originally there were only small *stūpas* built by King Devānampiyatissa (250-210 BC) and king Vattagamini Abhaya (89-77 BC) respectively. The *Vaṭadaāge* at Thūpārāma was built by king Vasabha (67-111 AD)[8] and Lankārāma *Vaṭadaāge* is a work of King Kaniṭṭhatissa (167-186 AD) .[9] The latter renovated *Vaṭadaāges* at Ambasthala and in Nagadīpa. Ruined *Vaṭadaāges* at Medirigiriya[10] and Polonnaruwa are the most beautiful in design and construction. The former belonged to 8th century and the latter to the 12th century A.D. There is another *Vaṭadaāge* known as Maṇik Vehera seems to be a unique one.[11]

Details of Thūpārāma Vaṭadage: Now we see restored basement, the *stūpa* and remains of the shrine. The last restoration of the *stūpa* and the basement took place in 1842. As it has been described by J.G. Smither in his monumental work entitled Architectural Remains; Anuradhapura, Ceylon (1894) the *stūpa* rests upon the circular basement 7 feet 3 inches in height. It has been constructed in two tiers each finished with a moulded base and capping. Smither pl. vii (pl.1). The lower tier is 3 feet 8 inches in height 59 feet 1 inch in diameter above the base moulding. It is faced entirely, and slabbed at top, with white lime stone, the core being of solid brickwork. The base mouldilng which projects 16 inches has been carefully dressed; but the drum, which is in four courses of equal height as well as the slabs and the moulding beneath them, have been roughly faced to receive plaster. The upper tier of the basement retired 2 feet 2 inches, thus providing a continuous ledge, or shelf, all round the *stūpa*, for offerings. This stage is composed of bricks, and ornamented with mouldings roughly profiled to the same material, but with a course of lime stone introduced to form the floor of the basement on which the *stūpa* is built paved with stone slabs. There are four circles of pillars around the *stūpa* on which the original roof was constructed. The pillars in the inner circle are 22 feet 10 inches in height. Those in the second circle 21 feet 3 inches in height and in the third circle, 19 feet 9 inches in height. The pillars in the fourth circle are octagonal, from the ground upwards. The height of a pillar is 14 feet.

The shape of the roof can not be ascertained. But Prof. S. Paranavithana suggests that the roof of the Thūpārāma Vaṭadāge consisted of two parts; the upper part was in the shape of the half globe and the lower part was flat.[12]

It is evident from the Vatadāge in Tooth Relic quadrangle in Polonnaruwa that some of the Vaṭadāges had brick walls.[13] The Vaṭadāge at Attanagalla in the Gampaha District[14] is of octagonal in shape. Its brick wall is also in the same shape. Still there are stūpa-shrines without walls. They have their roofs on pillars. The Vaṭadāge at Dambadeniya Rajamahāvihāra is one of such shrine. See PLATES XXX–XXXV.

Chandra Wickramagamage

References

1 Grhastupa at Guntapalle in India.
2 Caityasala ant Ajanta
3 Vaṭadāge at Polonnaruwa.
4 Buddha image from Toluvila, Anuradhapura
5 Bronze Buddha from Veheragala, now in the Colombo National Museum.
6 Avukana Buddha.
7 Vatadage at Hatthikucchi vihara.
8 Vatadage at Thuparama

9 Vatadage at Lankarama
10 Vatadage at Medirigiriya
11 Manik Vehera, Polonnaruwa
12 Conjectural Vatadage of S. Paranavitana
13 Vatadage at Polonnaruwa
14 Vatadage at Attanagalla

VATTHŪPAMA SUTTA, the "discourse on the simile of the cloth", is the seventh discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* I, 36-40). Altogether three Chinese parallels to this discourse are extant (*T.* I, 575a-576a; *T.* I, 843c-844b; *T.* II, 573c-575a).1 The final part of the *Vatthūpama Sutta*, which is concerned with ritual bathing in a river, has additional counterparts in another two Chinese discourses (*T.* II, 321a-b, *T.* II, 408b-c).

The *Vatthūpama Sutta* begins by illustrating how the presence of mental defilements in the mind will lead to an unhappy destination with the example of trying to dye a dirty cloth. To attempt to do so is bound to result in the cloth not taking the colour properly. The discourse continues by listing a set of sixteen mental defilements, *upakkilesa*, whose removal leads over to the development of firm confidence in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. Next the *Vatthūpama Sutta* depicts aloofness from the attraction of food and then turns to the practice of the four divine abodes, *brahmavihāra*. These in turn are followed by a succinct insight contemplation that leads to final liberation.

At this point a Brahmin intervened, asking the Buddha about purification by bathing in sacred rivers. The *Ekottarika Āgama* version provides additional information about this Brahmin, narrating that he had been quite convinced of his own purity when compared to the Buddha, as the food he took was quite simple, whereas the Buddha sometimes partook of quite succulent and rich food (*T.* II, 573c5). The *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse reports that it was after the Buddha had become aware of the Brahmin's train of thought that he delivered the present discourse.

In reply to the Brahmin's inquiry about purification by bathing in sacred rivers, according to the D. *Vatthūpama Sutta* and its Chinese parallel the Buddha explained that bathing in rivers considered to be sacred will not lead to purification. Instead, to purify oneself requires observing moral conduct.[2]

The simile of the cloth, which provides the title for the *Vatthūpama Sutta*, has at times been understood to stand for the existence in early Buddhism of the notion of an originally pure mind. Yet, a close inspection of the simile does not support such an interpretation, as the imagery of the clean cloth that takes dye well illustrates the conditions for rebirth in a happy destination. This falls short of what early Buddhism reckons to be real purity, which will result in transcending any type or rebirth.

Another passage sometimes quoted in support of an originally pure mind in the early discourses is a reference in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* to the luminous mind, *pabhassara citta*, which is defiled by adventitious defilements, *āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭhaṃ* (*A.* I, 10). Other occurrences of the *pabhassara citta*, however, make it clear that this term refers only to a concentrated state of mind, not to an originally pure mind (*S.* V, 92; *A.* I, 257; *A.* III, 16; see also KILESA). Thus, similar to the imagery of the clean cloth in the *Vatthūpama Sutta*, the *pabhassara citta* is only concerned with a relative type of purity.

The idea of a return to an original purity could be found in relation to the development of deeper states of concentration. According to Buddhist cosmology, when the world-system goes through a period of contraction beings are reborn in the *Ābhassarā* realm (*D.* I, 17; *D.* III, 84), from which they eventually depart to be reborn on earth once the world-system has re-expanded. The *Ābhassarā* realm is the cosmological counterpart to the attainment of the second *jhāna*. Hence one who in the human realm succeeds in attaining this level of concentration could indeed be reckoned to be returning to an original purity of the mind, a degree of purity experienced a long time ago when living in the *Ābhassarā* realm during a time when this world-system had contracted.

Yet, the mental purity achieved with the second *jhāna* is only an interim step in the process of mental development envisaged in early Buddhism, which covers considerably more refined and profound states of concentration than the second *jhāna* and, more important than any level of concentration, the development of liberating insight. From an early Buddhist perspective, it is only with such liberating insight that true purity has been achieved. Such liberating insight requires the removal of ignorance, not a reversal to an original purity. In fact, according

to the discourses a beginning point of the faring on in *saṃsāra* under the influence of ignorance can not be found (*S.* II, 178; *S.* III, 149; *A.* V, 113). This leaves little scope for speaking of a mind that is originally pure in the true sense of the term. The task to reach real purity, which is the central theme of the *Vatthūpama Sutta*, is thus not to revert to some original condition, but rather to gradually purify the mind from the beginningless influence of defilements and ignorance until the purity of total liberation from bondage has been accomplished.

Anālayo

References

1 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

2 A criticism of the belief in purification through bathing in sacred rivers can also be found in the verses of *bhikkhunī* Puṇṇikā, who points out that if such practices were able to purify, fishes and other animals living in such rivers should all go straight to heaven, *Thig.* V241.

VEDANĀ, "feeling" or "sensation", is the second of the five aggregates and the seventh link in the *paṭicca samuppāda* series, the link that leads to the arising of craving. Its role in these two contexts reflects the importance of *vedanā* in the early Buddhist analysis of reality. In fact, according to a dictum found in several discourses, all phenomena converge on feeling, *vedanāsamosaraṇā sabbe dhammā* (*A.* IV, 339; *A.* V, 107; cf. also *A.* IV, 385, which makes the same statement for thoughts and intentions, *saṅkappa-vitakkā*). Hence an appraisal of *vedanā* and its implications is certainly a desideratum for an understanding of early Buddhism in general and of the path to liberation in particular. For this reason, the theme of *vedanā* will be treated in two successive articles. While the present article focuses on the topic of *vedanā* from the perspective of its nature and types, a subsequent entry on VEDANĀNUPASSANĀ takes up *vedanā* from the perspective of insight, delineating the main aspects of *vedanā* that need to be understood during actual practice of the path to liberation.

The term *vedanā* can be derived from the root √*vid*, whose range of meaning covers both "to feel" and "to know". *Vedanā* can thus be understood to represent the affective aspect of the process of knowing, the 'how' of experiencing, so to say. Though due to its affective role *vedanā* has a strong conditioning impact on emotions, *vedanā* does not include emotion in its range of meaning, which would perhaps find its closest Pāli counterpart in *citta*. *Vedanā*, however, just refers to feelings, one of the building blocks of such complex phenomena as emotions. As such, *vedanā* stands in an intimate relationship with the cognitive type of input provided through *saññā*, "perception", since what one feels, that one perceives, *yaṃ vedeti taṃ sañjānāti* (*M.* I, 293). According to the standard definition given in the discourses, feeling 'feels' in the sense that it feels such affective tones as pleasure, displeasure and hedonic neutrality, *sukha, dukkha, adukkhamasukha* (*S.* III, 86).

The basic distinction between pleasant, unpleasant and neutral feelings can be expanded further by combining this triad with each of the six senses, by distinguishing between feelings that are related to the household life and those that are related to renunciation, and by taking into account whether feelings are past, present or future. In this way, a total count of one-hundred-and-eight types of feelings can be obtained (*S.* IV, 232). Such different modes of analysis are, however, merely complementary perspectives on the phenomenon feeling, and none of them should be grasped dogmatically as the only right way of reckoning feelings (*M.* I, 398).

In addition to analysing feelings into different types, the discourses illustrate the nature of feeling with a range of similes. One simile indicates that the different types of feelings are like winds in the sky, which come from different directions and can at times be dusty, hot or cold, mild or strong (*S.* IV, 218). This imagery illustrates the somewhat accidental character of feelings, whose nature is to manifest in ways that are mostly out of the control of the one who experiences them. This simile highlights that, just as it is meaningless to contend with the vicissitudes of the weather, similarly the arising of unwanted feelings is best born with patience. Of a similar import is another simile that compares feelings to various types of visitors that come to a guesthouse from any of the four directions (*S.* IV, 219). Feelings are just like such visitors, they come and go, hence no need to become agitated and obsessed with the particular way in which a feeling might manifest at present.

The ephemeral nature of feelings, already alluded to in the imagery of visitors that come and go, becomes more prominent in another simile that compares feelings to bubbles on a water surface during rain (*S.* III, 141). On investigating this matter an onlooker would soon come to the conclusion that these bubbles are insubstantial and without any essence. Similarly feelings, in whatever way they manifest, are insubstantial and without any essence. Just like a bubble, they will manifest only to disappear right away again, thereby revealing their utterly ephemeral and insubstantial nature. The insubstantial nature of feelings comes up again in another simile, which compares grasping feeling as a self or as belonging to a self to a man who is carried along by a mountain river and tries to grasp the *kusa* grass that grows on the river bank. The *kusa* grass will tear off and break due to his grasping, and the man will be unable to extricate himself from the current of the river in this way (*S.* III, 137).

Insubstantial and void as they are, feelings are simply the product of conditions (*S.* II, 38). Several similes bring out this dependent nature of feeling on contact in particular. The affective tone of any feeling is the product of the type of contact based on which it arises, comparable to heat that is produced when two fire-sticks are rubbed against each other (*S.* IV, 215). If the two fire-sticks are separated the heat ceases, just as with the cessation of contact the respective feeling will also cease. Again, just as the radiance of a lamp is the product of oil, wick and flame, and due to the impermanent nature of these three has to be impermanent as well, so too feelings are the product of contact through any of the six sense-doors and therefore must be as impermanent as the sense-doors themselves (*M.* III, 273). Or else, just as the shadow of a tree is the product of the root, the trunk, the branches and the foliage of the tree, so too feelings are the product of contacting the objects of the senses, and thus share their impermanent nature (*M.* III, 274).

Painful feelings in particular are comparable to a bottomless abyss, an abyss deeper than the unfathomable depth of the ocean. The reason for this is that worldlings react to painful feelings with sorrow and lamentation, thereby perpetrating their experience of suffering (*S.* IV, 206). The *Salla Sutta* explains that by reacting with aversion to painful feelings, the worldling is as if shot by two arrows, as in addition to the bodily experience of pain the arising of aversion causes the affliction of mental agony and distress (*S.* IV, 208). Being thus immersed in bodily and mental pain, the worldling knows no other way out but to search for sensual pleasure as an escape from the painful experience. By giving fuel to the underlying tendency to aversion when reacting to pain, as well as to the underlying tendency to lust by yearning for sensual pleasure, and by giving fuel to the underlying tendency to ignorance through not attending to the true nature of feelings, the experience of pain leads to ever greater bondage. In contrast, the noble disciple does not react to pain but simply bears it with composure. For this reason, only a single arrow afflicts him or her, and aversion to the pain will not arise, nor yearning for sensual pleasures as a way to escape from pain. In this way, the experience of feeling leads to insight and the bondage to feeling diminishes.

In addition to providing this instructive imagery on how to handle pain, the *Salla Sutta*'s distinction between being afflicted merely by the single arrow of bodily feelings and being the victim of the additional arrow of mental feelings is of relevance to an understanding of the distinction between bodily and mental feelings in general. The notion of 'bodily feelings' may at first sight seem puzzling, since feelings are by definition mental and related to the mind, *cetasikā dhammā, cittapaṭibaddhā* (*M.* I, 301). For this reason feelings are part of *nāma*, "name", in the context of an exposition of *nāma-rūpa* (*M.* I, 53). Hence to speak of a 'bodily feeling' must refer to the source from which such feeling has arisen, namely the body, not to the nature of the feeling itself, which by definition has to be a mental phenomenon. This much would follow from the exposition in the *Salla Sutta*, whose purpose is to clarify that, in addition to the painful feelings that may arise due to bodily affliction, the second dart of affliction manifests due to feelings that originate because of the mental reaction of aversion and distress at being confronted with bodily pain.

The distinction between bodily and mental feelings is thus a mode of analysis that aims at the sense-door based on which feeling arises, a mode of analysis that alternatively may take into account all sense-doors and distinguish feelings into six types, *cha vedanākāyā*, covering those that arise based on contact by way of the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind (*S.* III, 60).

Yet, does this mean that the experience of feelings is entirely mental and bears no relation to the body? This does not seem to be the case, in fact common experience will tell that the actual experience of pleasant or painful feeling involves the body as well as the mind. Joy may lead to raising of the hair and goose pimples, pain to tension and cramps, obtaining or losing desirable objects can affect the heart beat and blood circulation, intense feelings can cause faster breathing etc.

In the listing of the five aggregates, feelings are placed right after the body and before the other mental aggregates. This positioning may well reflect the intermediate role that feelings have within the context of subjective experience. Due to whatever sense-door a pleasant or painful feeling may have arisen, its actual experience will affect the body as well as the mind. The *Kāyagatāsati Sutta* depicts how the pleasant feelings of deeper concentration during *jhāna* experience suffuse the whole body (*M.* III, 92).1 The effect of painful feeling on the body can be seen when a monk is rebuked for his mistaken view by the Buddha. As a result of such a rebuke, or more precisely of the mental evaluation by the monk of the words he just heard, he sits in dismay with shoulders drooping and the head hanging down (*M.* I, 132). Clearly here the mental evaluation has caused the arising of feelings that, in addition to being experienced in the mind as dismay and perhaps shame, manifest bodily to such an extent that the whole posture is affected.

Feelings can thus be seen as an intermediary between body and mind that has a conditioning effect on both. One aspect of this intermediary role is that whatever happens in the body is mentally felt through the medium of feelings, while the other aspect is that the affective tone of mental processes affects and influences the body through the medium of feelings. The actual experience of feeling thus usually involves body and mind. An exception is the attainment of any of the immaterial spheres, where the bodily component of feeling totally disappears. With such types of experience the affective variety of feeling similarly disappears, as during these attainments (or else when reborn in the corresponding realms) only neutral feelings are experienced. In the normal living situation of the average human being, however, the experience of feeling involves body as well as mind.

In the language of the early discourses, the bodily and mental aspect of feelings are often considered together, such as when *sukha* or *dukkha vedanā* are defined as comprising bodily as well as mentally felt experience, *yaṃ kāyikaṃ vā cetasikaṃ vā... vedayitaṃ* (*M.* I, 302). In the context of an exposition of affective experience from the perspective of the five affective faculties (*indriya*), the terms *sukha* and *dukkha* are, however, only used for feelings arisen from the body, *kāyasamphassaja*. Feelings that originate from the mind, *manosampassaja*, are treated under the headings *somanassa* and *domanassa* (*S.* V, 209). This mode of presentation dominates the analysis of feelings in the *Abhidhamma* and the commentaries. According to the examination of feelings undertaken in the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*, *sukha* and *dukkha* are only experienced in relation to the body sense-door, whereas the other sense-doors of eyes, ears, nose and tongue are invariably associated with neutral feelings, and the mind with *somanassa* and *domanassa* type of feelings (*Abhs.* 2; cf. also the exposition in *Dhs.* 139-145). Occurrences of *sukha* and *dukkha* in the early discourses, however, often are umbrella terms for any feeling of the corresponding affective tone and need not stand for feelings arisen from the bodily sense-door alone.

In addition to analysing feelings into bodily and mental types, the discourses also distinguish between feelings that are worldly and unworldly, *sāmisa* and *nirāmisa* (*M.* I, 59). The rationale behind this distinction is to draw attention to the relation of feelings to underlying tendencies, *anusaya*. Worldly types of feelings tend to activate the underlying tendencies to lust, aversion and ignorance. Unworldly types of feelings, such as the joy or the equanimity of deep concentration, or the sadness of not yet having reached liberation, do not activate these underlying tendencies (*M.* I, 303). A similar perspective underlies the distinction into feelings that are related to the household life and those that are related to renunciation, *gehasita* and *nekkhammasita* (*M.* III, 217).

Another two-fold analysis of feelings distinguishes between feelings with and without affliction, *savyābajjha* and *avyābajjha* (*M.* I, 389). This perspective is in particular related to the issue of karma and rebirth, since it is due to the afflictive nature of one's volitions and deeds that one eventually has to face afflictive feelings as retribution. In a way, the affective tone of such karmic retribution can be seen

as a determining factor of the different realms within which rebirth can take place. While rebirth in hell is felt as an entirely painful and unpleasant experience, rebirth in heaven will be felt as entirely pleasant and agreeable (*M.* I, 74). Rebirth as an animal or a ghost (*peta*) involves mainly painful experiences, whereas with rebirth as a human being pleasantly felt experiences prevail.

In regard to the relationship between karma and feelings,2 a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* specifies that it would not be correct to assume that the retribution of a deed will be felt in a way that exactly corresponds to the nature of the deed (*A.* I, 249). Such an assumption would result in determinism and undermine the possibility of successful spiritual practice. Rather, the retribution to be felt depends on a range of circumstances. According to a simile given to clarify this point, the same amount of salt will have quite a different effect when it is thrown into a small cup of water or into a large river. While in the first case the water will become undrinkable, in the second case the salt will hardly affect the drinkability of the water. Similarly, the experiences that are to be felt in rees¶ tribution for a particular deed may vary considerably, depending on the overall nature and degree of mental development and purity of the person who earlier committed the deed.

An example for this principle is the case of Aṅgulimāla, who by going forth and becoming an arahant was able to avert the prospect of prolonged suffering in hell due to his former evil deeds (*M.* II, 104). Yet, in spite of his remarkable progress and personality change, he could not entirely avoid retribution, which affected him in the form of being physically attacked and beaten when going for alms. That is, though the intensity of retribution to be felt varies according to a set of conditions, retribution as such cannot be avoided (*Dhp.* 127). It is not possible to afterwards change a deed whose retribution is to be felt into a deed whose retribution will not be felt at all (*M.* II, 221), only the intensity of the retribution can be influenced. Hence the painful results of former deeds will even touch an arahant, as in the case of Aṅgulimāla. A similar case is described in the *Udāna*, which reports how a monk who was seated in meditation was experiencing painful feelings as a result of former deeds, *purāṇakammavipākajaṃ dukkhaṃ* (*Ud.* 21). The commentary explains that this monk was also an arahant (*UdA.* 165). Thus he too was apparently experiencing a remnant of retribution for former deeds. Being an *arahant*, he bore the pain without generating the second arrow of mental affliction.

Though the experience of feelings may often be related to former deeds, karma is not the only cause for the arising of feelings, which could also manifest due to bodily disorders and imbalances, due to a change of climate, due to careless behaviour, or due to being attacked by another being (*S.* IV, 230). Therefore it is not possible to categorically proclaim that the experience of *sukha* or *dukkha* is due to oneself, or else that it is due to another. The correct position is rather that the experience of feeling is the dependently arisen product of contact (*S.* II, 38). Hence it is meaningless to inquire due to whom feelings arise, or else to query who is the one who feels, *ko vediyati* (*S.* II, 13).

The notion of the one who feels and experiences the retribution of former deeds, *yo ... vedeyyo tatra tatra kalyāṇa-pāpakānaṃ kammānaṃ vipākaṃ paṭisaṃvedeti*, can easily lead to mistaken self notions (*M.* I, 8; cf. also *M.* I, 258). The *Mahānidāna Sutta* traces three main modes in which self notions can arise in relation to feelings (*D.* II, 66).3 These are to identify feeling as the self, to consider the self to be without feeling, or to assume that it is the self that feels, in the sense of being subject to feeling. In the first instance the impermanent and conditioned nature of feelings would imply that the self is similarly impermanent and conditioned, an untenable notion. In the case of the second and third proposal the problem arises that in the absence of any feeling, the notion 'I am', *asmi*, or the notion 'I am this', *ayam aham asmi*, will not arise at all. The argument in the latter two cases shows how closely the experience of feeling is bound up with notions of self-awareness and a sense of identity. If feeling were to be removed, the very point of reference required for self-notions would disappear as well.

Feelings are not only the breeding ground for self-notions, but are also intrinsically related to the genesis of views in general. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* relates the Buddha's transcendence of the obsession with views, prevalent among his contemporaries, to his penetrative insight into the true nature of feelings (*D.* I, 17). From his perspective, these various views were merely the result of being under the influence of feelings and of

lacking vision and knowledge, thereby succumbing to the grip of craving and becoming subject to worry and agitation, *ajānatam apassatam vedayitam taṇhāgatānam paritasita-vipphanditam eva* (*D.* I, 40). The point behind this perspective on the process of view-formation is that often enough logic and thought serve merely to rationalize already existing likes and dislikes. Due to the arising of pleasant or unpleasant feelings, thoughts and associations are often coloured and influenced, resulting in a strong conditioning impact on views and opinions that often is not noticed.

The conditioning impact of feelings on experience and reactions is the central theme of dependent arising, *paticca samuppāda*, which highlights that craving, the main culprit for the *saṃsāric* predicament (See also TAṆHĀ), arises due to feeling. Hence it is in particular at this junction of the dependent arising of *dukkha* that insight is required (See VEDANĀNUPASSANĀ). One who has reached the destruction of craving through full liberation has gone beyond the controlling power of feeling as well. Being devoid of lust towards any feeling, he or she has become a *vedagū*, a knower of feelings as well as a knower of the highest knowledge, *sabbavedanāsu vītarāgo sabbaṃ vedam aticca vedagū so* (*Sn.* 529).

Anālayo

References

1 Though the term *kāya* can at times stand for the entirety of one's experience, comprising body and mind, the circumstance that the suffusion of the *kāya* with joy and happiness during *jhāna* experience is listed in the *Kāyagatāsati Sutta* alongside other contemplations that are concerned with the physical body makes it quite probable that the same sense of *kāya* should also apply to this instance.

2 The relationship of contemplation of feelings to karma has been examined by Lily de Silva: "Vedanānupassanā: On the Management of Kamma", *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, 14/1+2, 1988: 171-178.

3 See also *M.* I, 300 and SAKKĀYADIṬṬHI on a four-fold pattern of developing notions of selfhood in regard to any of the five aggregates.

VEDANĀNUPASSANĀ stands for "contemplation of feelings". Due to the conditioning role of *vedanā* on craving, which constitutes an all-important function in the twelve-link chain of dependent arising, *paticca samuppāda*, contemplation of feelings and of their conditioning impact on subsequent mental reactions has received considerable attention in the early Buddhist analysis of reality.[1]

According to the instructions given in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, contemplation of feeling requires one to be clearly aware of the affective tone of any feeling as either "pleasant", *sukha*, "unpleasant", *dukkha*, or "neutral", *adukkhamasukha* (*M.* I, 59). This basic division of feeling into three types is then to be further developed by distinguishing between "worldly" and "unworldly" manifestations of feelings, *sāmisa* and *nirāmisa*. In accordance with a mode of practice that is applied to any object of *satipaṭṭhāna*, contemplation of feelings then comprises internal and external feelings, *ajjhatta/bahiddhā*, and focuses on their arising and passing away, *samudaya/vaya*, with the aim of dwelling independently and without clinging to anything, *anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati*.

These rather succinct instructions cover considerable ground in the field of insight and require a detailed examination. The first step envisaged in the *satipaṭṭhāna* training scheme for contemplation of feelings is to clearly recognize the affective tone of present experience, and to stop at that, namely at the bare experience of feeling itself, without giving room to any reaction. Having stopped short at the bare feeling itself, the experience of this feelings should be observed from the perspective of its affective nature, without getting involved with the individual nature and characteristics of whatever feeling may have manifested at present, whether this be, for example, 'feeling an itch', or perhaps 'feeling thrilled', or whatever else. Instead of getting carried away by the individual content of felt experience, awareness should be directed to the general character of experience in terms of its three possible feeling tones.

The rationale behind this distinction of feelings into three affective types as being pleasant, unpleasant and neutral can be understood in the light of the *Mahānidāna Sutta*, which points out that these three types of feeling are mutually exclusive (*D.* II, 66). That is, at the time of experiencing one of these three,

one does not experience any of the other two. The implications of this dictum is that the ability to feel is not a compact unit, not something stable that at times feels pleasure and at others displeasure. Instead, feelings are a process that consists of a series of mutually exclusive moments of felt experience. Hence the notion of an 'I' that feels or is identical with feeling turns out to be a thoroughly mistaken assumption. In this way, the distinction introduced during this first step of contemplation of feeling has considerable potential for bringing home the truth of *anattā*.

The next stage of practice, then, combines awareness of the affective tone of experience with mindfulness directed to its ethical context, expressed in terms of the distinction between worldly and unworldly feelings. The purpose behind this distinction is to draw awareness to the all-important relationship of feelings to the arising of wholesome or unwholesome mental reactions. A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* approaches this topic in terms of the underlying tendencies, the *anusayas*. This discourse explains that in relation to pleasant feeling the underlying tendency to lust should be abandoned, in relation to unpleasant feeling the underlying tendency to aversion, and in relation to neutral feeling the tendency to delusion (*S.* IV, 205). The same discourse emphasizes that the activation of the underlying tendencies is in each case related to a lack of clearly knowing the respective feeling, *vedanam appajānato*, thereby using precisely the same vocabulary as employed in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*'s description of contemplation of feeling, which enjoins one to clearly know the feeling that is felt at present, '*vedanaṃ vediyāmī'ti pajānāti* (*M.* I, 59). This makes it clear that the antidote required in regard to the activation of the underlying tendencies is mindful observation of the nature of any feeling that has arisen. Being mindful in this way has the intriguing potential of stopping the reaction to any feeling even before this reaction has started.

In order to eventually be able to nip the reaction in the bud through clear awareness of the impending onset of unwholesome thoughts and emotions at their point of origin in *vedanā*, contemplation of feeling needs to be undertaken comprehensively. Comprehensively in the sense that a special effort is required for contemplating feelings even when the mind is carried off by sensual fantasies, thoughts of aversion, or vain imaginings. Feelings arisen at such times are obviously worldly types of feeling, and to wisely contemplate them is the very means for breaking through their conditioning impact on the mind.

The need for wisdom and continuity of practice is also implicit in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* discourse, which continues by indicating that practice should be undertaken ardently and without loss of clear comprehension, *ātāpī sampajaññaṃ na riñcati*. These two terms also feature prominently in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* and thus further underline the close relationship of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* passage with mindfulness practice. Through contemplation undertaken in this way, the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* discourse concludes, a wise practitioner will thoroughly comprehend feelings and reach freedom from the influxes, *tato so vedanā sabbā parijānāti paṇḍito, so vedanā pariññāya, diṭṭhe dhamme anāsavo*.

The need to direct awareness to the additional distinction between worldly and unworldly feelings, introduced in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, is required in order to detect which pleasant, unpleasant or neutral feelings are related to the underlying tendencies. The *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* explains that the joy and equanimity of deep concentration, as well as the sadness of not having reached liberation, are experiences of feelings that do not activate the underlying tendencies to lust, aversion, or ignorance (*M.* I, 303).

The distinction between worldly and unworldly feelings recurs in the *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga Sutta* under the heading of feelings related to the household life, *gehasita*, and feelings related to renunciation, *nekkhamasita*. (*M.* III, 217). The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga Sutta* explains that in the case of feelings of joy, *somanassa*, the type of joy that is related to the household life arises due to the pleasing and agreeable features of sense-objects. Joy related to renunciation, however, arises when contemplating the impermanent and unsatisfactory nature of sense-objects. In the case of feelings of displeasure or sadness, *domanassa*, those related to the household life manifest when hankering for unobtainable sense-objects, whereas sadness related to renunciation occurs when generating longing for liberation. Finally neutral feelings related to the household life are merely the outcome of the bland features of sense-objects, whose nature is such that it does not call up any particular interest or reaction. Neutral feelings related to renunciation, in contrast, are the result of equanimity gained through

insight into the impermanent and unsatisfactory nature of sense-objects. Hence the type of feeling that is related to the household life is due to the nature of the objects of the senses, whereas a feeling related to renunciation goes beyond and transcends the limitations of the object it experiences.

The *Chachakka Sutta* explains that it is impossible to make an end of *dukkha* unless the underlying tendencies in relation to each of the three types of feeling are overcome (*M.* III, 285). One engaged in practicing accordingly, by not allowing the mind to delight and attach to pleasant feelings, or to sorrow and grieve when unpleasant feelings arise, and by developing clear knowledge and understanding of the true nature of neutral feelings, will reach final liberation. The discourse concludes by reporting that sixty monks reached liberation while this instruction was being given, a telling testimony to the efficacy of developing detachment towards feelings.

The potential of contemplation of feelings is also highlighted in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which points out that one who develops full detachment in regard to the three types of feeling will make an end of *dukkha* here and now (*A.* V, 51). This potential is perhaps not surprising in view of the relation of feeling to craving in the account of the conditioned genesis of *dukkha* given in the twelve-link presentation of dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*. If one were to combine the perspective offered by this crucial conditioning link between feelings and craving with the beginning section of the same twelve-link series, according to which the perpetuation of the *saṃsāric* predicament is due to *saṅkhāras* that are rooted in ignorance, *avijjā*.2 it becomes unmistakeably clear that the presence of mindfulness and equanimity in regard to the impending reaction towards the experience of feeling is of outstanding significance for progress on the path to liberation.

The theme of remaining aloof from reacting to feelings recurs in the *Mahāsaḷāyatanika Sutta* in the context of an exposition of six sense-door experience. This discourse proclaims that to stay aloof from infatuation with any of the sense-organs, its respective sense-objects, and the feelings that arise in dependence on the organ and its objects, corresponds to undertaking the noble eightfold path. The discourse explains that the view, intention, effort, mindfulness and concentration of one who practices like this, by dint of this mode of practice, become right view, right intention, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration (*M.* III, 289). The *Mahāsaḷāyatanika Sutta* adds that the remaining three path factors - speech, action and livelihood - would have to have been purified earlier. According to the same discourse, one who develops the noble eightfold path in this way thereby also covers all four *satipaṭṭhānas*, as well as the other *bodhipakkhiya dhammas*, and develops *samatha* and *vipassanā* in conjunction. This development will result in knowledge and liberation, *vijjā* and *vimutti*. Hence all the central aspects of the early Buddhist path to liberation can be covered and developed through this particular mode of practice.

According to the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, once mindfulness has been directed to a clear recognition of the basic triad of feeling types and to their distinction into worldly and unworldly types, actual contemplation requires directing awareness to any kind of feelings, be these internal or external, from the perspective of their arising and passing away. This introduces the perhaps most crucial insight perspective on feelings, namely clear awareness of their impermanent nature. A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* treats contemplation of the impermanent nature of feelings under the heading of the maxim that 'all things are not worth adhering to', *sabbe dhammā nālaṃ abhinivesāya* (*A.* IV, 88). According to its explanation, one intent on practising in this way should contemplate any of the three types of feelings as impermanent, fading away, ceasing, and as [something to be] relinquished, *anicca, virāga, nirodha, paṭinissagga*. This points to a progression of the practice, which proceeds from contemplating impermanence to awareness of the disappearance of feelings in particular, in terms of their passing away and cessation. This slight shift of perspective during contemplation, by emphasizing the disappearance facet of the experience of impermanence, brings about a deepening of the process of letting go and relinquishing any attachment to feelings.3 As this discourse indicates, one who practices in this way will not grasp at anything in this world, *na ca kiñci loke upādiyati*, an expression that links the present description to the instructions in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*.

The need to avoid any grasping would also be implicit in the detailed examination of feelings in the

Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta, which highlights that the impermanent, unsatisfactory and changing nature of feelings are their main disadvantage, *ādīnava* (*M.* I, 90). Feelings do provide satisfaction, undeniably, and the joy and pleasure one may feel is the gratification, *assāda*, that can be derived from them. Yet, in view of their impermanent nature the only true escape in relation to feeling, *nissaraṇa*, is to give up all desire and lust for them. In this way one will be able to dwell independently, in accordance with the *satipaṭṭhāna* instructions, without grasping at anything in the world.

A detailed perspective on the implications of the changing nature of each of the three types of feeling comes to the fore in the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta*, which indicates that pleasant feeling is pleasant as long as it lasts, but causes displeasure when it changes, *sukhā vedanā ṭhitisukhā vipariṇāmadukkhā* (*M.* I, 303). Unpleasant feeling is displeasing as long as it lasts, but its change is experienced as pleasant, *dukkhā vedanā ṭhitidukkhā vipariṇāmasukhā*; while neutral feeling is pleasurable when known, but unpleasant when not known, *adukkhamasukhā vedanā ñāṇa-sukhā aññāṇa-dukkhā*. The last case indicates that neutral feelings, though in themselves hedonically neutral, during actual contemplation can be experienced as a pleasurable object of meditation, a pleasure derived from the presence of knowledge. Outside of a meditative contexts, however, neutral feelings may be experienced by someone without awareness as simply 'boring', and the displeasure caused by such boredom is a major activating force for the search after sensual diversion.

Another and rather crucial aspect of the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta*'s presentation is that not only will pleasant feelings eventually cause the experience of unpleasantness, once they have changed and become otherwise, but unpleasant feelings can cause the pleasure of relief once they change and disappear. This perspective is noteworthy in so far as it provides a necessary background to the statement that whatever is felt is included within *dukkha*, *yaṃ kiñci vedayitaṃ taṃ dukkhasmiṃ* (*S.* II, 53). Much hinges on a proper translation of the term *dukkha* in such a context. If one were to opt for the most commonly used translation of *dukkha* as "suffering", this passage would propose that all felt experience is to be included under the heading of 'suffering'. In the light of the above passage from the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta*, such a conclusion would meet with difficulties, since though the presence of unpleasant feelings may be experienced as 'suffering', the presence of pleasant feelings is certainly not experienced as 'suffering', and the two are, according to the dictum of the *Mahānidāna Sutta*, mutually exclusive experiences. When the future change of both feelings is considered, one could attribute the qualification 'suffering' to pleasant feeling, as its change leads to displeasure, yet in order to appropriately treat the effects of future change one would also have to take into consideration the change of unpleasant feeling, and such a change, as the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* clarifies, is experienced as pleasant and not as 'suffering'.

Hence the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta*'s presentation reveals the limitations of the translation 'suffering', making it advisable to adopt a different translation of the term *dukkha* in such a context. An alternative would be, for example, the term "unsatisfactory". Though pleasant feeling is pleasant while it lasts, it is still at the same time unsatisfactory, precisely because it does not last forever. According to another passage, this is in fact the implication of the dictum that whatever is felt is included within *dukkha*, namely that all felt experience is unsatisfactory, however pleasant it may be at present, because it does not last (*S.* IV, 216).

According to an instruction given in the *Itivuttaka*, the unsatisfactory nature of feelings needs to be contemplated in particular in relation to pleasant feelings, whereas in the case of unpleasant feeling it is their afflictive nature that should be given attention, and for contemplation of neutral feelings their impermanence should be given importance (*It.* 47; cf. also *S.* IV, 207). Due to their affectively bland nature, neutral feelings are the most difficult to contemplate of the three types of feeling and may easily be mistaken for a continuously present background against which pleasant and unpleasant feelings manifest. Closer inspection, however, reveals that even the comparatively subtle experience of neutral feelings is marked by the characteristic of impermanence and change. Comprehensive practice undertaken in this manner has an outstanding potential to issue in liberating insight.

One who has reached liberation will be thoroughly detached in regard to any feeling, endowed with the clear understanding that whatever is felt is impermanent and not worth being delighted in (*M.* III, 244). He or she clearly understands that the feelings

that are felt are limited to the body, and with the dissolution of the body all feeling will just become cool, *kāyassa bhedā sabbavedayitāni sītibhavissanti*.

Anālayo

References

1 Ñāṇaponika: "Contemplation of Feeling", Kandy 1983: 5 speaks of the possibility of "breaking the chain of suffering at its weakest link" through *vedanānupassanā*.

2 Such a combination is made at *S.* III, 96, which explains the arising of a particular *saṅkhāra* by describing how craving arises in an uninstructed worldling who is touched by feeling and the contact of ignorance, *saṅkhāro kiṃ nidāno kiṃ samudayo ... avijjāsamphassajena vedayitena phuṭṭhassa assutavato puthujanassa uppannā taṇhā, tatojo so saṅkhāro*.

3 Ñāṇaponika op. cit.: 5 explains that "when in insight meditation the vanishing moment of feelings becomes more strongly marked, the impermanent nature of the feelings will impress itself very deeply on the meditator's mind. This experience ... will gradually mature into the Insight Knowledge of Dissolution (*bhaṅga-ñāṇa*). On reaching that stage, the meditator will find himself well on the road to further progress".

VEḶUVANA: The Bamboo Grove (Bdst.Skt. Venuvana, rarely also Veluvana) near Rājagaha, the capital city of the kingdom of Magadha, donated to the Buddha and the Saṅgha by king Bimbisara on the Buddha's first visit to his city. This was also the first such donation of a park made to the Buddha and accepted by Him. In making this donation to the Buddha the king is said to have considered the following facts in its favour. "Now this Bamboo Grove of ours, a pleasure park, is neither too far from a village nor too near, suitable for coming and going, accessible for people whenever they want, not crowded by day, having little noise at night, little sound, without folk's breath, haunts of privacy, suitable for seclusion"1. He gifted the park to the Order of the monks headed by the Awakened One with a golden ceremonial vessel (*soṇṇamayaṃ bhiṅkāraṃ*), probably by pouring water from it on to the Buddha's right hand. After accepting the park the Buddha, addressing his disciples, declared that they can now accept a park (*ārāma*) donated to them (*Vin*.1.38 *f*)

Unlike in the case of the donation of the Jetavana at Sāvatthi by the rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍika, where he had put up monastic buildings, King Bimbisāra did not put up any building in Veḷuvana before gifting it to the Buddha. The Vinaya *Cullavagga* (Vin II.146 *f*) describes the forenoon scenario at Rajagaha with regard to the life of the Buddhist monks at the time in the following words. "Now at that time lodgings had not been permitted to monks by the Lord. So these monks stayed here and there: in a forest, at the root of a tree, on a hillside, in a glen, in a mountain cave, in a cemetery, in a forest glade, in the open air, on a heap of straw. Early in the morning these monks went out from this and that place, pleasing when approaching and when receding, when looking before, when looking back, when bending back (their arms), when stretching them out,their eyes cast down and possessed of pleasant behaviour"2. A rich merchant of Rajagaha who witnessed this scenario conceived an idea of constructing dwelling places for the monks and inquired whether he can do so. But he was told that the Buddha has not allowed dwelling places for them. When the Buddha was told of this inquiry he of the merchant he allowed the monks the use of five kinds of dwellings. Following this, the merchant built sixty dwelling-places for the monks just within one day and, on the advice of the Buddha, gifted them to the "Order of the four quarters, present and to come". This very first donation of dwellings to the Order of the Buddhist monks was made at a time the Buddha was staying at Veluvaṇa, the first extensive piece of land come to be possessed by the Saṅgha.Although neither the text nor the commentary speak of the location of the sixty dwellings put up by the great merchant of Rajagaha, one cannot completely ignore the possibility that they were the very first constructions put up in Veluvaṇa, the Bamboo Grove.

A word often found used along with the name Veḷuvana or Venuvana is *Kalandakanivāpa*, rendered into English as 'the Squirrel's Feeding-place'. A problem which arises with this word is whether it was used in apposition to Veḷuvana or whether it refers to a particular place within the Bamboo Grove. The Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (s.v.*Kalandakanivāpa*),for instance, calls it "a woodland in Veḷuvana evidently a favourite resort of

the Buddha and his monks". Jones3 also says that once the Buddha went to the Bamboo Grove and stayed there in the Squirrel's Feeding-place. However both the Pali and the Buddhist Sanskrit texts seem to have used the term Kalandakanivāpa in apposition to the name Veluvana or Venuvana (*Vin* II.145, *Mhvu*.III.60; I.255). This is also quite clearly indicated by the commentator. The monastery, he says, "is outside surrounded by bamboos, of a bluish splendour, delightful to mind" (*nīlobhāsaṃ manoramaṃ*). Therefore it was called "Veḷuvana" and since a squirrel was here given food, it is also called Kalandaka-nivāpa.

The legendary origin of this name as given by the commentator is as follows. A certain king once entered this grove to enjoy himself. There, being fully intoxicated with liquor, he fell into a deep sleep. His retainers went about looking for flowers, fruits and so forth. A black serpent, attracted by the smell of liquor came out of its hole in a tree and started to crawl towards the king. A tree sprite, seeing the danger to the king's life, came to him in the guise of a squirrel (*kālaka*) and gave a sharp chirp at his ear. The king was put up from his slumber and the snake crawled back, saving the king's life. In gratitude for saving his life the king established the feeding of squirrels at the place (*kālakānaṃ nivāpaṃ tattha paṭṭhapesi*).He also declared the place a sanctuary. From that time it came to be called Kalandaka-nivāpa. (*UdA*.60). *Kālaka* is another name for a *kalandaka* a squirrel.

Veluvana, according to the *Suttanipāta* Commentary, was surrounded by a growth of bamboos and also a wall, eighteen cubits in height, endowed with gates, gatehouses and watch towers (*SnA* II.419).The *Udāna* Commentary (*ibid*.59) adds a few more details. In the Veḷuvana was a large 'perfumed-chamber' befitting to be the dwelling place of the Buddha, the Blessed One and, also many other constructions as lofty houses,cells,rock cells,halls,cloisters and gatehouses. This description seems to be that of a well developed monastic institution of a some what later date.

Veluvana is mentioned in the Pali texts as one of the places where the Buddha stayed on his visits to the Magadhan kingdom. As such it was also the location where a large number of his discourses were delivered, and quite a number of important historical events of his life took place (*DPPN*. s.v Veluvana).

C.Witanachchi.

References

1 Book of the Discipline, *PTS*. vol.4.51

2 *Ibid* Vol.5.204

3 Tr.Jones ,J.J.The *Mahāvastu*,*PTS*,Vol 1.210;III.61 etc.

VERAMAṆĪ stands for "abstinence", in the sense of refraining from a particular deed. Such abstinence is part of the basic moral requirement for being a lay follower of the Buddha, the taking of the five precepts, where *veramaṇī* covers refraining from killing, theft, improper sexual relations, falsehood, and intoxicants (e.g. *D*. III, 235; or the full formula at *Khp*. 1).

This five-fold abstinence is of fundamental importance for early Buddhist practice, and the principle of ethical restraint in general can be seen as a central pillar of the early Buddhist teachings. This is so much the case that a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* simply defines *Dhamma* to be abstention from killing, theft and improper sexual relations, as well as from unwholesome forms of speech (*A*. V, 257; cf. also *A*. V, 274ff). The fundamental role of such ethical restraint is also evident in the *Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta*, according to which the undertaking of the first precept of refraining from killing inaugurates the decisive change from a period of continuous decline in society to a period of gradual improvement and prosperity (*D*. III, 73).

Abstention from killing, theft and improper sexual relations is the factor of right action in the noble eightfold path, and refraining from falsehood is one of the aspects of right speech (e.g. *D*. II, 312). Without such restraint, the path to freedom lacks its ethical foundation.

In addition to falsehood, the path factor of right speech also covers abstention from slander, rude speech and frivolous gossip (see also VACIKAMMA). The same aspects of false speech recur in the context of the ten courses of actions, *kammapatha*, which cover the threefold bodily restraint of abstaining from killing, theft and improper sexual relations; as well as the fourfold verbal restraint of abstaining from falsehood, slander, rude speech and frivolous gossip (*D*. III, 269). The remaining three courses of action - non-greed, non-hatred and right view - no longer employ the term *veramaṇī*, being mental conditions

to be developed that form the background to actual abstinence by word and deed.

A noteworthy perspective on *veramaṇī* is afforded in the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta*, whose purpose is to serve as a protection against *yakkhas* who have no regard for the *Dhamma*. Their lack of regard for the *Dhamma* is, according to the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta*, due to the Buddha's teaching of the five precepts (*D.* III, 195). Since these *yakkhas* are unrestrained in regard to killing etc., it does not please them at all when someone teaches restraint in this respect. Independent of whether this passage is taken in a literal or in an allegorical sense, the point it makes remains the same, in as much as the requirements of *veramaṇi* will inevitably be displeasing to those who are unrestrained.

Even though others are unrestrained in this respect, according to the *Sallekha Sutta* a disciple of the Buddha should make a firm effort to persist in his or her restraint (*M.* I, 42). The same discourse explains that even to incline the mind towards such abstention is of great benefit, to say nothing of the corresponding bodily and verbal conduct. Just as one would avoid an uneven path by taking an even path, so one who is firm in restraint will avoid any infraction of these basic ethical principles. Such self control will then become a way that leads upwards, a way to extinguish the unwholesome tendencies that underlie such deeds as killing, theft, improper sexual relations, falsehood, slander, rude speech and frivolous gossip.

The rationale that underlies the principle of abstention enshrined in the term *veramaṇī* is enunciated in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* under the heading of an "exposition of the *Dhamma* applicable to oneself", *attūpanāyika Dhammapariyāya*. According to this remarkably pragmatic and straightforward exposition, in as much as each of us does not want to be the victim of killing, theft, adultery, falsehood etc., it follows logically that we should not perpetrate any action that inflicts such suffering on others. In short: "How can I inflict on another what is displeasing and disagreeable to myself?", *yo kho myāyaṃ dhammo appiyo amanāpo, kathāhaṃ paraṃ tena saṃyojeyyaṃ* (*S.* V, 353). The same principle is also expressed in a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta*, which indicates that, "just as I am, so are these, just as these are, so am I; comparing oneself [with others in this way], one would not kill or cause to kill": *yathā ahaṃ tathā ete, yathā ete tathā ahaṃ, attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā, na haneyya na ghātaye* (*Sn.* 705).

Having presented this straightforward rationale for ethical restraint, the above-mentioned *Saṃyutta Nikāya* discourse also indicates that *veramaṇī* has several dimensions. In the case of killing, the full gamut of *veramaṇī* covers not only abstaining from killing oneself, *pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti*, but also to encourage others in similar abstention, *parañca pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā samādapeti*, and to generally applaud and praise such refraining, *pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā vaṇṇaṃ bhāsati* (*S.* V, 354). That is, the altruistic dimension of true restraint covers not only abstinence from directly harming others, but also involves facilitating and encouraging the undertaking of the same form of restraint by others, for their own benefit. This would imply not only teaching others the principles of restraint, but also acting in such a way that the undertaking of killing etc. by others is not supported, facilitated or encouraged in any way, directly or indirectly.

Restraint undertaken in this comprehensive manner, the same discourse concludes, is pure in three respects, *tikoṭiparisuddha*. Another discourse indicates that to be endowed with these three aspects of abstention leads straight to heaven (*A.* I, 297). Such comprehensive restraint is a mode of practice that is for one's own welfare as well as for the welfare of others, whereas one who only practices restraint himself or herself, without encouraging others to do the same, only practices for his or her own welfare (*A.* II, 99).

The *Mahādhammasamādāna Sutta* distinguishes between four "ways of undertaking things". Two of these are lack of restraint, which will result in future pain, while the other two involve restraint and will lead to future happiness. The distinction between the latter two is whether the undertaking of restraint will be experienced as painful or as pleasant. This discourse clearly envisages that for someone to abstain from killing etc. can be a painful and frustrating undertaking, *sahāpi dukkhena sahāpi domanassena pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti*, and that it is due to that very restraint that pain and frustration could be experienced, *pāṇātipātā veramaṇīpaccayā ca dukkhaṃ domanassaṃ paṭisaṃvedeti* (*M.* I, 314).

This presentation in the *Mahādhammasamādāna Sutta* shows that in early Buddhism the injunction to observe restraint was undertaken with clear awareness of the fact that in some cases this does involve

frustration. The belief that such frustration has to be avoided at all cost and negativities should rather be expressed and lived out fully is, from an early Buddhist perspective, short-sighted. It offers a short-term relief at the cost of a long-term deterioration of personality. Such deterioration comes about inevitably because to live out negativities will strengthen the mental tendencies and dispositions that stand behind such negativities. This is the case even when negativities are lived out only in a symbolic manner. From an early Buddhist perspective, instead of living out negativities, restraint should be undertaken. Such restraint is not seen as the final solution, however, but only as a necessary step that provides the basis for developing freedom from the influence of those mental tendencies and dispositions that are responsible for the arising of negativities in the mind.

In this way, the early Buddhist approach offers a middle path solution. As a basis for this middle path solution, the fundamental principles of moral restraint need to be enacted. Once this much has been achieved, the mental repercussions of restraint are to be observed with mindfulness. Mindful observation, as the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* shows, comprises awareness of the presence of unwholesome states in the mind without immediately reacting to them. The meditator's task is to just clearly acknowledge that there is lust or anger etc. in the mind (*M.* I, 59). This ingenious method of mindful observation takes care of the negative repercussions of restraint by placing them in the full light of awareness. It turns the effects and mental repercussions of restraint into a field for the arising of insight, without thereby falling into the extremes of either repression or else compulsory expression. Combined with the practice of mindfulness in this way, the principle of restraint and abstention inherent in *veramaṇī* will lead the practitioner gradually out of those mental obsessions and tendencies that are responsible for the undertaking of those unwholesome types of action that are better avoided.

The principle of restraint inherent in the five precepts comes up for discussion in the *Kathāvatthu*, which tries to ascertain if one could still speak of restraint, *saṃvara*, in those higher celestial planes where killing, theft, improper sexual relations, falsehood, and intoxication do no exist (*Kvu.* 258). The point behind taking up this issue for discussion is that to speak of restraint appears only meaningful as long as it involves an active abstaining from something that is within the range of one's possibility. The same theme comes up from a complementary perspective in the *Samaṇamaṇḍikā Sutta*. In this discourse, the Buddha confronted the proclamation made by another contemporary teacher that someone who neither performs evil deeds, nor speaks evil words, nor has evil intentions, nor practises wrong livelihood, should on that account be reckoned as supremely accomplished (*M.* II, 24). The Buddha was quick to point out that these stipulations do not suffice, since even a small infant would fit such a description. An infant would not even have the notion of a bodily deed, speech, intention or livelihood, what to say of him or her performing any evil in this respect. Yet, the condition of an infant surely falls short of being supremely accomplished.

The *Samaṇamaṇḍikā Sutta* continues by examining wholesome conduct and unwholesome conduct, in each case pointing out that its origins are to be found in the mind. This complements the requirements of ethical conduct and restraint with a psychological perspective, showing their interrelatedness. Notably, the discourse does not stop at this, but also tackles the theme of the cessation of wholesome conduct. According to its presentation, the cessation of wholesome conduct should be seen in the conduct of an awakened one, who is virtuous without identifying with this virtue, *sīlavā hoti no ca sīlamayo* (*M.* II, 27).

This provides a significant perspective on ethical restraint in early Buddhism. Once liberation is attained, virtual conduct becomes a natural expression of the liberated mind, so much so that it takes place without any sense of identification. As the *Naḷakapāna Sutta* explains, it is precisely due to having overcome all defilements that the Buddha continued to practice restraint (*M.* I, 464). That is, the practice of ethical restraint is not only the central means to reach the goal, but at the same time it is also the perfect expression of having reached the goal.

Though this makes it indubitably clear that *veramaṇī* as abstinence and ethical restraint is of central importance for the entire Buddhist path, nevertheless, it also needs to be mentioned that if taken to extremes, restraint can become an obstruction. Excessive concern with minor aspects of restraint surfaces from time to time in the background narrations given to various rules in the *Vinaya*, which feature

monks that at times seem to be somewhat obsessed with adherence to external details without proper regard for the deeper meaning of restraint. This deeper meaning, however, is restraint of the influxes here and now and the prevention of their recurrence, *diṭṭhadhammikānaṃ āsavānaṃ saṃvarāya, samparāyikānaṃ āsavānaṃ paṭighātāya* (*Vin.* III, 21), for which purpose the detailed rules are merely providing a framework.

Excessive concern with restraint can also lead to conceit, to exalting one's own conduct and looking down on the conduct of others. Such would be, according to *Mahāsāropama Sutta*, comparable to taking only the bark of a tree when being in need of the tree's heartwood (*M.* I, 193). The significance of this simile can be seen to extend in two directions. One of these it that to mistake virtuous conduct for the essence of the holy life is like mistaking bark for heartwood. Yet, for the tree to grow the protective shelter afforded by the bark is an indispensable requirement. That is, as long as obsession with minor externals and conceit can be avoided, the bark of moral restraint provides the required conditions for the heartwood of liberation to come to growth and maturity.

Kāyena saṃvaro sādhu,
sādhu vācāya saṃvaro,
manasā saṃvaro sādhu,
sādhu sabbattha saṃvaro,
sabbattha saṃvuto bhikkhu,
sabbadukkhā pamuccati.
Restraint of the body is well,
Well is restraint of speech,
Mental restraint is well,
Well is restraint in every way,
A monk restrained in every way,
[Will be] free from all *dukkha* (*Dhp.* 361).

Anālayo

VESAK: Derived from the Pāli name *Vesākha* (Skt. *Vaiśakha*) it is the Sinhala name of the lunar month April-May, the fullmoon day which is regarded by Theravāda Buddhists as the thrice-blessed day to commemorate the three principal events in the life of the Buddha Gotama,viz his birth, Awakening to Buddhahood and the final passing away, all believed to have taken place on Vesak fullmoon days (eg *DA*.1.425, *Jinak*.26).The importance of the day is further enhanced by the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary which claims that all the twenty four Buddhas preceding the Buddha Gotama realized Buddhahood on Vesak fullmoon days and the claim of some sources (*Jinak*.39) that these three events of the life of all Buddhas take place on Vesak fullmoon days.

Significantly this information about the Vesak fullmoon day, completely absent from the Pāli canonical texts of all strata, is confined to Pāli commentarial and post commentarial literature and the Buddhist works written in the native languages of the Theravāda Buddhist countries. However, according to the Tibetan historian Bu-ston1, one Buddhist Sanskrit canonical work, the *Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra*, states that the Buddha passed away at midnight on the 15th day of the month of Vaiśākha, in spring. But the *Lalitavistara* (p.43) holds that the Bodhisattva entered the mother's womb in spring (*vasanta-kālasamaye*) in the month of Vaiśakha at the Viśākha asterism and was born exactly ten months later. The Theravāda post- canonical literature, on the other hand, assigns this event, as well as the renunciation of home life of prince Siddhattha and the delivery of the first sermon by the Buddha, the fullmoon day of the lunar month *Uttarāsāḷha* (June-July).

The northern Buddhist tradition, except in the case pointed above, does not accept the Vesak fullmoon as the day on which the three principal events in the life of the Buddha took place. The Chinese translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (*Buc*.p.3 n.9) gives the 8th of the fourth month as the day on which the Buddha was born. The *Vinayakṣudraka* commentary of the teacher Śīlapālita states that the Buddha passed away on the 8th day of the ascending moon of the month *Kārtika*, at the end of autumn. The great Pandit Śākyaśrī confirms this but adds that it took place at midnight2.It is interesting to note that according to the Pāli tradition all these events took place on the third watch of the Vesak full moon night. Pāli canonical sources also confirm (eg.*M*.1.249) that the Buddha realized liberation during the final watch of the night(*rattiyā pacchime yāme)* but without specifying the day. Bu-ston has not specified the days of the Buddha's birth or the Awakening to Buddhahood.

Commemoration of the Three Blessed Events

Clearly Vesak is today one of the most popular festivals in the Buddhist world and definitely so

among Theravāda Buddhists, especially in Sri Lanka.However,as already seen, it was not in the Buddhist history a universally accepted day of the Buddha's birth, Awakening and the passing away. There has been a sharp division in the Buddhist traditions regarding the actual day of these events. Yet the *Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra* reference to the 15th of Vaiśakha, aught to be the fullmoon day, as the day of the *Parinirvāna* could indicate some unanimity at least regarding this day, regarded also as the date of the commencement of the Buddhist era, among some Buddhist communities if not among all Buddhists. Since the text mentioned is a canonical text it is not impossible that the 8th of the 4th month was a later emendation made by commentators for some unknown reason.

Anyway it is not certain as to when even a section of the Buddhist community came to regard Vesak fullmoon day as the day of the Buddha's Parinibbāna. In the account of the First Buddhist Council (*Vin.*II.284 *ff.*) it is said that, after the cremation of the Buddha's body, the Sangha, on a suggestion by Arahant Mahākassapa, decided to hold a synod at Rajagaha, during the immediately following rains retreat, to agree on the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*.According to the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta,* Mahākassapa reached the place of the cremation minutes before the pyre was lighted.In fact, it is said, the lighting of the pyre was miraculously delayed so that he could reach the place in time to pay his last respects to the late Master. Logically, therefore, it must be after the conclusion of the obsequies and the division of the relics etc. that he had the opportunity to reveal to the assembled members of the Order what happened among his retinue when the news of the Buddha's demise reached them. It was one of them, Subaddha by name, who made some rude remarks which prompted him to propose the holding of a synod before interested parties could attempt to tamper with the teachings of the Master.

Now, if the demise of the Buddha took place on the fullmoon day of Vesak, the Sangha had bearly two months to finish the last rites, attend to the division of the relics etc.and reach Rajagaha before the *Asāḷha* (June-July) fullmoon day to commence the rains retreat on the day following the fullmoon. It is any one's guess whether they could attend to all that within just two months. Anyhow, the tradition of reckoning all events connected with Buddhism, and also other historical events, taking the demise of the Buddha as the point of departure soon became the practice among all Buddhists. It is seem from the statement in the account of the Second Buddhist Council (*Vin.*II.294) where it is said that the events leading to it occurred one hundred years after the demise of the Lord (*vassasata-parinibbute bhagavati*). Thus the idea of a Buddhist era had already begun. But it is not clear whether the point of departure was a Vesak fullmoon day or an 8th day of the fourth month as recognized in the northern tradition. Anyway, among Theravāda Buddhists the Vesak fullmoon day is regarded as the commencement of a new year in the Buddhist era.

The significance of the Vesak fullmoon day, absent not only from early canonical texts, but even from the late canonical texts like the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Apadāna* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and,the non-canonical Pāli texts like the *Nettippakarana* and the *Milindapañha*, makes its appearance in the pre-Buddhaghosan Pāli chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* and then in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapala.The author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the Pāli commentators must have derived their information from the Sīhala commentaries. But, significantly, the oldest Pāli chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa*, while speaking about the demise of the Buddha and some other events said to have taken place on that day, does not attempt to name the day. It, for instance, says that the Khattiya named Vijaya, son of Sīhabāhu, reached the Island of Lanka from Jambudīpa during the time of the Buddha's passing away (*parinibbāna samaye Dpv.*2 9-21-22). But the *Mahāvaṃsa* (3.2) which directly states that the Buddha passed away on the Vesākha fullmoon day (*Vesākha-puṇṇamāyaṃ*) also says that Vijaya reached *Tambapaṇṇi* (Sri Lanka) on the day the Buddha lay down to attain Nibbāna (*Mhv.*6.47; 7.3-4). Following this, it is generally claimed that the birth of the Sinhala race took place on a Vesak fullmoon day3.But it is not regarded as significant as the events in the life of the Buddha by ordinary Sri Lankan Buddhists to be a matter for separate celebrations.

The first direct reference to Vesak in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (11.42) is related to an event in Pre-Buddhist Sri Lanka with no direct connection to Buddhism. King Devānampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.), in whose reign Buddhism was introduced to the country by Arahant Mahinda, after his coronation sends an envoy with gifts to emperor Asoka of India. In return the emperor sent him the five regalia and requested a fresh coronation be performed for him

with them. Thus a second coronation was performed, says the *Mahāvaṃsa*, on a Vesak fullmoon day. Since the emperor is said to have requested him to become a lay Buddhist (*upāsaka*), it is possible that by fixing his coronation on a Vesak day the king was trying to forestall the future establishment of Buddhism in his country. It is also stated that the Buddha's third visit to Sri Lanka took place on the Vesak fullmoon day of the eighth year after his Enlightenment (*ibid*.1.73-74).

Vesak Celebrations

Celebration of the Vesak festival is mentioned in the Chronicle (*ibid*.32.35) for the first time in its account of the religious activities of the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (B.C.101-72). According to the record of his meritorious deeds, read at his death bed, he had performed twenty-four great *Vesākha* festivals. Since he ruled for twenty four years the festival has been performed annually by him. It is not clear whether Duṭṭhagāmiṇī was the first king of the country to have performed such a festival or whether he was merely carrying out an already established custom. Since the chronicle does not attempt to give any details and the commentary also passes it on without a comment, one can surmise it was a well established tradition needing no further comment. May be it was started with the establishment of Buddhism in the country. The chronicle also records the Vesak festival celebrated by several other kings in the Anurādhapura period (s.v.Buddhist Festivals) but not after it. But the Sinhala work *Pūjāvaliya*4 refers to the Vesak festival, called *vesak-keli*, celebrated annually by Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C) of the Polonnaru period. May be it was continued by other kings before and after him as well. It is to be noted here that the chronicle (*Mhv*.44.46), referring to the Vesak celebrations in the reign of Moggallāna III (611-617 A.C), states that the king held, in accord with tradition (*cārittānugataṃ akā*), all festivals like the *Vesākha* festival. The chronicle goes into a little more detail with reference to the Vesak celebrations conducted by Sena II (851-885A.C). "The *Vesākha* festival he celebrated in common with the poor, giving them food and drink and clothing as they desired" (*ibid*.51.84) says the chronicle. It is not clear whether the kings who preceded Sena II followed the same pattern in their celebrations. But it is possible that the modern revivalists of the festival may have taken a leaf from the celebrations of Sena II in organizing their Vesak celebrations.

An Indian Precedent?

Discussing the Vesak festival in Sri Lanka, Ven Walpola Rahula5 refers to a procession of images of gods and the Buddha seen by the Chinese pilgrim monk Fa-hien in India in the 5th century A.C. In his itinerary, Fa-hien describes this procession of images conducted on the 8th day of the 2nd month in Pāṭaliputra6. A five-tired bamboo structure erected on a four-wheeled car was used in the procession to carry images of gods in gold and silver and also images of the Buddha. On the four sides of the structure were niches with seated images of the Buddha, each with a Bodhisattva in attendance. There were about twenty such vehicles, all grand and imposing, but different from one another. Ven Rāhula also refers, in this connection, to the Rock Edict IV of the Emperor Asoka referring to shows and processions, conducted by him, in which were exhibited images of gods in their celestial cars with "heavenly sights", attractive and fascinating to the masses. He ventures to suggest that what Fa-hien saw in the 5th century must have been a continuation of this with modifications and improvements after seven centuries. He also surmises that Arahant Mahinda may have introduced these festivities to Sri Lanka seeing the effect they had on the popular mind. "It may be conjectured", he goes on to speculate, "with some justification that the Ceylon Vesak festival was modelled on Asokan "shows and processions" and also on the procession of images" seen by Fa-hien.

However, there is no evidence that Asoka ever celebrated a Vesak festival or any other festival to commemorate the Buddha. Ven. Rāhula also has not given any evidence to show that Vesak was celebrated in ancient Sri Lanka on the lines of shows and processions of Asoka or the procession of images seen by Fa-hien. Fa-hien, who visited Sri Lanka on his way home from India, does not speak of any Vesak festival celebrated in Sri Lanka. But he does speak of the procession of the Tooth Relic and a funeral ceremony seen by him in the country. Processions and certain public shows conducted in connection with the present day Vesak celebrations in the country could be innovations of contemporary Sri Lankan Buddhists, perhaps also with certain foreign influences.

Ven Rāhula also suggests that the procession seen by Fa-hien in the 2nd month of the year was, although

he did not mention it by name, possibly a Vesak festival, for, according to the Indian calendar, *Vesākha* is the second month of the year. This also agrees with the presently accepted Sinhala calendar in Sri Lanka. But a statement made by Prof. Jayawickrama7, based on the work of an Indian authority, throws some doubts on this suggestion. According to it the North Indian tradition, says Prof Jayawickrama, the year begins with the solar and lunar months of *Vesākha* and, according to the South Indian tradition, the year begins with the solar month of *Citra*, which in fact is the lunar month of *Vesākha*. Thus by both traditions *Vesākha* is the first but not the second month of the year. Therefore it is difficult to conclude the procession seen by Fa-hien as a Vesak festival.

Moreover the festival seen by Fa-hien was held on the 8th of the 2nd month and not on a fullmoon day. As already pointed out 8th of the fourth month, according to the northern Buddhist tradition, was the day on which the Buddha was born, passed away, and probably also the day he attained Buddhahood. Therefore, if this procession was held in honour of the Buddha day, it should have been conducted according to the northern Buddhist tradition and not in accord with the Theravāda tradition as a Vesak festival would suggest. A cultural event much more relevant was witnessed by Fa-hien in Buddhist Khotan in Central Asia. It was also a festival of Buddha images held from the 1st to the 14th of the 4th months. Each day, images belonging to one of the temples were conducted in a procession. The first day was assigned to the Gomati Vihāra. The king himself, with the queens, came out to honour the images from the gate house of the city. Since it was celebrated with the 8th day of the fourth mouth placed in the centre, it was probably a Mahāyāna Buddha day festival8, but not a Vesak festival.

Revival of the Vesak Festival in Sri Lanka

The Vesak festival celebrated In Sri Lanka from pre-Christian times by Buddhist kings of the country gradually went into abeyance with the entry of Christian western rulers into the country. The Calvinist Dutch rulers of the maritime regions of the country abolished the *pōya* holiday in Sri Lanka on 1st November, 1770. *Pōya* which marks the Sabbath day of Buddhists falls on the fullmoon, newmoon and the two quarter moon days of the lunar month. Thus with the abolishen of the *pōya* holiday the Vesak fullmoon holiday and the traditional celebration of the festival also came to a halt. With the occupation of the Kandyan kingdom by the British the colonial government, despite their undertaking to protect Buddhism and its places of worship, declared Sunday a holiday in the country on 5th April, 1817. By this, naturally, the *pōya* holiday and with it also the Vesak festival came to a halt in the whole country9.

When the Buddhists of the country, both the monks and the laity, realized the gradual loss of the privileges they had enjoyed under Buddhist kings from time immemorial, they feared the ultimate extinction also of their religion as predicted by some Christian priests and lay converts to Christianity. With the ultimate hope of saving their religion and regaining their lost privileges, Buddhists of the country started to unite themselves. Strengthened by the knowledge of their profaned Buddhist philosophy, the Buddhists found the courage to challenge the Christians even to public debate. Reports of one such debate held at Panadura brought to the shores of Sri Lanka an American theosophist, Col. H.S.Olcott (s.v), who soon started to champion the Buddhist course. He became an able supporter of the Buddhists in their struggle to win back their lost rights. The celebration of the Vesak festival was begun and, a campaign to get the day declared a public holiday was started in 1881. Realising that no success could be achieved by appealing to the then British governor, Olcott led a delegation to the Colonial office in London in 1884 to present four demands on behalf of the Buddhists. One of these demands was to declare the Vesak day a public holiday in Sri Lanka. He was successful in winning it for the Sri Lankan Buddhists. Eagerly accepting it, governor Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon issued a proclamation on March 27, 1885 making the Vesak fullmoon day a public holiday in Sri Lanka. Thus, for the first time in modern times, the Vesak festival was celebrated in grand style by Sri Lankan Buddhists on April 28th, 1885. Added to this happy event, the newly adopted Buddhists flag, the design of which was finalized by Olcott, was also hoisted for the first time on this Vesak day at several important Buddhist centres of the country10. After gaining independence from the British, various forms of agitations by Buddhist organizations led the Sri Lankan government to make the day following the Vesak fullmoon day also a public holiday, thus making it a two day holiday in the country.

After the formation of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in 1950 a resolution was discussed to celebrate the birth, Enlightenment and the passing away of the Buddha on the Vesak day by all Buddhists in the world. But up to 1982 no unanimity had been reached on the subject by the Fellowship[11].However on 13[th] December 1999 a resolution to give international recognition to the Day of Vesak at United Nations headquarters and other United Nations offices was formally adopted without a division at the 54[th] General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation.Spearheaded by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, late Lakshman Kadirgamar, the originally Sri Lankan resolution was co-sponsored by a large number of countries in the United Nations Organization[12].

Celebration of the Vesak Festival.

As already noted we do not have sufficient information in the chronicles or commentaries regarding the manner in which Vesak was celebrated in ancient Sri Lanka except what is noted about the celebrations by Sena II.The *Pujāvali* calls the celebrations by Parakramabāhu I *Vesak-keḷi*.This term is the Sinhala derivation of Pali *Vesākha-kīḷā* (Skt. *Vaiśākha-krīḍā*). The use of the word *Keḷi* meaning play, sport, merry making etc.could indicate that the religious rituals performed were accompanied by religiously acceptable forms of activity to induce joy, mirth and happiness in the devotees. The word *sādhu-kīḷanā* 'wholesome playing' is also sometimes used to indicate such activities as dancing, drumming and devotional songs used on solemn occasions. Even today various Buddhist rituals are made the occasion for the performance of such activities.

Whatever form the activities performed in celebrating the Vesak festival take, all that is done in honour of the Buddha, the three principal events of whose life are commemorated on this day. All such acts of veneration are regarded as falling into two broad categories as 'veneration by the practice of the *Dhamma*' (*paṭipatti-pūjā*) and veneration by utilizing material objects (*āmisa-pūjā*). However, religious leaders always make it a point to remind Buddhists that precedence should be given to the former, far above the latter, for it was what the Buddha expected from all his followers.

The main form of veneration by practice undertaken by Buddhists on the Vesak day is the observation, by the laity, of the eight moral precepts (*aṭṭhaṅga-sīla*), a religious practice enjoined by the Buddha on his lay followers to be observed on *pōya* (*uposatha*) days, the Buddhist sabbath day. Since the Vesak celebrations are held on a fullmoon day, one of the four *pōya* days of the lunar month, this practice is only an extension of that general practice as a part of Vesak celebrations (s v.*Uposatha*).But the significance of this practice as a part of Vesak celebrations is that an immensely larger number of lay Buddhists, of both sexes and of all ages, flock to temples on this day, from very early morning, sometimes even before dawn, to take up the precepts and to keep them at least till the evening. A large number of them also keep them for the whole day until the following morning, when they relinquish them to go back to the regular five precepts. Various organizations outside the temple, especially Buddhist societies at working places and government departments and schools also provide facilities for their members and school children to observe the eight precepts as a part of Vesak celebrations. Such activity, however, especially in schools, are held on a day prior to Vesak fullmoon which is a public holiday for all governmental and non- governmental workers as well as for school children.

Gift of the *Dhamma* is said to be the best of all gifts.*Dhamma* sermons by Buddhist monks and discussions on the *Dhamma* with the participation of both monks and lay followers are given an important place in Vesak celebrations. Most temples would invite even a number of eminent monks to give sermons on several occasions of the day, usually in the forenoon, afternoon and the late evening. Most electronic media, both the radio and the television also do the same on Vesak days. Discussions on the Dhamma also are given an important place in Vesak day programmes both in the temple and on electronic media.

As already mentioned, with the revival of the Vesak festival in the modern period, Buddhist organizers must have looked for precedents in historical records of such celebrations in the past. One rare piece of information comes from the reign of the king Sena II who entertained the poor on such occasions supplying them with food, drink and their other needs like cloths. Probably following such historical examples, modern Vesak organizers have also made the Vesak an occasion to entertain people with food and drink. Organizations established with this as the main purpose came up in

the main urban centres and are designated *Vaisäkha dāna-samiti* (society for providing alms during Vesak). In addition to providing meals to those who observe the eight precepts in the temple they also opened alms halls called dan-s alas close to centres of pilgrimage to provide food and drink to the devotees who flock to temples on the Vesak day. Since, at this early period, there was no organized system of public transport, devotees who flocked to temples had to walk for great distances to reach popular centres of worship. Such alms halls were a great boon for them who reached the temples tired and famished after a long treck on foot. It was also an encouragement for them to participate in the temple rituals organized for the day. This practice of organizing alms halls has now spread to all areas predominantly Buddhist and has become a permanent feature of Vesak celebrations in Sri Lanka. The country become on the Vesak and the following days studded with alms centres, large and small, entertaining people with food and drinks of all types.

Vesak A Festival of Lights

The Vesak festival is above all a festival of lights. The Buddha's awakening into Buddha hood is, even in early canonical discourses called, symbolically, the arising of light *(āloko udapādi)*. Scattering away the dark forces of Māra,who is also called the Black one (*Kanha)*, he stands, says one text, like the sun that illumines the sky. As such it is no surprise that Buddhists give an important place to light on the Vesak day. At first the principal means to light up the Vesak night was the simple clay oil lamp, rows and rows of which were lit to light up the places of worship, public buildings and homes of the devotees. Soon other means were introduced. From the far eastern countries were introduced the bucket shaped paper lanterns of different colours. First imported, these paper lanterns are now locally manufactured. Another type of Vesak illuminations are called *vesak-kūdu*. They are of all shapes and sizes, made of strips of bamboo and pasted over with coloured tissue paper. Both types are lighted up with candles stuck inside, but now often with electric jets. These lanterns hung up on strings, drawn in front of houses or across a courtyard or garden, light up the Vesak nights bringing a serene joy to the devotees. Added to those are strings of electric jets, imported or locally made, hung up in the same fashion. A development from the Vesak lantern are very large devices, with scenes from the life of the Buddha, *jātaka* tales, historic episodes etc painted or pasted on them, built at public places in a temporary shed put up for the purpose. Sometimes these devices are mechanized so that the whole lantern or a part of it could be mechanically moved. In recent years the government Department of Buddhist Affairs or non-governmental institutions have started to organize competitions of Vesak lanterns to encourage the production of these as a form of art. Different kinds of Vesak lanterns using different kinds of material are produced by those with an artistic bent to be exhibited in these competitions.

In addition to these illuminations, which come up at dusk, making Sri Lanka look like a small paradise at night, are the various kinds of decorations which turn the country into a house of splendour.The six-cloured Buddhist flag symbolizing the coloured rays which emanated from the Buddha's body, with small paper replicas of it printed over, sometimes, with scenes from the life of the Buddha, take the pride of place among these decorations. These paper flags pasted on long strings, vari-coloured paper streamers, simple pale- yellow young coconut leaves on coir ropes, are strung in front of houses, on the road sides and even across streets giving the towns and villages a gaiety tinged with a sense of religious joy.

The development of Buddhist architecture, sculpture and painting was centered round places of worship and monastic institutions from ancient times. The walls of shrine rooms in the temple were the canvas on which the temple artists demonstrated their skills. Scenes from the life of the Buddha, *jataka* tales, Buddhist legends and other didactic stories were some of the themes from which they selected the subject for their paintings. These paintings, normally confined to the temple shrine rooms, are brought to the city market place, so to say, for the Vesak celebrations. Tall structures, made with areca palms, called *toranas*, probably following the pattern of the ancient Sanchi *torana* gateway-arches, but covered with paintings done on canvas, come up during Vesak at various points in the cities and towns. In them are depicted various scenes from the life of the Buddha, *jataka* tales etc, but the topmost niche is always given to a painting of the Buddha in one of three postures,standing,sitting,or lying down.

Coupled with the exhibition of such *toranas* is also seen the use of the poetic skills of folk poets, one or number of whom are employed to explain in verse

to the viewers the scenes depicted on the *toranas*. Another use of the skills in painting and versification is seen on the greeting cards, a popular element in Vesak celebrations in Sri Lanka. Since the revival of the Vesak festival happened during the British colonial rule, Buddhists were keen to take over a number of elements from the Christian culture of their rulers to strengthen their own culture. In fact it was in a manner an attempt to challenge their Christian rulers in their own game. These Vesak greeting cards, styled on the Christmas or New Year cards, invariably have a print of a painting based on a Buddhist theme and a Sinhala verse conveying a blessing to the recipient.

Christmas carols and passion plays were introduced to the country by Christian missionaries who used them as a religio-cultural weapon in their armoury to influence the minds of the Sri Lankan Buddhists and other religionists to induce them to embrace Christianity. With the revival of the festival of Vesak Buddhists borrowed these weapons from them to effectively bolster the faith of Buddhists in the Buddha and the *Dhamma*.Singing the praises of the Buddha was not something new to Buddhism. But in the context of the revival of Vesak celebrations it was definitely a foreign element. Like in the Christian carols, at the early period, groups of young boys and girls, trained to sing devotional songs by a musician, beautifully dressed as divine minstrels, would visit homes of important families in towns and villages and sing these devotional songs to bring a serene joy to the listeners. Those who are thus entertained would entertain the visitors to tea or make a monetary present to the organizers to defray their expenses. Today, not known any more as carols but simply as Buddhist *bhakti gita* or 'devotional songs', they are a very popular element in Vesak celebrations. Vesak dramas are not such a popular element. But sometimes one could observe short dramas based on Buddhist themes being presented to the public on open air stages.

Vesak Celebrations in Other Countries

Celebrating of the Vesak festival is performed in other Theravāda countries and wherever there is a community of Theravāda Buddhists. Buddhist of other traditions also join the Theravādins in celebrating the festival where Buddhism is not the predominant religion. In Buddhist Burma it is called *Kashon labyi*. On the fullmoon day of April-May, a banyan tree at the entrance to the village is ceremonially bathed early in the morning. Alms are offered to the monks to mark the day. A few days before the festival *nats* are also offered alms. In Thailand *Visākha Pūjā* is held on the Full-moon day of May. In the past the celebrations were held on three days but at present only one day is declared a national holiday for the festival.

Reported to have been held as early as 1300 A C in Sukhothai, it was revived in Bangkok in 1817 and greatly strengthened by king Rama IV who composed two Pāli stanza to be used in it. During his reign three nights were devoted to reading the life of the Buddha, but at present it is confined to one evening. At dusk, on the fullmoon day, the king and the royal family proceed to the Chapel Royal to light candles of worship at the altar and candles to be carried in the *wien tien* procession round the chapel. The term *wientien* means 'revolve-candle' and refers to the circumambulating of a shrine carrying lighted candales.After the circumambulation the shrine, a stūpa or an image house and a bodhi tree, the participants enter the shrine room to participate in a service led by a monk. Similar celebrations take place in all important temples with large groups of devotees led by monks circumambulating the shrines carrying lighted candles. Special decorations at the temples add to the brilliance of the scene. In the forenoon of the day special offerings of candles, incense, flower and food are offered to the monks seated near the altar of the temple. In the evenings the temples are gaily illuminated. Sometime special services are held for the young with contests of flower arrangements for altar decorations. The *wient-tien* processions is a common feature in all temples13which once again show the important place given to lights in the Vesak celebrations.However,the decorations, illuminations and other elements in the celebrations, unlike in Sri Lanka, are confined to the temples in Thailand. See PLATES XXXVI–XXXVIII.

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VESĀLI. Sometimes also called Visālā (Skt. Vaiśālī or Viśālā) was the capital city of the oligarchical Vajjian state in North India, one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas, where the principal ruling clan were the Licchavis. Vaiśali, according to Mishra1, who bases himself on Purānic and Epic sources, had a long monarchical history. The royal line, which once collapsed, was restored by one Tṛṇabindu, whose son Viśāla is credited with either the foundation or the enlargement and re-establishment of Vaiśāli or Viśālā named after him. He is also credited with the offering of lumps of food *(pinda-dāna)* at Gayā, which is mentioned at least in five *Purānas*. It is said, as he was childless, he performed *pindadāna* at Gayā ,by which his father, grandfather and great-grandfather attained heaven and he was himself blessed with a number of children and also heaven after death.

But this long monarchical era of Vaiśāli ends with the king named Sumati after whom the sources are completely silent about the dynastic history of the city, prompting historians to come to various conclusions about the long dark period of about six centuries, ending with the emergence of an oligarchical or republican Vesāli, before the time of the appearance of Jainism and Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. One scholar suggests that, in the centuries following Sumati, Vaiśāli was either subject to Videha and eventually shared with it the upheavals which brought about the triumph of oligarchical or republican governments or was subject to the same commotions, even in earlier times2.It is also suggested that the birth of the Vajjian Republic took place circa 725 B.C.which gives it time to organize itself so as to win the plaudits of the Buddha[3].

Constituents of the Vajjian Republic

Some modern scholars like Rhys Davids4 have regarded the Vajjian state as a confederacy of eight clans. But others have pointed out the lack of evidence for this view in literacy sources (s.v.*Vesāli*, *DPPN*).Rhys Davids also includes the Licchavis and the Videhans as the most important elements in this confederacy.Mishra5, on the other hand dismisses the idea of a confederation of eight clans as being based on a misinterpretation of the term *aṭṭhakulaka* (or *aṭṭhakulika*), a 'Council of eight clansmen', a "judicial word" given in Pali commentaries . Buddhaghosa, in one instance, speaking of the adjudication of legal issues followed in the Vajjian state, shows how a case is, at one stage, handed over to a panel of eight clansmen. They may have been representatives of eight important families. Some modern scholars have taken these to be representatives of the eight constituent states of the Vajjian Confederacy. Mishra6 also rejects the view that Videha formed a part of the Vajjian state. He points out that Videha remained a monarchy for a long time even after the death of Karala Janaka, after which it was supposed to have turned into a republic and become a part of the so-called Vajjian Confederation. Much later it was conquered by the Magadhan ruler Mahāpadma Nanda and, it was only later in the time of Patanjali that it is called a republic.

Basing on a passage in the Jaina text, the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, Mishra has identified six clans as included in the Vajjian Republic. Of these Licchavis formed the most important element and they also occupied Vesāli (Vaiśāli), the capital city. Another important clan were the Jñātrikas to which clan belonged the family of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the 24th Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.Associated with these two clans in the said *Sūtrakṛtaṅga* passage are the Ugras, Bhogas,Aikshvākas and Kauravas, all subjects of the

same king and members of the same assembly7.Of these, besides the Licchavis,Jñātrikas (eg in the name Nigaṇtha Nātaputta,ie.Mahāvira), Uggas and Bhogas are attested to in Pali sources as well.

Licchavis and the Foundation of Vesāli in Pali Sources

The name of this powerful clan has come down in a number of readings;viz Licchavi ('ch' is used for the aspirate 'c'),Lecchavi,Lecchaki,Nicchavi, Lichiki and Lichavi.Of these Licchavi is the form used widely in Pali sources, inscriptions, and coins and also in non-Indian sources.Kauṭilya uses the form Licchivi which is the earliest reading in Brahmanical Sanskrit.Nicchivi is used by a Bengali commentator of Manu. It is regarded as due to the confusion of the letters '*la*' and '*na*' in the Bengali language. But, curiously, Buddhaghosa's mythical story of the origin of the Licchavis also traces the name to an original Nicchavi or Linacchavi. Various western and Indian scholars have tried to trace the origin of the Licchavis to different nationalities or ethnic groups like the Scythians, Kolarians, Tibetans and Persians. The last of these, suggested by Satis Chandra Vidyābhusana finds a similarity between the name Nicchavi and the Persian place name Nisbis.

Pali commentaries (*KhpA*.157 *ff*., *DhpA*.III. 438 etc.) give a story of the mythical origin of the Licchavis.The story of the foundation of Vesāli and the interpretation of the name also differ from the views, given above, based on Purānic sources.Pali commentaries, and other works based on them, trace back the origin of this powerful ruling clan to a son and daughter, twins, of a king of Benares, born under strange circumstances. The pregnant chief queen of this king is said to have delivered a lump of flesh in place of a child. Fearing ridicule, she sent it floating down the Ganges in a closed pot sealed with the royal seal. In the river its protection was guaranteed by a god who labled it as 'the progeny of the king of Benares'.The pot, floating down the Ganges without mishap, was picked up by a hermit living close by. He noted the royal seal and the label and removed it to the hermitage and kept it in a safe place.

Gradually, two children, a boy and a girl developed from it. Tended by the hermit at first, they were later handed over to the village herdsmen, his benefactors, to be brought up. Since, at their very young age, their stomachs were fully transparent as to show up whatever that went in, some called them 'Skinless' (Nicchavi).Others called them Līnacchavi,since their skin appeared to cling to the body as if sewn together (*sibbetvā ṭhapitā viya aññamaññam līnāchavi ahosi*).Thus the name Licchavi was given to them either because they appeared to be 'skinless' (*nicchavitāya*)or because their skin appeared to cling to the body (*līnacchavitāya*)[8].

At the age of sixteen the two were married together, as instructed by the hermit, and settled in a town built on an extent of land given by the king. The girl bore sixteen pairs of twins, a boy and a girl each time. It was agreed that no girl from the family should be given in marriage to an outsider nor an outside girl be brought into the family in marriage. As the progeny increased the town was enlarged thrice with three walls built at intervals of a *gāvuta* each. Since it was enlarged again and again, it came to be called Vesāli (*punappunam visālikattā vesālitveva nāmaṃ jātaṃ9*) .Vaiśali, according to Mishra10, included roughly the district of Champaran and Muzaffarpur.Cunningham has identified the present village of Basārh in the Muzafffarpur district of Bihar as the spot where stood the ancient city of Vaiśāli.Most other scholars have accepted this identification. The Vajji country, according to Buddhaghosa (*KhpA* 158 *ff*), measured 300 *yojanas*.Vaiśāli, as stated in the Tibetan Dulva, had three districts where lived the upper, middle and the lower classes. The first had 7000 houses with golden towers, the second 14,000 houses with silver towers and the third 21,000 houses with copper towers. Since the same description is found in the Gilgit Mannuscripts, this Tibetan account must have been taken from the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*.The Pali Vinaya text, *Mahāvagga*,states that at the time of the Buddha Vesāli was an opulent, prosperous town,populous,crowded with people, abundant with food. In it there were 7707 palaces, and a similar number of pinnacled buildings, pleasure gardens and lotus-ponds each. The account in the *Lalitavistara* also describes the prosperity of the city. "The rich, good, generous and happy city of Vaiśali,inhabited by numbers, adorned by covered courtyards, gates, triumphal arches, windows,palaces,towers, lofty mansions, gardens and groves, over-stocked with flowers rivaling the domains of the immortals in beauty".

The description of the prosperity of Vaiśāli given in the Tibetan Vinaya text, the *Dulva*, makes it almost an earthly paradise with its handsome buildings, parks and gardens, the singing birds and the continual festivities among the Licchavis. The Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara* also has similar accounts of the prosperity of Vaiśāli in the Vajora country. Hsüen-tsang who visited India in the 7th century A.C. has given a description of the ruins of the city he saw. He says that its old foundations are from sixty to seventy *li* in circuit. The royal precincts, may be the inner walled part, are about four or five *li* round. This is calculated to be an area of about twelve miles in circumference for the town. The citadel was less than a mile in circuit11.

The prosperity of the city of Vesāli and the beauty of the Licchavi rulers is also indicated by a remark the Buddha is said to n¶ have made regarding a group of Licchavis who visited him. Seeing these Licchavis dressed in various coloured clothes and ornaments, blue, yellow, red or white, the Buddha, pointing at them to the monks present compared them to Tāvatimsa gods (*D*.II.96 *f*). They were not only handsome but were also sturdy and athletic in build for they seem to have liked sports contributing to their strength and sturdiness. One discourse in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (III.76) refers to a group of Licchavi youth roaming the Great Forest in the Vajjian territory with a pack of hunting dogs, probably for hunting and indirectly for sport and pleasure.Licchavis are also in another context (*S*.II.267) referred to as being followers of a simple life, sleeping on straw couches, diligent and zealous in service, which made them difficult to be overcome even by Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha.Ajātasattu,in fact, calls the Vajjis mighty and powerful (*mahiddhike mahānubhāve)* which undoubtedly refers to their military power. Commenting on this Buddhaghosa says that the king thought, "these Licchavi princes are trained, well trained. They could send a series of arrows without fail through a tiny hole cut with a pebble in a palm leaf" (*DA*.II.516)

The Vajjian Republic

The name Vajji (Skt.Vrijji) is often found used in Buddhist texts with reference to the Licchavis of Vesali.Their country is also referred to as Vajji-raṭṭha (Vrijjiāṣtra).But, as stated by Mishra12, the inter-relation between the Licchavis and the Vrijis (or Vrjikas) is not quite clear. At some places, according to him, they appear to be interchangeable. But the examples cited by him do not seem to support his view. As also implied by him, when he says that it appears to have been a more dignified term, the term Vajji seems to have been used in a specialized sense. He also suggests that it may have originally been given to the tribe which inhabited what is known as Vajjiraṭṭha in Buddhist literature.

In the *Anguttara Nikāya* (IV.16 *f*.) discourse cited by Mishra, addressing a group of Licchavis who came to him, the Buddha gives them seven principles that would lead to the progress of the Vajjis, but not of the Licchavis whom he was addressing. This could not however mean that these Licchavis were not Vajjis but that they were only one component of a wider Vajjian nation.Licchavis, of course, formed the principal clan within this Vajjian nation. On the other hand the term also may indicate the senior citizens of Vesāli or the ruling oligarchy of the republican state. While the Buddha speaks of the principles leading to their progress, Ajātasattu is contemplating of measures to destroy them (*D*.II 72 *ff*). In another discourse, referred to above, Mahānāma, the Licchavi, sees a group of Licchavi youngsters reverentially seated round the Buddha in the Mahāvana and listening to his instructions. Seeing them Mahānāma remarked "they will (definitely) become Vajjis (*bhavissanti vajji)*. Giving his reasons for this remark, Mahānāma revealed to the Buddha some of their escapades and their rowdy character. Undoubtedly he now expected and hoped they would grow up to be true Vajjian citizens, fit to be rulers of the country, by their association with the Buddha.(*A*.IV. 75 *f*.). In fact Buddhaghosa interprets the term Vajji,in the context of the king Ajātasattu's planning to destroy them, as 'Vajji kings' or 'rulers'(Vajji-rājāno).

Buddhaghosa (*Khp A*.160) gives a rather fanciful explanation of the origin of the name Vajji.The original pair of Licchavis, being brought up by the herdsmen, while at play, used to beat up and haress the other children who complained to their parents. At this the parents exclaimed "these should not be kindly treated, but should be avoided" (*na ime saṅgahetabbā, vajjitabbā ime, vajjitabbā ime)*. Starting with this, that region, three hundred *yojanas* in circuit, was called Vajji".Anyhow, accordingly, the name Vajji was first

given to the land and the people received it from the name of the land. However, if there is any historicity in the legend that these children were brought up by herdsmen, it is worthwhile examining whether the origin of the name Vajji could be traced to *vaja* (*Skt.vraja*) meaning a cattle-pen. In the *Vinaya* (Vol.1.151) the Buddha has allowed monks to enter rains retreat in a cattle-pen, where the commentary (*VA* 1071) explains the word as the dwelling-place of herdsmen. When the herdsmen moved on with the cattle the monks were also allowed to move with them. In the same manner, if the first town built for the Licchavi youth was named a *vaja* a 'cattle-pen', could the name Vajji have been originated from it? .In Sanskrit too *vraja* has the meaning of 'station of herdsmen'. Monier Williams13 traces the word to *vṛij* which gives the meaning of 'strenghth' *Vṛjana* derived from it has the meanings of 'enclosure, cleared or fenced or fortified place ('sacrificial enclosure', but also pasture or camping ground, settlement, town or village and its inhabitants).Any of these could fit into the origin of the Vajjian territory if it was related to a settlement of herdsmen as suggested in the Pali commentaries.

Calling themselves Khattiyas, the Licchavis claimed for themselves a portion of the Buddha's bodily relics (*D*.II.164). Later they built a stūpa over the relics they received and held a festival in their honour (*ibid.*167).That they were Kshatriyas is also confirmed by the Jaina text *Sūtrkṛtānga*.as well as by the Arthaśastra of Kauṭilya.According to the *Vaṃśāvali* of Nepal they belonged to the solar race of the Kshatriyas.By o[illegible] *gotra* they were vaisishṭhas showing that they had Vasishṭha Brahmins as family priests. Manu confirms they were Rājanyas or Kshatriyas,but of the Vrātya variety14.

They seem to have enjoyed a priviledged position among all the republican rulers of North India. While the individual Licchavis are described as stately and handsome, as a clan the Vajjians were a powerful and warlike nation. The fast growing Magadhan kingdom under Ajātasattu had to take steps to protect itself from Vajjian harresments.For this purpose they had to convert the Pāṭaligāma on the Ganges into a fortress which was done under the guidance of the two ministers Suneedha and Vassakāra. Ajatasattu also sent Vassakāra to meet the Buddha to learn from him the secret of the Vajjian power so that they could device a strategy of containing them.

The Buddha revealed to Vassakāra that as long as the Vajjians adhere to the seven principles given to them by him, that they endure among them, and they live in conformity with them, progress and not decline may be expected for them. These seven known as 'the seven principles of no-decline' (*aparihāniyā dhammā*) or positively, 'of progress', are found included in several discourses in the Pali scriptures.(eg. *D*.II.73 *ff.A*.IV.16 *ff.*).

The centre of the Vajjian administration was the *santhāgārasālā* at Vesali where the Vajjian rulers, said to have been 7707 in all and designated *rājā* or *gaṇa-rāja*, had their regular assemblies where all matters pertaining not only to the administration of the country but also all military, social and even religious matters were discussed. The seven principles of progress given to the Vajjians by the Buddha also speak a lot about their form of administration and the legal, social and religious norms followed by them. These seven can be stated in brief as follows:

1. They assemble regularly and frequently
2. They assemble in concord, rise up in concord and carry out their Vajjian duties in concord.
3. They enact nothing not in accord with what is already established or abrogate nothing already enacted, and act in accord with the ancient Vajjian institutions formally established.
4. They honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders and hold it a duty to hearken to their word.
5. They do not, by force or abduction, detain women or girls belonging to the clans.
6. They honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines (*vajji-cetiyāni*) in and outside the country and not allow the proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed to fall into desuetude
7. They provide fully the rightful protection, defense and support for the Arahants among them so that Arahants from a distance may enter their realm and Arahants therein may live at ease.

Thus learning the secret of the strength, growth and progress of the Vajjian republic, Vassakāra drew

up a plan to sow seeds of discord among the Vajjian rulers and appraised the king of his strategy. With his approval he carried it out, ultimately weakening them and bringing them to their knees and finally vanquishing them in battle to annex their territory. (*DA*.II.522 *ff*)

The seven principles given in brief are self-explanatory. Yet the long disquisition of Buddhaghosa on them also throws out a number of important aspects based on them. Regarding frequent and regular meetings, he says that meeting even several times a day or day after day, if there be any need, has to be carried out by the rulers under whatever circumstances. A half-finished meal or bodily anointment should not be a bar to attend an assembly. When the drum calling for a meeting is sounded one should rush there even with the robe one is wearing in hand. One should not shirk one's duty by the fellow citizens thinking that others could attend to them. All should, in unison, rush to help those in need of their service. Similarly at a report of a disturbance in a border region, each and every one should rush to take the lead to quell it without falling back in the line. It is easy to antagonize people by imposing new taxes or fines. The disgruntled ones would repair to border regions and become rebels or collaborate with rebels. On the other hand, by not collecting the regular taxes one would empty the treasury. With empty coffers neither the forces nor the families could be properly maintained. A weak army or family would not be fit either for war or for service.

A culprit brought before a ruler should not be ordered to be punished summarily without a proper inquiry. According to the ancient Vajjian convention the culprit has to be first handed over to the judicial ministers (*vinicchaya-mahamattā*) for inquiry. If found not guilty he has to be acquitted, but if found guilty he is given over to the lawyers (*vohārikā*) who would acquit him if found not guilty but send him to the 'keepers of the laws' (*suttadharā*) if guilty. In this manner a guilty person is send up, in the ascending order, to 'the council of eight clansmen' (*aṭṭha kulikā*), the commander (*senāpati*) the vice-roy (*uparājā*) and the king (*rājā*).If found guilty the *rāja* consults the Book of Precedents (*paveṇi-potthaka*) and sentences him in accord with it. When this judicial procedure is followed no one is disgruntled, for it is the ancient rule. Otherwise the disgruntled could rebel or be collaborators.

Respect for the females is another important aspect of the Vajjian social system. Harrasment or abduction of woman and girls could rouse up people against the rulers. Ancient shrines of the country, places of *yaksha* worship, are to be respected and the traditional worship and rituals at them continued without interruption. If distrupted the godlings could withdraw from their duty of safeguarding the state. They cannot cause unarisen diseases or happiness to arise but could worsen the diseases already arisen or enhance happiness already there. All in all, says the commentator, when the rulers adhere to the seven principles of progress, the people would be satisfied and live in peace and harmony engaging in their traditional professions and there by fill the coffers of the state. (*ibid*. 517 *ff*).

The Buddha and Buddhism in Vesāli

There are numerous references in canonical texts to the Buddha's visits to Vesāli or other places in and around the Vajjian country, and the sermons given by him to Licchavis and other residents of Vesāli and the surrounding region, and also to the great devotion shown by the Licchavis and others to the Buddha and his teachings. The name Vesāli is connected with certain very important land marks in the history of Buddhism and events in the life of the Buddha, especially during the final stage of his life.

But one of the most popular events in the legendary history of the Buddha's life, his first visit to Vesāli, is recorded only in the commentaries (*KhpA*.160).It is one of the great humanitarian services attributed to the Buddha to relieve Vesālians from a threefold calamity that had afflicted them. Although there are other instances recorded (eg.*Vin*.III.15,87) of conditions of famine in Vajjian villages, Vesāli, at the appearance of the Buddha, is recorded to be an affluent city (*ibid* I.268), rich and densely populated. The ruling Licchavi oligarchy consisted of 7707 *rājās* with the same number of vice-roys, army commanders, treassures etc.Each one of them had a palace, a pinnacled mansion, parks, ponds etc.But all this affluence was brought to an end by the relentless attack of a series of calamities. A prolonged drought and crop failure resulting in famine caused deaths in large numbers starting with the poorest of people. Stench from rotting dead bodies, left in the open for lack of people to

attend to burials, attracted evil spirits resulting in more deaths. Foul smell and disgust caused by the rotting corpses caused a bowel disease— named *ahivātaka* in Pali and or *adhivāsika* in Buddhist Sanskrit— aggravated matters.

The governance of the state, according to the *Dhammapada* commentary (III.438), was conducted in turn by the Licchavi chiefs. The ruler at the time was accused by the people of being unrighteous which plunged the country into this unprecedent catastrophy.However an open inquiry by the people found him to be not guilty of any offence. After suggesting various means of overcoming the catastrophy, all agreed at the end to invite the Buddha to the country. The arrival of the Buddha in Vesāli, from Rajagaha, where he was staying at the time, immediately resulted in a torrential rain, washing clean the whole country and bringing forth a new era of prosperity. The *Ratana sutta*, eulogizing the virtues of the Buddha the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, taught by the Buddha to Ven.Ananda, was chanted by him to bless the country. With the coming of gods, following the Buddha, all evil spirits vanished from the country leaving the people in peace. The same legend is also recorded in the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsaṅghikas (*Mhvu*.I.253 *ff*; 290 *ff*.).

This commentarial legend could be a good indication of the high esteem with which the Buddha and his teachings were held by the Vajjian rulers of Vesāli. There were several important monastic centres of the Buddha and the Sangha in and around Vesāli.The most important of these monasteries was named Kūtāgārasālā which was situated in the Great Forest— the Mahāvana— outside the city. According to one version, this Mahāvana was a natural forest (*sayañ jāta-vanaṃ*) extending up to the Himalayas (*DA*.1.309 *f*).But according to another reference (*MA*.II.267 *f*) it was partly natural and partly planted and limited in extent unlike the Mahāvana close to Kapilavatthu which extended up to the Himālayas.The whole monastery came to be called the Kūtāgārasālā by the pinnacled mansion on pillars, resembling an aerial mansion of *devas*, at the very centre of the building, used by the Buddha. It was built facing the east and the Buddha used to sit sometimes in its shade. Some of the most important events in the Buddha's life and the history of Buddhism took place while the Buddha was staying in this monastery. During his last visit to Vesāli, the well known prostitute of Vesāli, Ambapāli, donated her mango grove, the Ambapalivana, to the Buddha (*D*.II.98)

Among the landmarks of the history of Buddhism which took place at Vesāli, while the Buddha was staying at the Kūtāgārasālā, was the promulgation of the first of the four *Pārājikā* rules for the monks. A Vesālian monk named Sudinna, a native of the Kalandakagāma, a very disciplined monk, was inveigled by his mother to indulge in fornication with his former wife to give the family an inheritor to the vast wealth it had. Since there was no rule against such an act at the time, Sudinna consented resulting in the birth of a son. When this was, later, brought to the notice of the Buddha he promulgated the first *Pārājikā* prohibiting sexual indulgence by monks. According to the *Suttavibhanga* (*Vin*.II .11 *ff*) this act of Sudinna shocked even the devas who exclaimed that a canker has appeared in the Saṅgha, cankerless *(nirabbuda)* up to then. Significantly the third and the fourth *Pārājikā* rules also were promulgated in Vesāli (*ibid*. 68 *ff*; 87 *ff*).

Another significant event which took place in Vesāli was the institution of the Bhikkhuni Order. The Buddha's stepmother, Pajāpatī Gotamī's request for ordination from the Buddha had been rejected by him earlier at Kapilavatthu. Undaunted by this initial rejection, she, with a large group of Sakyan ladies, cut off their hair, donned yellow robes, and walked all the way up to the Mahāvana in the Vajjian country where the Buddha was staying at the Kūtāgarasālā, and repeated her request. Rejected once again, this time Ven.Ananda came to her assistance by interceding with the Buddha to convince him of the reasonableness of her request. The Buddha finally cosented on condition Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī agreed to abide by eight compulsory rules which placed the Bhikkhuṇī Order under the supervision of the Order of monks for all time. By this historic decision the Buddha recognized the capability of women to reach the ultimate goal of Buddhism and to undergo the rigid course of training of a Buddhist recluse meant at first only for males. It opened for women the doors of emancipation from *saṃsāric dukkha* then enjoyed only by men. (*Vin*.II.253*f*.)

Buddha's Final Visit to Vesāli

The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D*.II.72 *ff*.) gives an almost step by step description of the Buddha's final and eventful visit to Vesāli. The Sutta opens with Ajātasattu's concern with the power of the Vajjians and the preoccupation of his thoughts with plans to destroy the Vajjian power. It was from Rajagaha that the Buddha starts his final journey through Vesāli to Kusinārā where his demise took place. Crossing the Ganges at Pātaligāma the Buddha passed through Kotigāma and Nādika and arrived at Vesāli where he took up residence at the Ambapālivana, which was later donated to him by Ambapāli. He spent his last rains retreat at Beluvagāma close to Vesāli and ordered the disciples with him to go on retreat in and around Vesāli.

While on retreat at Beluvagāma the Buddha was taken seriously ill. He was afflicted with an acute bodily pain, said to be, 'as near unto death', which he bore up without complaint. With a strong will, he was able to suppress the illness until the time for his passing away, and the sickness abated. After recovery, brushing away Ven. Ananda's show of concern, he points out that now he is an old man, turning eighty and coming close to the end of his journey (*ibid*.99 *f*.) It was at the Cāpāla yakkha shrine in Vesāli, where he had gone to spend his day, that the Buddha took the crucial decision not to make any effort to prolong his life beyond three months. However, before this, he is said to have given an indication to Ven Ananda of his ability to stay the full life span of a human being. But Ven Ananda is said to have not been heedful enough to take this opportunity to invite him to exercise his full powers to stay on for the full span of life, because he was under the influence of Māra (*ibid*.1036; *DA*.II 554 *f*.)

Almost foreboding his demise, the Buddha, left alone after he dismissed Ven.Ananda, Māra is said to have visited him to invite him to pass away. To him the Buddha made known his on coming demise within the span of three months. After Māra left, the Buddha is said to have "deliberately and consciously rejected any further construction of his span of life (*āyusaṅkhāram ossaji*). At this historic decision of the Buddha, it is said, "there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible and the thunders of heaven burst forth". Later he addressed the monks, in and around Vesāli, assembled at the Kūṭāgārasālā and, announcing his on coming passing away, exhorted them to be steadfast in resolve to put an end to all *dukkha*.

One morning the Buddha went on his final alms round in Vesāli and, after the meal, left Vesāli for the final time. But while leaving he turned back to have a last look at the city so much connected to his life. Addressing Ven.Ananda he remarked "this Ananda will be the last time that the Tathāgata will behold Vesāli". This shows quite clearly his great appreciation of the city and undoubtedly of its inhabitants among whom he had a considerable number of adherents.

Vesāli was the native place of Jina Mahāvīra, the historical founder of Jainism and his birth place is regarded unanimously by both Indian and European scholars as Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśali. As a result Mahāvīra also came to be designated Vesālie, or 'native of Vaiśali' especially by the *Sūtrakṛtānga*15. As such Vesāli ,even before the rise of Buddhism, must have been a stronghold of Jainism. But with the Buddha entering the religious scene, and his visiting Vesāli, Buddhism must have posed a great challenge to Jainism. Buddhist scriptures refer to Licchavi chiefs as well as Licchavis of younger generations flocking to listen to the Buddha and competing with his followers to entertain him.Jains also, according to Buddhist sources, deviced various methods to prevent their followers from coming under the influence of the Buddha. A case at issue was the manner they tried to prevent their adherent, the Licchavi general Sīha, from meeting the Buddha. Later he did meet the Buddha and after a discussion, was convinced that he had been misled by the Jains about the Buddha's views on the results of action. Sīha became a convert to Buddhism but with the condition that he would continue to feed any Jain monk who sought alms at his house (*Vin*.I.233 *f*; A.IV 179 *f*.). Among the eminent Vesālians who became adherents of the Buddha were Ugga, Pingiyāni, Kāraṇapāli, Vāseṭṭha and Licchavis like Mahānāma, Bhaddiya, Sāḷha,Abhaya,Paṇḍitakumāra, Nandaka and Mahāli.Several Licchavis also had joined the Order.eg.Añjanavaniya, Vajjiputta and Sambhūta *theras* as well as the *theris* Ambapāli,Jenti,Sīhā and Vāseṭṭhī are a few. Number of important discourses of the Buddha were preached in Vesāli. Among them are

the discourses named Mahāli, Mahāsihanāda, Cūlasaccaka, Mahā-saccaka, Tevijja-Vacchagotta, Sunakkhatta and Ratana. All Licchavis, however were not respecters of religion or followers of their ethical norms. The Licchavi named Ambapakkhara, for instance, was an extreme materialist who had no respect for religious recluses or their ethical teachings. He severely harassed recluses who came to him. He would not even show the way to one who had lost his way. But ultimately he was brought on to the correct path by the spirit of a dead person who directed him to a Buddhist Arahant named Kappinaka, living in the deep forest, and known as a 'silent sage' (*muni*) among the Vajjians. Through him Ambasakkhara, the Licchavi ruler, became another Buddhist lay follower in Vesāli.(*Pvu*.p.65 *ff.*).

Buddhist Council of Vesāli

One hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha Vesāli again comes into prominence as the venue of the Second Buddhist Council, resulting from ten controversial practices held by Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesāli as legal. The whole matter was brought up by a monk named Yasa Kākaṇḍaputta from the western regions, who was on a visit to Vesāli and was living at the Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana. When he protested against the collection of money from the laity by Vesālian monks, they attempted to take legal action against him. However he went back to Kosambi and informed the Patheyyaka and Avantidakkhiṇāpathika monks of these illegal practices and convened a meeting of these monks, at the Ahogaṅgā Hill, under Ven. Sambhūta Sānavāsi. Agreeing these ten actions to be illegal, they decided to go to Vesāli to take a final decision on the matter at the very place of its origin.

The general assembly of seven hundred monks convened in Vesāli (the venue is not named), presided over by Ven. Sabbakāmi, the seniormost monk at the time, resulted only in endless, profitless talk not leading to a decision. Finally it was decided to put the issue to a committee selected by the assembly. A committee (*ubbāhikā*) of eight elders, four each to represent the western monks (*Pātheyyakā*) and the eastern monks (*Pācīnakā*), which included the Vajjian region, was selected to tackle the issue. They met, under Ven Sabbakāmī, at the Vālukārāma in quiet surroundings with Ven. Revata acting as the interlocutor, Ven. Sabbakāmi, citing disciplinary rules, rejected completely nine out of ten controversial issues as illegal. The tenth was put on the balance to be accepted if in accord with the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* and if not to be rejected. With the whole committee agreeing to these decisions they were put to the general assembly, reconvened for the purpose, and were fully approved by it.

The *Vinaya* account of the Second Buddhist Council states clearly that with the decision of the committee of elders the legal question "is concluded, and being settled, is well settled" (*nihataṃ etaṃ āvuso adhikaraṇaṃ santaṃ vūpasantaṃ suvūpasantaṃ*. But according to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V.29 *ff.*), the Sri Lankan Pali chronicle, the Vajjiputtaka monks who were ejected by the elders of the Council held at the Kūṭāgārasālā, in the city of Vesāli, held another assembly with the support of others and made a different collection of the Dhamma which came to be called the Mahāsaṅgīti.

Later, however, one of the earliest dissentient schools, which separated from the orthodox. Theravādins, is named Vajjiputtaka (*ibid*.45 *ff.*) who also gave rise to four sub-schools. But, since the school named Vajjiputtakā in Pali are called Vātsīputriyā in Buddhist Sanskrit sources, it is not clear whether they had any relation to the Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesāli.

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VESĀRAJJA and the equivalent *visārada* (Skt. *vaiśāradya* and *viśārada*) stand for "intrepidity" or "self-confidence". Several types or levels of such self-con-fidence are recognized in early Buddhism.

A fundamental type of intrepidity or self-confidence is the outcome of maintaining ethical conduct. Thus observing the five precepts will be a source of self-confidence when being at home (*S.* IV, 250), as well as when approach-ing an assembly (*D.* II, 86 or *A.* III, 253). Another quality that leads to self-con-fidence when approaching assemblies is to have a generous disposition, which expresses itself by regularly making offerings and bestowing gifts (*A.* III, 39).

A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* treats the ethical conduct required for self-confidence from a set of related angles. This discourse speaks of being endowed with the wisdom that knows the difference between what is whole-some and what is unwholesome; possessing the energy required in order to act accord-ingly; and being in possession of faultlessness in regard to deeds by body, speech and mind (*A.* IV, 363). One endowed with such wisdom, en-ergy and faultlessness, and who is also endowed with liberality and kindness, will not experience embarrassment when approaching assemblies, reflecting: 'Why should I be embarrassed, as I am in possession of wisdom, energy, fault-less-ness and kindness? Only one who is foolish or lazy may be embar-rassed, or one whose conduct is blameworthy or who is bereft of kindness'.

A listing of qualities that cause a monk to be self-confident mentions - in addition to confidence, morality, energy and wisdom - also the quality of learning (*A.* III, 183). In regard to learning, another discourse points out that if a monk wanders around aimlessly he will lack self-confidence in this respect, as he will neither learn what is new nor clarify what has already been learned (*A.* III, 257). The same lack of self-confidence will also manifest in regard to the monk's practice, as wandering around aimlessly he will not reach what has not yet been reached, and what he has already reached will be lost again.

The importance of self-confidence comes to the light in the *Mahā-pari-nibbāna Sutta*, according to which the Buddha explicitly pro-claimed that he would not pass away before he had not ensured that his disci-ples, *bhik-khus* and *bhikkhunīs*, as well as *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*, had acquired self-con-fidence in regard to his teaching (*D.* II, 104). To be endowed with such self-con-fidence is to be able to effectively deal with the views put forward by others in a debate situation, and to be able to give a well-founded exposition of one's own teach-ings (*D.* III, 123). To be full of self-confidence even when teach-ing an assem-bly is a quality that a monk should in fact make a conscious effort to develop (*A.* IV, 314).

With the attainment of stream-entry a firm degree of self-confidence has been reached, *vesārajjappatta*, as through direct and personal experience all doubt and uncer-tainty has been overcome (e.g. *D.* I, 110; see also SOTĀ-PAT-TI and VICIKIC-CHĀ). An aspect of a stream-enterer's self-confi-dence is that he or she has become independent of another in regard to the teaching, *aparap-pac-cayo sat-thu-sāsane*. With stream-entry a knowledge has arisen that makes the stream-enterer independent of the guidance of others, *'up-pannañāṇo 'mhi an-aññaneyyo* (*Sn.* 55), and the fetter of doubt has been eradi-cated for good (*Sn.* 231). The confidence arisen at this point manifests as un-shakeable confidence in the Buddha, his teaching and the community of noble ones, and as a firm commit-ment to ethical conduct (*S.* V, 357). In fact, with stream-entry ethical conduct has become of such firmness that the five-fold fear of evil conse-quences through killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, false speech and intoxi-cation has been left behind (*S.* V, 387) - a powerful source of the stream-en-terer's well-founded self-confidence.

A stream-enterer will also be beyond speculating about the existence of a self and beyond getting involved with lucky omens (*M.* I, 265). Nor would a stream-enterer hang on every word of other recluses and Brahmins, wondering if what they propose stems from actual knowledge and vi-sion. (*S.* V, 443). Such self-confidence of a stream-enterer is comparable to an iron pillar not shaken by any wind (*S.* V, 444). In addition to be-ing endowed with vir-tuous conduct and unshakeable confidence, a noble dis-ciple can further in-crease self-confidence through learning, energy and wisdom (*A.* III, 127).

A *Tathāgata* then is endowed with a supreme type of self-confidence or intrepidity that has altogether four aspects (*M.* I, 71 or *A.* II, 9; see also TA-THĀGATA). Endowed with this fourfold self-

confidence, a *Tathāgata* is able to roar his lion's roar in any assembly (*D.* I, 175). The four aspects of the *Ta-thāgata's* self-confidence or intrepidity are his certainty that there is no ground whatsoever on which anyone could rightly accuse him that:

- while claiming to be fully awakened, there are some things in regard to which he has not reached full awakening;
- while claiming to have successfully eradicated all influxes, there are still in-fluxes in him that have not been destroyed;
- what he considers to be obstructions to the development of the path are not really obstructions;
- the practice of what he teaches does not lead to complete freedom from *duk-kha*.[1]

Thus early Buddhism presents a graded series of self-confidences, which proceed from the self-confidence that emerges out of faultless ethical conduct, via the unshakeable self-confidence that results from the attainment of stream-entry, to the four-fold intrepidity of a *Tathāgata*. What is particularly signifi-cant in this graded series is that it presents increasing degrees of 'self'-confi-dence as the outcome of a deepening realization of the truth of not-'self'. That is, according to early Buddhism the very absence of a sense of self-hood or iden-tity leads to firm self-confidence and an unshakeable degree of intrepidity.

Having seen that he has won the battle [against defilements],
Even the gods honour,
A disciple of the Fully Awakened One,
A great one free from lack of self-confidence.

Disvā vijitasaṅgāmaṃ,
sammāsambuddhasāvakaṃ,
devatāpi namassanti,
mahantaṃ vītasāradaṃ (*It.* 76)

Anālayo

References

[1] On the Buddha's self-confidence in regard to his mode of teaching See also
A. IV, 83 and
A. V, 36.

VESSAGIRI: The structural remains of an ancient monastery complex consisting of caves which once provided shelter for the meditating monks, one mile to the South West of the Sacred Bodhi Tree on the Anuradhapura Kurenegala Road, is identified at present as those of Vessagiri. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Vessagiri was the place where five hundred youth from the "Vaiśya" (merchant) families stayed, after receiving ordination from Mahinda Mahā Thera.

"*Pañcasatehi vessehi Mahatherassa santike*
Pabbajja vasitaṭhānaṃ tatthā Vessagiri ahu!

"Where five hundred Vessas lived, having received ordination from the Great Thera (Mahinda) was called Vessagiri".

(*Mahāvamsa* Chapter xx verse 15)

Mahāvamsa does not say any thing more in this context. It is not on record as to who was the original builder of Vessagiri. As Vessagiri is referred to in the context of the introduction of Buddhism to the island, there is no doubt that King Devānampiyatissa (250-210 B.C.) first built Vessagiri.

Since the above reference, *Mahāvamsa* is silent on Vesagiri, till the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya or Valagambā (29-17 B.C.) As the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter XXXIII verse 49 f) describes King Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya, being defeated by the Tamils, fled and hid in the forest of Vessagiri. The *Vamsatthappakāsinī* (Vol. II page 615) says that the king fled with his queen and two princes and was hiding in the forest of Vessagiri forest. The Kupikkala Tissa Maha Thera, possibly the chief incumbent recognized the King and provided the king with food, avoiding thereby giving untouched food.2

The king was highly pleased with this sympathetic act and allotted lands to the vihāra for the sustenance of the monks, recording it (in confirmation) on a Ketaki leaf, (*Pandanus odoratissimus*), because he had no writing material with him. After this there is no reference to a vihāra named Vessagiri.

King Kassapa (478-96A.C.) or Sigiri Kassapa: As per the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter XXXIX verse 10 f), King Kassapa I, popularly called "Sigiri Kassapa" renovated and richly endowed a vihāra named Issarasamanārama.(q.v.).The *Mahāvamsa* says that the king made it larger than the vihāra that existed .

bought villages and gave them for its maintenance . The *Mahāvamsa* further says that the king had two daughters, Bodhi and Uppalavannā and he named the renovated vihāra after the names of his two daughters and his own name i.e. Bo-Upulvan-Kasubgiri Vihāra (Pāli- *Bodhi-Uppalavannā Kassapagiri Vihāra*)3

Bodhi Uppalavannā ca tass'āsum duhitā duve
Vihārass'assa kāresi nāmam tāsam ca attano
(*Mahāvamsa* Chap. XXXIX verse 11)

The *Mahāvamsa* report of the king's renovation and renaming the vihāra after his two daughters and his own name has an important inscriptional confirmation in a slab inscription of Mahinda IV (975-91A.C.) from the site now called Vessagiri, which is now kept at the Anuradhapura Museum. King Mahinda IV has ordered constant supply of water from the Tisāweva to the fields of "Isurumenu-Bo-upulvan-kasubgiri veher" (*Epigraphia Zelanica* Vol. I p. 29 f. Inscription No. 2) Another inscription on a rock at the monastery at present called Vessagiri records a brick layer named Puyagonula freeing his wife from slavery in the Royal Monastery of "Boya-Upulavana Kasubgiri Rajamahaveher" (*Epigraphia Zelanica* Vol. IV, p. 128 f.) .The discovery of both the above inscriptions at the places presently called Vessagiri tell us that the present Vessagiri is nothing but Issarasamanārāma renovated and richly endowed by King Sigiri Kassapa, to which the *Mahāvamsa* refers as follows:

"Issarasamanakāāmam Kāretva pubbavatthuto
Adhikam bhogagāmeca konitvā tassa dāpayi"

"He restored Issarasamanārāma so that it was larger than the earlier, bought villages and gave for its maintenance."

(*ibid* Chapter XXXIII verse 10)

The Issarasamanārāma or the present Vessagiri appear to have had a modest beginning in the reign of King Devānampiyatissa (250-210 B.C.). It was a forest hermitage, where the monks lived, meditating in solitude in the caves. It is possible that it remained in the same condition till the reign of King Kassapa I (478-96). It was this king who made it an extensive monastery complex with magnificent buildings and with substantial assets. As evident from the 10th century inscriptions of Mahinda IV already referred to, it has had its own paddy fields, slaves etc. It is quite reasonable to surmise that the present Isurumuni Vihāra about half a mile away, was also included in this Issarasamana extensive monastery complex.

Thus the Vessagiri referred to iin the *Mahāvamsa* has to be sought elsewhere. The confusion of Issarasamanārāma and Vessagiri possibly has happened at the hands of the pilgrims. It is also possible that the early explorers of Anuradhapura after it was re-claimed from the forest unintentionally made the wrong identification.

Ruins: The site at present popularly identified as those of the ancient Vessagiri is a cluster of numerous ruins which shows that it would have been a massive monastery complex. Bricks, pillars, ponds, foundations of buildings, flight of steps are seen strewn everywhere. Remains of several monasteries are traceable, most of which appear to be quincunx type, i. e. central image house and four *āvāsas*, at the four corners. Foundation of a small dagāba could be seen on the top of one of the rocks. Some of the walls of brick, structures still remain on the rocky foundations, while the plaster laid two thousand years ago exists in patches up to date. Boulders have been incorporated into the buildings. The caves have been converted to cells or image houses. The smoothened rock beds where the meditating monks slept, can be observed on the granite surface inside the caves. One of the caves contains remnants of ancient paintings. There is proof that work on the site has continued at least up to the 10th century A.C. which means continuous occupation for thirteen centuries. The site has not been subjected to an archaeological excavation yet. When such exploration is undertaken in a future date, a clear picture of this ancient monastery could definitely be seen.

Inscriptions: The site at present popularly identified as Vessagiri is an invaluable location for the archaeologists and historians, due to its inscriptions. Vessagiri has three types of inscriptions, namely cave inscriptions, slab inscriptions and the rock inscriptions. There are 23 caves at Vessagiri converted to living cells for the monks, cutting "katāras" or drip ledges to lead away the rain water. Each of the caves has an inscription indicating the donor of the cave. The donors from all walks of life in the society are seen among the donors of caves at Vessagiri. Professor S. Paranavitāna has edited and published the cave inscriptions in his "Inscriptions of Ceylon, third century B.C. to First Century A.C." published by the Archaeological Department of Ceylon 1970.

According to Paranavitāna those cave inscriptions of the present popular Vessagiri (Issarasamanārāma) belong to the earliest Brahmi inscriptions of the island. The *Epigraphia Zelanica*, Vol. I edited by D.H. de Zilva Wickramasinghe 1904-1912 (p. 18 f) contain thirteen cave inscriptions of the same site, some of which are later included in the *Paranavitana's Inscriptions of Ceylon*, already referred to. Two slab inscriptions now kept at the Anuradhapura Museum are also included in the same volume (page 23 f). The *Epigraphia Zelanica* Vol. IV (p. 128 f) contains four rock inscriptions edited by S. Paranavitāna.

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References

1 *Mahāvaṃsa* reports that the merchants (vessas) lived separately after receiving the ordination implying that the monks of early Anuradhapura period lived in segregation according to their former Social status. This has to be further examined ,before a final decision is arrived at.

2 Avoiding giving untouched food" means the bhikkhus are prohibited to share food with laymen, before they themselves eat. Therefore Mahatissa Thera first consumed the food and then gave the king a part.

3 When the king wanted to offer the Vihara to the monks of the Theravāda school, they were loath to accept it fearing the reproach of the people, because it was the work of a parricide (the person who killed his father).However as the king wished to give it to them, he presented it to the image of the Supreme Buddha. Then the bhikkhus agreed, thinking that it belonged to Buddha.

VESSANTARA Vessantara (Skt. Viśvantara), the Bodhisatta in his penultimate human existence, epitomizing the Buddhist virtue of liberality (*dāna*), was the son of Sañjaya, the king of the Sivis (Skt.Śibis) and his queen Phusati, scion of the Madda royal family. King Sañjaya ruled the Sivi kingdom from the capital city of Jetuttara. The full story is given in the Jātaka number 547, being the longest in the *Jātakapāḷi* and its commentary, the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* I. A much shorter Sanskrit version is found in *Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā* (no. IX) and *Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā* (no.23).

The Bodhisatta, then living in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, took conception in queen Phusati's womb, at the request of god Sakka himself. 60,000 other *devas* also are said to have similarly passed away in the Tāvatiṃsa world and taken onception at the same time in the wombs of various other women in the city. While the child was in her womb Phusati conceived a desire to give alms from six halls constructed at the four gates, the centre of the city and, at her doorstep. King's astrologers interpreted this to be a sign of the conception of a being who will never be satisfied in charity. In due course she developed pains of labour, while on a tour of the city, in the Vessa street. As the child, a boy, was born in a lying in chamber hurriedly prepared in the same Vessa street, he was named Vessantara. The Sanskrit form of the name Viśvantara also seems to be related to this same idea of Vaiśya (Pāli Vessa). The child, who came out of her mother's womb open-eyed and free from any impurity, soon after birth held out its hand to the mother, querying, " mother, is there anything to be given"? She placed a purse with a thousand pieces of money in her son's hand, saying, " son, you may give as much as you like". On the day he was born, a she elephant who could fly through the air, brought a young one and left it in the royal stable. As it supplied a need of the prince it was named Paccaya. Still four or five years of age, Vessantara gave a necklace, worth a hundred thousand pieces, put round his neck by the father, to one of his nurses .Pressed by her to take it back he would not agree. This he repeated nine times but Sañjaya never tried to stop his charities. Since the king's revenue had started to increase in leaps and bounds with the conception of the child, Vessantara's charitable work may not have affected the royal coffers very much.

At the age of eight, the prince made the very earth to tremble with the thought he conceived in giving away his limbs, flesh and blood, instead of things external to him he was gifting all the time. But this particular story does not refer to any one coming to him with such a request. By the age of sixteen Vessantara had mastered all sciences and his father got married to him his cousin, the maternal uncle's daughter, beautiful Maddi (Skt. Madrī) of the Madda royal family. It is significant that most beautiful princesses in Buddhist legends, originate from this same Madda

country. The well known Greek Buddhist king Milinda (Menander) also ruled from the city of Sāgala (modern Sialkot) in the same region. After the marriage, the *Jātaka* states, Vessantara was anointed the king with Maddī as the chief queen. But the Sanskrit version still calls him the heir-apparent and it is problematical whether Vessantara possessed all regal powers in the Sivi country. After marriage he distributed alms worth 600,000 pieces of money, daily, through the six alms halls in the city.

Maddī gave birth to two children, the elder, a son, was Jāli (Skt. Jālin) and the younger daughter was Kaṇhajinā (Skt. Kṛṣṇajinā). Mounted on his royal elephant Paccaya, Vessantara visited his six alms halls, six times each month. This he did on the Sabbath days, says the *Jātakamālā*. His fame as a great philanthropist spread throughout India and suitors flocked to him from all regions to be benefited by his munificence. During this period the kingdom of Kalinga was being stricken by a devastating drought. It was decided that only the presence of the lucky white elephant of Vessantara could free Kalinga from the throes of this severe drought. Thus a delegation of brahamins came from Kalinga to the Sivi country to beg for Vessantara's elephant Paccaya, to save their country. Accosting him on his way to an alms hall, the brahamins hailed him and begged him for the elephant. Without any hesitation Vessantara acceeded to their request and, dismounting from it, gifted the magnificent elephant to them, with all its priceless trappings, by pouring water on their hands. Along with the noble beast were also given five hundred attendants, grooms and stable men. Once again, it is said, the earth shook with Vessantara's gifting of his elephant.

The *Jātakamālā* gives a slightly different version of the gifting of the elephant. The brahamins, according to this version, came from a neighbouring country whose king, wishing to possess the elephant, deviced a plan to obtain it and sent the brahamins to Viśvantara. When they requested for the elephant after praising the prince's munificence, he saw through the plan and thought, " what may be the use of such a lord of elephants to these brahamins? No doubt this must be a miserable trick of some king whose mind is troubled with covetousness, jealousy and hatred. But then this king who pretends to promote my good, although disregarding his reputation or precepts of righteousness, should not be disappointed". The same version states that Viśvantara, although he knew that the science of politics (*rāja- śāstra)* follows the path of righteousness (*dharma-mārga)* only as far as it may agree with material interest (*artha)*, his attachment to righteousness not allowing him to be frightened by the lie of the political wisdom, gave away the king of elephants.

The *Jātaka* tale continues that, the brahamins who received the elephant at the south gate, went through the city riding it amidst the thronging crowds, doubtless agitated and angry, and went out through the north gate, gesticulating at the people that they received the elephant from Vessantara. The people, angry with Vessantara for giving away what they thought to be the cause of luck and prosperity of the Sivis, rushed, strangely, to king Sañjaya complaining against the prince's excessive liberality and demanding him to be punished. After much hesitation and wavering he agreed with the citizens to banish the prince to the Vaṅka Hills. But he got their consent to allow him a day and night before leaving the city and go into exile. Here the *Jātakamālā* brings out, quite significantly, the conflict between polity and religion. The angry citizens, complaining against Viśvantara's excessive passion for charity, say that he acts against the maxims of policy (*naya)* and, that success and might could not ever be his. Being devoted to religious duties he is not fit to be a bearer of the troublesome burden of royalty because of his tenderness of heart and compassion. They argued that the throne should be occupied by such princes as have obtained renown for their martial qualities and are skilled in the art of giving to the members of the *tri-varga*. But Viśvantara, who, for his love of righteousness, does not heed to policy is proper to dwell in a penance grove (*tapo-vana)*. The term *tri-varga* here should be a reference to the three upper castes in Brahaminism.

Leaving the City and Trek to Vaṅkagiri

The following day was spent by Vessantara in distributing more and more gifts to suitors from all parts of India. It is said he gave away seven hundred of each of the items, which included elephants, horses, chariots, women and slaves. Hence this gift- making was called the " gift of seven hundreds". Vessantara wished his wife, princess Maddī, not to join him in exile but to remain at home, looking after the children and the in-laws. But Maddī would not have any of it. She wanted to accompany Vessantara into exile with the children. Showing that she did not regret that step

she sang in praise of the forest life she wished to enjoy with her children and husband. She wanted to accompany Vessantara and help him in his penances rather than continue with her palace life, separated from him. Taking leave of his grieving parents and the loved ones, the Vessantara family left the city in a carriage drawn by four horses. Driving through the crowd Vessantara wished them farewell, admonishing them to follow the path of virtue. Significantly there were no protests from the people that their loving master is being sent to exile. On the way he gave away whatever he possessed, the goods sent by his mother to continue his charity on the way and, even the ornaments he wore on his body. The *Jātakamālā* confirms these details but, unlike the *Jātaka Book*, states that a great body of people uttered lamentations and followed them. Viśvantara turned them back and proceeded alone with wife and children, taking the chariot reins himself. It gives a brief description of the gradually withdrawing picture of the crowded city and its suburbs and the approaching wilderness where Viśvantara was destined to lead his life in exile.

Very soon Vessantara got another opportunity of perfecting his liberality when some brahamins who saw them approaching stopped them to request for the horses. Without any hesitation, Vessantara agreed and gave them the four horses. Left without the horses to draw the chariot, soon four *devas* took up the burden in the form of red deer and they left marveling at the phenomenon. The *Jātakamālā* states that Viśvantara was ready to draw the chariot himself when four *yakṣas* appeared as red deer to draw it. But soon Vessantara gifted the chariot, too, to another brahamin and started the trek on foot with the father and the mother carrying the two children. The father carried the son Jāli and the mother the lighter Kaṇhajinā.

Asking the way from travellers they met, picking ripe fruits for the children from trees on the way side, which bent down miraculously to them, they travelled the thirty league way to the kingdom of Ceta, strangely, in one day. Ceta was at the time ruled by Vessantara's uncle. The news of the arrival of his nephew and family in this pathetic manner, having reached him, the king and his sixty thousand Khattiya princes came out to welcome them. But being an exile Vessantara refused to enter the city and put up for the night in a waiting hall outside the gate. Although the princes of Ceta offered him kingship, Vessantara would not accept it, for he did not wish a quarrel to develop between the Sivis and the people of Ceta.

Staying in the hall for one day and night, Vessantara left, attended by a large concourse of Khattiyas, to continue his journey to the Vaṅka Hills. Travelling for fifteen leagues to the entrance of the forest, the king of Ceta left the exiles there with instruction to a clever person to keep watch so that no harm could come to them. Travelling through the forest, up hill and down dale, crossing streams, bathing and resting, sometimes enjoying a repast provided by a forester, the family of four proceeded slowely for another fifteen leagues to reach their destination, where, on the orders of Sakka, Vissakamma had created two hermitages provided with all facilities needed for their life of retirement. Vessantara took abode in one of them and the other became the residence of Maddī and the two children. All four, now in ascetic garb became a family of hermits, living a peaceful life amidst sylvan surroundings. Maddī agreed not to approach Vessantara unseasonably and respect his celibacy. She looked after her husband and the children, attending to all their needs and keeping the huts and the surroundings clean. With basket, spade and hook in hand, she went out each morning to collect fruits and dig for edible roots and yams. She returned in the evening with her collection, washed the children and all the four were fed with whatever she brought. Thus their peaceful life flowed on without any mishap for seven long months.

Gifting of the Children

The peaceful life of the royal hermit family was disturbed by an old and decrepit brahamin named Jūjaka, also from Kalinga, who was looking for servants for his young wife Amittatāpā. He had received this young girl in lieu of some money, he had kept with a family, which they had spent and could not pay back to Jūjaka. The young wife attended upon her old husband faithfully but her mind was gradually poisoned by village women who teased her for her untiring services to him. She soon started to nag him demanding to provide her with domestic assistance. Finally he decides to go to Vessantara seeking for a slave for his wife. Undergoing many hardships, for he was beaten up and driven out of Jetuttara by the people, he gradually fell on to the road to Vaṅka Hills and arrived at the forest leading to the hermitage of Vessantara. There too he had to use deception to avoid the wrath of the guardian appointed by the king of Ceta. Ultimately he reached the hermitage of Vessantara which he made sure to do while Maddī

was out in the forest looking for fruits and roots. He knew that it would be a hard task to obtain the children in the presence of their mother. At Jūjaka's request Vessantara agreed to, though heartrending, to part with his two children in perfection of his desired goal. The two tender children were dragged by the cruel brahamin, with their hands tied with wild creepers and, lashing them even in the presence of their grieving father. Several times they escaped and ran back to their father to plead with him to save them from the devil of this old brahamin. But, suppressing his deep anguish with a great effort, he stood silent without any words of comfort, fearing to break his original agreement to hand them over to Jūjaka. What was once given he dared not take back under any circumstance.

After they left their father's ken the denizens of the spirit world seem to have taken care of their comfort. In the night Jūjaka climbed a tree to be safe from wild beasts but left the poor children tied to a tree on the ground. At that time two *devas*, a male and a female, came to them in the form of their partents. Freeing them from their bonds they bathed them, chafed their tired limbs, dressed them, fed them and lulled them to sleep on a divine couch. In the morning they left them again in bonds. Thus they proceeded without much hardship to the children. The *devas* also directed the brahamin towards Jetuttara and ,not Kalinga where Jūjaka intended to go, and put them in the presence of Sanjaya, the king, in court. He recognized the grand children and they were soon set free by paying the brahamin the prices Vessantara had put on their heads and a great deal more. He was presented with a seven storeyed mansion. But soon, enjoying the comforts of the mansion, Jūjaka died of over eating. As no relative came forward to claim inheritance, all what he got from the king was returned to the royal treasury.

Maddī as a Wife and Mother

From the time of her marriage to Vessantara, princess Maddī acted the role of a devoted and faithful wife and a loving mother to her children most admirably. She never objected to her husband's charitable activities but ably supported him throughout to perfect his liberality. When Vessantara, banished from his kingdom, permitted her to stay back in the royal palace, enjoying its comfortable life and looking after the children and the in-laws, she preferred to go into exile with her husband and children to share his travails of life in exile and support him to lead a comfortable life as possible in his forest habitat. She even took pains to sing the praises of forest life as if to reduce the pain of mind he would have expected once cut off from the comforts in the royal palace. When the chariot in which they were travelling was gifted she had no objection but willingly walked the whole way to Ceta, carrying Krisnajinā in her arms. In the hermitage, she agreed to lead a celebate life, not visiting her husband at unseemly hours. She attended to all the needs of the husband and the children. In fact she was the sole breadwinner of the family of four. Like an ordinary village woman, this royal princess went every morning to collect fruits and yams for their daily meal. Vessantara was left undisturbed to carry out his spiritual exercises to his hearts content.

This peaceful though tiresome life of Maddī was shattered the day the two children were given away to Jūjaka. She had a sort of forewarning of the coming events, in a dream the previous night. Before leaving for her daily food-gathering she pleaded with Vessantara to take special care of the children. She was highly disturbed by the unusual phenomena as the earth quake that accompanied the gifting of the children. But her way back to the hermitage was obstructed by some wild beasts, said to be *devas* in animal form. But when she reached the hermitage, late in the evening, the children, as usual, did not run forward to welcome her. They were no where to be seen. She called them out by name, went to places they used to frequent and play, but to no avail. Vessantara, unusually, remained silent to her questions. Several times she went round looking for the children. The whole night was spent in this manner and she never got an inkling of them from her husband.

Looking for the children for a whole night, Maddī returned tired next morning at dawn to the hermitage and, standing lamenting with outstretched arms before her husband, fell down senseless on the ground unable to bear up the trauma anymore. This activated the up to now silent Vessantara. " She is dead" thought he and, trembling, put her head on his lap, chaffed her face and bosom and sprinkled some water on her face. This was the first time he had touched her in seven months. Regaining consciousness and, saluting him, she asked again " My lord, where are the children gone?" and, for the first time he replied, " I have given

them to a brahamin". He explained that he kept silent as he feared she would not be able to bear up the anguish. "Rejoice, O Maddi" he said " in my greatest gift of children" and she replied " I rejoice, my lord, in your highest gift of children". Set your mind at rest, she added, pray do the like again. Vessantara assured her that they will get back the children alive once more. This probably brought Maddi back to her former form.

Vessantara Gifts Maddī to a Brahamin

Bodhisatta Vessantara's gifting of his children, which shook the whole world, also deeply moved Sakka, the king of gods. He knew that Vessantara would not hesitate to do the same with his wife Maddī if some unscrupulous fellow were to come to him with such a request. Deciding to take some preventive measure to save the noble lady from any such mishap, he came to Vessantara disguised as a brahamin and requested for her hand. As expected, Vessantara, disregarding the fact that he will be left alone in the forest, equanimous, unattached and with no clinging, agreed to gift his wife to him. Maddī herself was not angry, did not cry, but looked on unmoved in silence, thinking, " He knows the best reason why". Vessantara looked into her face to see how she took it. But Maddi made a lion's roar,

"From maidenhood I was his wife, he is my master still Let him to whom so he desires give, or sell, or kill."

Listening to this, Sakka in the brahamin form, praised her and handed her back to her husband with a blessing to continue there good work together. At this stage Sakka revealed himself and rising to the sky in his true form granted eight boons to Vessantara. Among the boons requested by him are reconciliation with his farther and being called back to his country to be re-installed in his former position. He also wished that he should not condemn any one to death but set free from death the already condemned. As the seventh boon he wished that means of charity may never fail him but always give with gladness in heart and content. Finally he also wished to be reborn in heaven for a final time. Granting all his wishes Sakka declared that soon his father would wish to see his son, and flew back to his abode. Vessantara and Maddi continued to live in peace and happiness.

Vessantara Returns Home to Jetuttara

At the reunification with their grandsire Jali and Krisṇajinā poured out to him the woes they and their parents had to undergo in their forest life and their own woes at the hands of Jūjaka. Jāli found fault with his grandsire for banishing his son from the kingdom. Admitting his fault in acceding to the demands of his subjects to banish his innocent son, Sañjaya, stated his willingness to hand over all his possessions to Vessantara. But Jāli requested him to, by himself, go to Vaṅka Hills and bless his son himself. Agreeing to this the king at once set about getting ready to leave for Vaṅka Hills. A road was soon prepared and the fourfold army was put in readiness to proceed to conduct back the prince and his wife. Led by Jāli the king and queen proceeded to Vaṅka Hills in great concourse and encamped close by. Leaving the camp, Jāli led his grand parents and Krishnajinā to the hermitage. But Sañjaya, allowing the others to follow, entered the hermitage all alone to minimize the shock on the occupants resulting from their entry all together. Later all the six of them were reunited bringing joy to all. The royal family being thus reunited the whole earth with Mt. Meru trembled causing a great uproar which caused all the six members to fall down senseless on the ground. Only a shower sent by Sakka revived them back to their senses. In this rain, it is said, only those who wished to be wet got wet but not the rest.

Vessantara now removed his ascetic dress which he wore for nine and half months and changed into a normal dress of a prince. Coming out of his hermitage he went round it thrice in veneration. Bathed and now in royal garb, water of consecration was sprinkled on his head indicating that his days of banishment were over. Similarly Maddī, now dressed in royal ornaments sent by Phusati, was also consecrated. The sixty year old elephant Paccaya, returned to Sañjaya by the people of Kalinga, was there ready to bear Vessantara out of his penance grove. He, with Maddī on another elephant, was led to the camping ground where the army and the people spent one month in rejoicing and merry making, until Sañjaya signalled them to begin the trek back to Jetuttara. Vessantara and Maddī who entered the city amidst pomp and pageantry, were re-installed in their former positions. Knowing the desire of Vessantara to continue his liberality unabated, Sakka sent a shower of seven precious gems, filling the palace courtyard and the city waist deep with them. All had enough to satisfy their desires and the rest was stored

up so that Vessantara could continue his charities uninterrupted.

The Vessantara (Viśvantara) Jātaka

As already noted, Vessantara Jātaka, is the final and, with its seven hundred and eighty six stanzas, the longest of all *Jātaka* tales in the canonical *Jātakapāḷi* and in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, commentary. The commentator, stringing together, as it were, the canonical verses with a prose narrative has woven round them the complete story of Vessantara, the Bodhisatta in his penultimate human existence, before his Awakening as the Buddha Gotama, in his final human existence. In the commentary the stanzas are often attributed to the Buddha himself with, for instance, the words, "explaining it the Master said" and so forth. Otherwise the stanzas are presented as spoken by various characters in the story.

The shorter Sanskrit version of Aryasūra has all the essential elements in the Pāli *Jātaka*. But there are a few important changes such as the cause which led a group of brahamins to come to Viśvantara to request for his elephant. A few names are also missing from the Sanskrit *Jātaka* while those that are included are mostly Sanskrititized forms of the Pāli names. This *Jātaka* is not found in the Buddhist Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* and, therefore, it is not impossible that Aryasūra got his story from a Pāli text.

The whole story is framed to glorify the magnificent effort at liberality of the Bodhisatta, in his penultimate human life, who was ready to sacrifice even his flesh and blood, even his life, not to speako¶ of his riches, royal dignity, children and wife, all external to himself, unflinchingly, in his desire to perfect his virtue of liberality. In his boundless compassion to eleviate the suffering of others he was determined to bear up any material loss, pain of body or mind resulting from these sacrifices.

Naturally this boundless compassion and the virtue of munificence which led Vessantara to gift his noble elephant, so much loved by the people of Sivi, who regarded it as the bringer of prosperity to their country, was viewed with anger and a mark of Vessantara exceeding the accepted limits of liberality expected from their rulers. Without the elephant, they thought, the country would be ruined, because they thought it to be a saviour of the country both in war and peace. It is at this point that the *Jātakamālā* version brings out the conflict between religion (*dharma*) on the one hand and polity (*rāja-śāstra*) and economics (*artha*) on the other. A person with so much compassion as to be exceedingly devoted to religion is not fit to rule a country, argue the dignitaries, but for a penance grove (*tapovana*) where he can, unhampered by the weight of the yoke of kingship, carry out his spiritual exercises.

The composer of the *Vessantara Jātaka* seems to have faced a more acute problem with the Bodhisatta's gifting of his two children and the wife. Surprisingly the people of Sivi did not criticze Vessantara for this. The only criticism came, first from the children themselves who experienced the rigours of the harsh treatment they received from Jūjaka. Krishnajinā saw him as a goblin and not as a brahamin. Later king Sañjaya criticized his son for gifting the children. But at that time Jāliya defended his father, for what else did he possess at the time to gift to the brahamin?. The people of Sivi may have taken them to be the property of Vessantara. Moreover the people did not stand to lose much from Vessantara giving away his children or wife. But the case with the gifting of the elephant was different. It was regarded as a great loss to the country and themselves.

But in the present age when there is great concern for rights of children and women and for human rights in general, the gifting of the children and the wife would not be looked upon, even by some Buddhists, as a positive mark in the character of the Bodhisatta. The composer of the *Vessantara Jātaka* may not have foreseen this, but the dilemma he faced in framing the character of the Boddhisatta is quite apparent from the story. Vessantara has to be a person of boundless compassion to all beings but at the same time unflinching in his effort to perfect his liberality, who could not even refuse to give away his children or wife to any one who asked for them. Their need is greater than one's love for the children and wife or the pain suffered by parting with them. But Vessantara is also portrayed as a person of great fatherly love for his children, who bore up the pain of giving them away with a great effort. Jāliya himself is made to bear witness to this in the presence of his grandsire. The rigours the children had to face at the hands of the brahamin is minimized with the intervention of *devas* to comfort them at night. Ultimately they are led to the presence of their grandsire to be redeemed by him. Vessantara himself stated his wish to get the children back later in trying to console their grieving mother.

Any stigma that could be attached to the character of Vessantara by gifting his wife to another is removed by the intervention of Sakka in the guise of a brahamin. Vessantara, while fulfilling his desire to perfect his liberality is saved from any stigma that could mar his character. Gifting of Maddī becomes a mere act of symbolic value. But at the point of handing her over to the brahamin it was not an act of symbolic value either to Vessantara or Maddī but very much an act in real experience. At the end it is also revealed that the elephant, gifting of which caused so much heart burn to the people of Sivi, was restored by the people of Kalinga after the ending of the drought by its power. Thus the story ends with all parties fully satisfied with the exception perhaps of Jūjaka, the old greedy brahamin and his wife. That is if she knew the sad plight faced by her unfortunate husband.

Popularity of the Vessantara Jātaka

The *Vessantara Jātaka*, which portrays the character of the Bodhisatta, in his penultimate human birth before the realization of Buddhahood, in his attempt at the perfection of the virtue of liberality, had become very popular among Buddhists especially in Theravāda Buddhist countries. Decades back, the *Jātaka* put into Sinhala verse, became very popular among Sinhala Buddhists in Sri Lanka. Later a stage drama based on it also became very popular in the country. Much later, in the recent past, a popular film was also produced on the story. In all these three important elements in the story have been highlighted. In the first place efforts are made to strengthen the great admiration Buddhist show for the massive sacrifices made by the Bodhisatta Vesaantara in order to win Buddhahood for the sake of the suffering saṃsāric beings. Secondly the pathos evoking incidents in the story such as the banishment of Vessantara from his kingdom for the gifting of the elephant, gifting of the children and the hardship they underwent in the hands of Jūjaka, Maddī's lamentation when she failed to find her children, are highlighted so as to attract sympathy towards them. Thirdly an element that became very popular is the character of the old brahamin Jūjaka. Slavishly devoted to his young wife so as to undergo much hardship to find slaves for her and, ultimately dying in over eating unable to bear on the riches he had won, portrayed to evoke great mirth in the reader or the viewer. On the other hand he is also made a target of their anger for the harsh treatment meted out to the two innocent children. The whole treatment of the character of Jūjaka also may contain an indirect criticism of brahamins, a subject so much loved by Sri Lankan Buddhist writers of the past.

Popularity of the *Vessantara Jātaka* is also seen in some of the Buddhist customs in Thailand, especially in the north of the country. In Chiengmai parts of the *Vessantara Jātaka* are read in some temples on the night of the Loi Kratong festival of lights. In North East Thailand the reading of the *Vessantara Jātaka* is the main feature of the three day, Bun Phraawes festival to which Phraa Uppakrut is invited to be the guardian of the ceremony which the devotees believe Phraa Uppakrut could do by subduing Māra kings who come to harm them4.

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VESSANTARA JĀTAKA See VESSANTARA

VESSAVANA See KUVERA

VEYYĀKARAṆA or *vyākaraṇa*, "explanation" or "exposition", is the third in a listing of types of text, *aṅga*, in early Buddhism (See also AṄGA). The present article will at first survey occurrences of *veyyākaraṇa* or *vyākaraṇa* in the discourses in order to ascertain the range of meaning that inheres in the term, followed by examining its implications in the context of the scheme of nine *aṅgas*.

The term *veyyākaraṇa* frequently stands for an explanation given in reply to a question, *pañhassa*

veyyākaraṇa (*D.* I, 223), which could be a reply given at the right time (*D.* III, 135), a reply made in regard to an appropriate question (*S.* II, 13), or a reply given in such a way as to satisfy the interlocutor (*D.* I, 118). Alternatively, a *vyākaraṇa* given in reply may also completely miss the point of the inquiry, a situation similar to discoursing about breadfruit when being asked about mangoes (*D.* I, 53).

The relation of *veyyākaraṇa* to questions is close enough for the term to be part of a polite manner of asking permission to put a question, *puccheyyāham ... sace me ... okāsaṃ karoti pañhassa veyyākaraṇāya* (*D.* I, 51). The corresponding verb *vyākaroti* occurs in the *Vīmaṃsaka Sutta*,1 which describes how the Buddha would freely answer any inquiry about his own level of purity (*M.* I, 319; see also V*MAMSAKA SUTTA). The same term also forms part of a formulaic introduction to a teaching given in accordance with the Socratic method, leading the audience via a series of questions to a certain conclusion, *paṭipucchissāmi, yathā te khameyya, tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi* (*M.* I, 230).

To be capable in replying to questions appears to have been of considerable importance in ancient Indian debate, so that some debaters would devise their questions in anticipation of the replies the other might give, *evaṃ ce no puṭṭho evaṃ vyākarissati*, (*M.* I, 176). According to the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, out of apprehension of such debaters some recluses and Brahmins would resort to evasive answers instead of giving a proper *vyākaraṇa* (*D.* I, 26). In an actual debate situation, however, once a proper question has been asked up to a third time a reply needs to be given. Failing to do so runs the risk that one's head will split into seven pieces, *sahadhammiko pañho āgacchati, akāmā vyākātabbo. Sace na vyākarissasi ... sattadhā muddhā phalissati* (*D.* I, 94).2 Another threat is that one who fails to give a *vyākaraṇa* in reply to a question asked by a *yakkha* might be driven insane by the latter, have his heart split and be taken by the feet and thrown across the Ganges river (*S.* I, 207 or *S.* I, 214).

Nevertheless, improper questions can be set aside as being unanswerable (see AVYĀKATA). Questions that should be set aside in this way, *ṭhapanīya*, are one out of altogether four types of questions that require a corresponding mode of reply. The other three are questions that require a categorical reply, *ekaṃsa vyākaraṇīya*; questions that should be dealt with through further analysis, *vibhajja vyākaraṇīya*; and questions where, before giving an answer, counter-questions are required in order to clarify the inquiry, *paṭipucchā-vyākaraṇīya* (e.g. *A.* I, 197).

Vyākaraṇa may also denote declarations made by the Buddha about the rebirth attained by some of his deceased disciples (*D.* II, 200). A retired *cakkavatti* ruler may give explanations, *vyākaraṇa*, to his son on how to properly rule the kingdom (*D.* III, 65); or a god may reveal his identity by making a *vyākaraṇa* (*D.* II, 284). An epithet of the Buddha is that he is one who explains or expounds, *veyyākaraṇa* (*M.* I, 386). Ability at *veyyākaraṇa* is also a praiseworthy quality of a Brahmin, a context where the term stands for expertise in matters of grammar (*Sn.* 595).

A mode of teaching adopted by a particular teacher may be termed a *veyyākaraṇa* (*A.* III, 125). Hence the proclamation of a particular view is a *veyyākaraṇa*, be this a view held by a monk (*S.* III, 112), or by outside recluses, *aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ ... evaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ hoti* (*S.* IV, 392). The corresponding *vyākaroti* in the sense of a presentation of a view or opinion occurs in a standard inquiry from the Buddha about how to correctly represent his teaching without misrepresentation, *kathaṃ vyākaramānā pana mayaṃ ... vuttavādino c' eva Bhagavato assāma* (*M.* I, 482); or when the Buddha instructs his monks on how to properly reply to queries put to them by outside wanderers (*S.* IV, 138). The same term can also stand for instructions on the development of meditative insight and tranquillity (*A.* II, 94).

Frequently *vyākaraṇa* stands representative for a whole discourse.3 Such identification of a whole discourse as *vyākaraṇa* often occurs in the concluding section, when the discourse is given a title by the Buddha, or else when its effect on the audience is reported. Other instances are when the Buddha endorses an exposition given by a disciple, indicating that he would have explained it just in the same way, *aham pi taṃ evaṃ evaṃ vyākareyyaṃ, yathā taṃ ... vyākataṃ* (*M.* I, 304).

In fact, a *veyyākaraṇa* need not be prompted by a question, as the term can simply stand for a detailed explanation given of a succinct statement (*S.* II, 53). The notion of a detailed exposition may also underlie

a listing found in some discourses that includes questions, *pañhā*, summaries, *uddesā*, and explanations, *veyyākaraṇāni*, (*S.* IV, 299 or *A.* V, 50). Here *veyyākaraṇa* seems to stand for detailed expositions given in reply to a question or else in order to elucidate a summary. Alternatively, *veyyākaraṇa* could just be a succinct saying, such as the *catuppada veyyākaraṇa* taught in the *Kīṭāgiri Sutta* (*M.* I, 480).

Another type of occurrence of *veyyākaraṇa*, where the term also stands for a relatively short saying, is as a declaration of having reached the final goal (*S.* II, 123). Not only an *arahant*, but also a non-returner might make such a formal *vyākaraṇa* of his or her attainment (*A.* IV, 211). The same is the case for a stream-entrant, who could proclaim that birth in lower spheres has been transcended forever (*D.* II, 93). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* distinguishes between altogether five declarations of final knowledge, *aññāvyākaraṇa* (*A.* III, 119). These could be declarations made out of delusion: out of evil wishes; out of madness; out of overestimation; or in accordance with truth. Another discourse in the same collection describes how monks skilled in mind reading will be able to find out if such a declaration of final knowledge has been made in accordance with reality (*A.* V, 156). In addition to referring to such declarations, *veyyākaraṇa* may also stand for explanations on how the final goal has been reached (*M.* III, 30).

In sum, then, *veyyākaraṇa* or *vyākaraṇa* can stand for replies, expositions, explanations and declarations. Such explanations could be given in reply to a question, or else without being occasioned by an inquiry. In this way, *veyyākaraṇa* could stand representative for a succinct saying or declaration, for a whole discourse, or even for a particular view or way of teaching.

In the standard listings of the nine *aṅgas*, *veyyākaraṇa* is preceded by *sutta* and *geyya*, and followed by *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivuttaka*, *jātaka*, *abbhutadhamma* and *vedalla* (e.g. *M.* I, 133). According to the commentarial definition, here *veyyākaraṇa* stands for the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, for discourses without verses, *niggāthakaṃ suttaṃ*, and for anything not covered by the other eight *aṅgas* (*MA.* II, 106). This commentarial explanation is not particularly helpful. To associate the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* with the *aṅga* listing is an evident anachronism, and a type of text that is not already included in some way or another under the other eight *aṅgas* would be difficult to find.

The suggestion that *veyyākaraṇa* stands for discourses without verses is not born out by those discourses that employ the term to refer to themselves, as several of these do contain verses. Thus the *Sakkapañha Sutta* repeatedly has verse sections (*D.* II, 265, 272, 285), even though the discourse concludes with *imassa veyyākaraṇassa 'Sakka-pañho 't'eva adhivacanaṃ* (*D.* II, 288). Another example is the *Brahmanimantanika Sutta*, which contains verses (*M.* I, 328 and 330), yet concludes with *imassa veyyākaraṇassa Brahmanimantanikan 't'eva adhivacanaṃ* (*M.* I, 331). Thus the commentarial explanation of *veyyākaraṇa* as discourses without verses does not fit the actual use of the term *veyyākaraṇa* in the Pāli *Nikāyas*.

Veyyākaraṇa is not only part of the standard listing of nine *aṅgas*, but also occurs in abbreviated listings of the *aṅgas*. This is the case for a three-fold listing found in the *Mahāsuññata Sutta*, which reads *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇassa hetu* (*M.* III, 115). The Chinese parallel also has only these three (*T.* I, 739c4),4 while a Tibetan parallel lists altogether twelve *aṅgas*,5 a listing often found in texts of the so-called northern traditions.[6]

Another abbreviated listing occurs in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which reads *yadi suttaso yadi geyyaso yadi veyyākaraṇaso yadi abbhutadhammaso*, thus comprising only four *aṅgas* (*A.* III, 237). A six-fold listing can be found in the *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*, reading *sūtraṃ geyaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ itivṛttaṃ gāthodānam*.7 At least in the last case, the shortened list is clearly the outcome of textual loss, as the same text continues to speak of the nine *aṅgas*, *evam navāṅga śāsanaṃ*.

Thus *veyyākaraṇa* or *vyākaraṇa* is clearly a central element of the *aṅga* listings. Yet, unless *sutta* originally had a meaning different from "discourse",8 it would be difficult to understand why *veyyākaraṇa* is mentioned separately, given that *veyyākaraṇa* regularly stands for a discourse. Moreover, in as much as some discourses that refer to themselves as *veyyākaraṇa* contain verses, it seems similarly difficult to draw a clear dividing line in relation to *geyya* (provided this term stands indeed representative for discourses that contain verses, as suggested by the commentary *MA.* II, 106).[9]

According to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, a distinction between *geyya* and *veyyākaraṇa* can be drawn in as much as the latter corresponds to what has already been explained, *nītattha*, whereas *geyya* stands for texts that still need explanation, *neyyattha* (on these two terms cf. *A.* I, 60).10 This explanation does not seem to match the full gamut of meanings of *veyyākaraṇa* in the Pāli discourses, as *veyyākaraṇa* does not always stand for an explanation that has its full meaning already drawn out.

An example in case is the *Susīma Sutta*, which reports the puzzlement of Susīma at hearing other monks making declarations, *veyyākaraṇa*, of final knowledge (*S.* II, 123). The remainder of the *Susīma Sutta* is devoted to drawing out the implication of the *veyyākaraṇa* that Susima had been unable to understand, so that at least in this instance the *veyyākaraṇa* made by the monks was, from the perspective of the main protagonist of the discourse, clearly *neyyattha*, in need of further explanation. Another example would be the *Kīṭāgiri Sutta*, which uses *veyyākaraṇa* to refer to a succinct saying, the *catuppada veyyākaraṇa* (*M.* I, 480). Such a succinct saying would better fit the category of *nītattha*, instead of being considered *neyyattha*. The same would also hold for a verse given as a *veyyākaraṇa* in reply to a question in the *Kevaddha Sutta* (*D.* I, 223).

Perhaps a solution to this conundrum can be found by seeing the nine *aṅgas* as overlapping categories. In fact, the difficulty of treating the *aṅgas* as neatly separate categories arises not only when trying to distinguish between *sutta*, *geyya* and *veyyākaraṇa*, but also in regard to the other members of the nine-fold listing.11 Perhaps the listings of *aṅgas*, whether these comprise three or nine, never intended to represent neatly separate categories. Instead, they may just have stood representative of the Buddha's teaching as a whole.

To assume that the *aṅgas* were originally not intended as neatly separate categories would imply that they would not have been used as an organizing scheme for the purpose of oral transmission. That is, the distinction into *aṅgas* would be too indistinct for it to exert a determining influence on the oral transmission of the early Buddhist texts in a way comparable to the division into *āgamas* or *nikāyas*. Though to draw a line between a "long" discourse and a "middle-length" discourse, for example, is to some degree subjective, a distinction into four *āgamas* or *nikāyas* does not involve the degree of overlap that can be found between the nine *aṅgas*.

The account of the formation of the early Buddhist canon in the *Dīpavaṃsa* mentions the nine *aṅgas* in its description of how the Buddha's teaching was divided into chapters and collections.12 The way this passage is formulated does not suggest a replacement of one system with another. Instead, it seems to refer to the nine *aṅgas* as representative of the Buddha's teaching as a whole, which at this point of time was divided into sections for the purpose of facilitating its oral transmission.

In fact, if the *aṅgas* had been divisions of texts for memorizing or organizing purposes, one would not expect the implications of the individual *aṅgas* to be soon forgotten. Yet, from the explanation found in later works it seems as if subsequent Buddhist generations found it difficult to make sense out of them.13

It is also difficult to imagine that some reciters would learn only the type of texts that correspond to a particular *aṅga*. The result of such an organization would defeat its very purpose, which is to develop divisions that are easily memorized and which provide each reciter with a representative selection of the teachings. Employing the *aṅgas* for this purpose would result in some reciters specializing on *suttas*, others on *geyya* or else on *veyyākaraṇa*, and again others would memorize *abbhutadhammas* or *vedallas* etc. The net result of such a division would be disproportionate portions of texts, which would not be representative of the teaching as a whole. Given that already the division into *āgamas* or *nikāyas* led to differences of view among the reciters that specialized on them,14 one might well imagine what would have happened if some reciters specialized on *abbhutadhamma* were to meet others proficient in *vedalla*.

In sum, then, instead of being an early system for dividing and transmitting the teachings that was eventually replaced by the division into *āgamas* or *nikāyas*, the *aṅgas* may have been just a listing of textual types.15 For such listings of textual types the considerable overlap between individual *aṅgas* would not have been a problem, since the purpose of the listing would just have been to comprehensively cover

the whole variety of the early texts. For such a purpose, the only point of importance would be to make sure that everything is mentioned, for whose sake overlap will willingly be accepted. In contrast, the division into *āgamas* or *nikāyas* clearly reflects the exigencies of oral transmission, as it divides the corpus of texts into easily memorized portions.

To assume that the purpose and function of the *aṅgas* was merely to act as a representative of the teaching as a whole, without having practical implications for the division of labour among the reciters, would concord with the broad range of meanings of *veyyākaraṇa* in the discourses, covering replies, declarations, expositions, discourses and ways of teaching.

Anālayo

References

1 For the sake of consistency, the reading *vyākaroti* will be adopted in this article throughout, though the texts at times read *byākaroti* instead.

2 On the threat that the opponent's head will split to pieces cf. Insler: "The shattered head split and the Epic tale of Śakuntalā", *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes*, 7/8, 1989: 97-139; and Witzel: "The Case of the Shattered Head", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 13/14, 1987: 363-415. On debating practice reflected in the Buddhist discourses cf. Manné: "The Dīgha Nikāya Debates", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 9.2, 1992: 117-136.

3 This is the case for the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D.* I, 46); the *Sakkapañha Sutta* (*D.* II, 288 and 289); the *Sampasādanīya Sutta* (*D.* III, 116); the *Brahmanimantaṇika Sutta* (*M.* I, 331); the *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta* (*M.* III, 20); the *Cūlarāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.* III, 280; cf. also *S.* IV, 107); the *Chachakka Sutta* (*M.* III, 287); the *Tiṃsamattā Sutta* (*S.* II, 189); the *Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta* (*S.* III, 68); the *Khemaka Sutta* (*S.* III, 132); the *Āditta Sutta* (*S.* IV, 20); the two *Gilāna Suttas* (*S.* IV, 47 and 48); the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* (*S.* V, 423); the *Gotamakacetiya Sutta* (*A.* I, 276); the *Aggikkhandhopama Sutta* (*A.* IV, 135); and the *Dvayatānupassanā Sutta* (prose after *Sn.* 765). Notably, only the *Sampasādanīya Sutta* and the *Khemaka Sutta* are spoken by a disciple. Thus the scope of *veyyākaraṇa* as a referent to a whole discourse is clearly not confined to discourses spoken by disciples.

4 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

5 Skilling: *Mahāsūtras*, Oxford 1994: 242.

6 Cf. the survey in Lamotte: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, Louvain 1980: 2281-2287; Maeda: *Genshi Bukkyō seiten no seiritsushi kenkyū*, Tokyo 1964 for a comprehensive chart of *aṅga* listings; and the study by Nattier: "The Twelve Divisions of Scriptures in the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology*, Tokyo 2004: 167-196.

7 Lévi: *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, Paris 1932: 161.

8 Von Hinüber: "Die Neun Aṅgas. Ein früher Versuch zur Einteilung buddhistischer Texte", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 38, 1994: 129 suggests that *sutta* could originally have intended just the *pātimokkha-sutta*, and thence come to represent the *Vinaya*. The commentaries indeed include the whole of the *Vinaya* under the heading of *sutta* (*MA.* II, 106).

9 According to Jayawickrama: "Buddhaghosa and the Traditional Classifications of the Pāli Canon", *University of Ceylon Review*, 1959: 12, *geyya* may "represent the *ākhyāna*-type containing stanzas punctuated with narrative prose".

10 Matsunami: *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Tokyo 1998: 228: *yac ca sūtraṃ neyārtham, idam ucyate geyam ... yac ca sūtram nītārtham, idam ucyate vyākaraṇam* (the same work also takes *geya* to stand for text with verses and *vyākaraṇa* for proclamations about the rebirth of disciples); cf. also Ruegg: "Remarks on the Place of Narrative in the Buddhist Literatures of India and Tibet", *India, Tibet, China: Genesis and Aspects of Traditional Narrative*, Firenze 1999: 206

11 Jayawickrama op. cit.: 11 comments that "there seems to be a good deal of overlapping, for the same piece can belong to several of these categories at the same time", concluding that the *aṅgas* are "a mere description of literary types and not a division into water-tight compartments".

12 *Dpv.* 31 (4.15): *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ, gāthudānitivuttakaṃ, jātakabbhutavedallaṃ, navaṅgaṃ satthusāsanaṃ, pavibhattā imaṃ therā, saddhammaṃ avināsanaṃ, vaggapaññāsakan nāma, saṃyuttañ ca nipātakaṃ, āgamapiṭakaṃ nāma, akaṃsu suttasammataṃ.*

13 Kalupahana: "Aṅga", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, I.4, 1965: 619 concludes that "the real significance of the ninefold and twelvefold divisions was almost lost by the time the later scholiasts attempted to explain them".

14 Cf. Adikaram: *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Dehiwala 1994: 32.

15 Norman: *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden 1983: 16 explains that "despite the fact that books called Jātaka, Udāna and Itivuttaka actually exist in Pāli, it is probable that the list of nine *aṅgas* did not originally refer to specific works in the canon, but was a description of various types of text". For an interpretation of the *aṅgas* as actual divisions of the canon cf. Sujato: *History of Mindfulness*, Taiwan 2005: 52ff.

VIBHAJJAVĀDA (1) : (Sanskrit *Vibhajyavāda* or *Vibadyavāda*) the "Doctrine which analyses or 'religion of logic or reason' according to the Pali Text Society *Pali-English Dictionary*. But Mrs Rhys Davids seems to prefer a rendering like 'to particularize1' to this Dictionary rendering. She also uses the terms analyst, or particularist in the sense of *vibhajjavādin*2, a holder of the *vibhajjavāda* conception. N.Dutt3 calls *vibhajjavāda* teaching analytic and not synthetic. Anyhow *vibhajja* is the gerund of the verb *vibhajati* to distribute, divide, distinguish, dissect, divide up, classify, to deal with something in detail, to go into detail. (*PED*. s.v *vibhajati*).

In some places when certain questions were put to him the Buddha would reply that 'in this place' (*ettha*) he is a *vibhajjavādin* but not an *ekaṃsavādin*. Such a statement in the *Subha Sutta* (*M*.II. 197) has been rendered into English by Miss Horner4 as, "On this point I, Brahmin youth, discriminate, on this point I do not speak definitively". Thus accordingly, at least in this context, the Buddha is one who replies discriminatively and not one who gives a categorical reply. Undoubtedly this reply given by the Buddha is based on one of the four types of questions differentiated by him according to the mode of replying applicable to each of them. Thus there are questions needing i. a categorical reply (*ekaṃsa-vyākaraṇīya*), ii. a discriminative reply (*vibhajja-vyākaraṇīya*), iii. a counter question as the reply (*paṭipucchā-vyākaraṇīya*) and, iv. to be set aside without an answer (*ṭhapanīya*-*A*.II.46). It is very clear from this and other discourses that the second type of answering a question is only one alternative and not the only one used by the Buddha. Thus the above discourse says-

> "Skilled in the questions four they call a monk
> Who knows to answer fitly thus and thus"

A monk has to be skilled in using all the four modes as the question demands. The Buddha calls himself a discriminator and not a generalizer in this particular context but not always. It is well known, for instance, how he left certain metaphysical questions unanswered as not profitable or useful for the realization of liberation from *dukkha*. It is also said that a person can be judged competent or incompetent if, in conversation, he replies questions fittingly in accord with these four modes of replying (*ibid*.I.197). Buddhaghosa (*DA*.II.567), in his discussion on *mahāpadesas*, has explained with illustrations how these four modes should be applied in answering questions.

Vibhajjavāda Identified with Theravāda

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (5.271-272), the Pali Chronicle of Sri Lanka, avers that the 3rd century A.C. orthodox Buddhist monks in the Mauryan Empire had styled the Buddha a *Vibhajjavādin*. This was a period, according to this chronical, when the Saṅgha had become flooded with numerous holders of heretical views. Arahant Moggaliputta Tissa, the leader of the orthodox monks, who did not desire to commiserate with such heretical elements, had withdrawn from active participation in the affairs of the Saṅgha and lived in retirement in a forest hermitage. But he returned to the capital to help Emperor Asoka to revive the sagging conditions of the religion. Queried by him in conclave, each monk labeled the Buddha as, eg., an eternalist, annihilationist etc. according to one's own views. But the holders of the true and correct views in accord with the Dhamma called the Buddha a Vibhajjavādin, which was confirmed by Arahant Moggaliputta Tissa. The *Mahāvaṃsa* Commentary (vol.1.240) explains that, because the Buddha was an analyst of the aggregates etc. he was a *Vibhajjavādī* (*khandhādīnaṃ vibhājakattā vibhajjavādī Sammāsambuddho*). This however seems to be a different proposition from what was discussed above. By analysing a person into aggregates (*khandha*) etc the Buddha demonstrates the absence of a permanent entity or soul in a person. The aggregates etc. into which a person is analyzed are collectively

called *dhammā*. According to its commentary, the *Dhammasaṅganī* uses the term *dhamma* to show the absence of a permanent entity or a living soul (*nissatta nijjīvita* DhsA.38). In fact Mrs.Rhy Davids5 queries this intellectual tendency indicated by the name *Vibhajjavāda* to distinguish the orthodox from the heterodox, by the *Theravādins*, without using a term like *Aniccavādi* or *Anattavādi*.From this explanation in the *Mahāvaṃsa* Commentary one can assume what the *Theravādins* wished to demonstrate was that the Buddha was in fact an *Anattavādin* and that they themselves are of the same view.

Some late Pali works like the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (p.95) have clearly identified *Vibhajjavāda* with *Theravāda*.It is called *Theravda* because it is the collective doctrine of the Theras (*therānaṃ sambandha-vacanattā*) and *Vibhajjavāda* because it was spoken by the Lord of the Sages who was a *Vibhajjavādī*. However, as also shown by Mrs. Rhys Davids (*ibid*), the name is very rarely used in Pali literature. Even the *Kathāvatthu* Commentary which gives in its introduction the account of the events leading to the Third Buddhist Council does not use the name *Vibhajjavādi* to identify the holders of the orthodox views in the discussion of the controversial points. They are simply called *Sakavādins* or 'own-adherent', 'one of ours'. Yet modern scholars like N.Dutt, who argues vehemently for the identity of *Theravāda* with *Vibhajjavāda*, Charles Eliot and S.N. Dube have taken the name *Vibhajjavāda* as an alternative for *Theravāda*.

Vibhajyavāda

This form of the name is found in Buddhist writings using the Sanskrit language medium, and following them in Chinese and Tibetan sources. Bhavya who in his list of early Buddhist Schools, equate Sthaviras with Haimavata has named a separate School belonging to the Sthavira group called Vibadyavādins6. Mrs Rhys Davids7,who refers to the very rare use of the name Vibhajjavāda, thinks that Bhavya or his informants may have been misled by " some local revival of it, past or current". It is also possible that both these, the identification of Sthavira with Haimavata and a separate Vaibadyavāda School, may have been a local development not of much relevance to the main Schools.

However, we know that the name *Vibhajyavādo* occurs in *Sarvastivāda Abhidharma* writings as the name of a rival School who did not accept their "everything exists" (*sarvastitva*) conception. All branches of *Sarvastivādins* as well as the *Vibhajyavādins* for quite some times continued to assume the status of orthodox *Sthaviravādins*. In the *Vijñānakāya Śāstra*, one of he seven canonical *Abhidharma* texts of the *Sarvastivadins*, the holders of the "everything exists" concept dispute with one Maudgalyaya or Maudgalyāyana identified by Bhikkhu Dhammajoti8 with Moggaliputta Tissa, author of the Theravāda Abhidhamma text the *Kathāvatthu*. Maudgalyayana here represents the 'present-only-exists' view of the Vibhajyavādins.It is also significant, as noted by Bhikkhu Dhammajoti, that some of the phrases in both texts on the controversy bear much resemblance. La Vallee Poussin held that the Sarvastivāda text was composed after the Pali *Kathāvatthu*.Ven Yin Shun dates it in the early part of the 1st century A.C9.If this identification of Maudgalyāyana with Moggaliputta Tissa is correct it would stand in good stead in vindication of the identification of the orthodox *Theravāda* with *Vibhajjavāda* in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and other Pali books.

Among the other *Sarvāstivāda* works referring to Vibhajyavādins is the *Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra* which cites them among a number of non-*Sarvastivāda* schools of thought10.The *Abhidharma-hṛdaya* of Dharmaśrī seems to sympathize with holders of heterodox views including the *Vibhajyavādins*11.Even in the late *Abhidharma Nyāyānusāra*, of Saṅghabhadra, where the working out of the implication of the 'everything exist' concept is still seen, the whole controversy came to be centred on the confrontation between *Sarvastivāda* and *Vibhajyavāda*. In the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu, the Sautrantikas, belonging to the Vibhajyavāda camp, argue that the Sarvāstivāda interpretation of the 'everything exists' concept is faulty and that it is not the only possible interpretation of it. For them it can be understood as, "past *dharmas* have existed, the future *dharmas* will come into existence, and the present *dharmas* are existing". Alternatively one can also say, as found in the *Sūtra*, "Everything that is within the range of perception-within in the twelve *āyatanas*, can legitimately be said to exist"12.The Theravāda arguments against the *Sabbatthivāda* concept in the *Kathāvatthu* (1.6) seem to agree with these *Vibhajyavāda* ideas cited in these

works. The *Abhidharma-koṣa-bhāṣya* defines the Sarvastivādins as holders of "everything exists" theory and the Vibhajyavādins as holders of "some exists" theory. The present and the past *karmas* that have not given fruit do exist while the past *karmas* that have given fruit and the future *karmas* do not exist13. Another view attributed to the Vibhajyavādins by the *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra* is the rejection of the subdivision of the seven *anuśayas* into ninety eight found in the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma texts, and holding on to the seven *anuśayas* as found in the *Sūtra*14.

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References

1. Points of Controversy, *PTS*, xli.n.1
2. *ibid* 7.n.1
3. Dutt, Nalinksha, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, Luzac and co. London, 249 *f*
4. *Middle Length Sayings*..II. 386 *f*
5. *ibid* xl
6. *Points of Controversy*, xxxvii
7. *Ibid*.xli
8. Dhammajoti, Bhikkhu Kuala Lumpur, *Entrance into the Supreme Doctrine*, Posgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya,Sri Lanka,1998, p.31
9. Dhammajoti, *Sarvastivāda Abhidharma*, Centre for Buddhist studies, Sri Lanka, 2002, p.37
10. Dhammajoti, 1998, p.158 n.80
11. *ibid*. p.27
12. *ibid* p 261
13. *Ibid* 261 *f*
14. *Ibid p.202* n.373

VIBHAJJAVĀDA (2) (Sanskrit *Vibhajyavāda*), is the "doctrine of analysis". The term *Vibhajjavāda* as representative of the way the Buddha taught occurs in the account of the third council given in the Pāli commentaries to the *Kathāvatthu* or the *Vinaya*, and in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*KvuA*. 7; *VinA*. I, 61; *Mhv*. 5:272). According to these texts, the monastic community was purged of heterodox elements with the help of an inquiry about what the Buddha had taught. While counterfeit monks would propose various views of the type listed in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D*. I, 13 ff) ; the proper reply to this inquiry was that the Buddha taught *Vibhajjavāda* or was a *Vibhajjavādin*.

In Theravāda literature, the term *Vibhajjavāda* occurs on several occasions as an epithet that expresses praiseworthiness, such as when the *Visuddhimagga* eulogizes a monk from the Mahāvihāra as foremost among those who uphold the doctrine of analysis , *Vibhajjavādi-seṭṭhānaṃ* (*Vism*. 711).1 Here and elsewhere in later Pāli literature, *Vibhajjavāda* seems to stand representative of the Mahāvihāra lineage of the Theravada tradition.

The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* uses the same term to refer to those who are at odds with Sarvāstivāda doctrines, such as the proposal on the existence of past and future phenomena (*AbkKbh*. 5:25). Other "doctrinal views explicitly attributed to the Vibhajyavādins in the scholastic literature of the Sarvāstivādins ... do not form a coherent group, but rather are unified simply by virtue of being opposed to respective Sarvāstivāda positions". Thus "various doctrinal positions attributed to the Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas, Kāśyapīyas, or the Dārṣṭāntikas are also assigned to the Vibhajyavadins", so that "the name Vibhajyavāda might be best characterized as a loose umbrella term for those, excluding the Sārvastivādins , who belonged to the original Sthavira branch". 2 The same term also makes its appearance outside of the context of Buddhist schools, as it occurs in a Jaina text in a recommendation to expound with the help of an analytical methodology.u¶ 3

I \n the early Buddhist discourses, the term *Vibhajjavāda* can be found in the *Subha Sutta* (*M*. II, 197). Confronted with a categorical proposition on the superiority of the life of a householder over the life of someone who has gone forth, according to the Pāli version of this discourse the Buddha replied that in this respect he was one who would make a pronouncement only after having carried out an analysis, *vibhajjavādo kho aham ettha*. Notably, according to the Chinese parallel passage in the *Madhyama Āgama*, a discourse collection generally held to have been transmitted by the Sarvastivāda tradition (see also ĀGAMA), the Buddha did not come out with the term *Vibhajjavāda* on his own, but rather was asked by his visitor to give an analytical explanation of the matter (*T*. I, 667a22).4 This minor difference seems to reflect the influence of school affiliation on the respective texts, since whereas in the

Theravāda version the Buddha introduces himself as a *vibhajjavādin*, thereby implicitly indicating that this term stands representative for his way of approach, in the Sarvāstivāda version of the same discourse he merely gives an analytical exposition after being asked by his visitor to do so.

Another discourse of relevance to the term *Vibhajjavāda* occurs in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. According to this discourse, the Buddha was a *vibhajjavādin* in regard to asceticism (*A*. V, 190). This discourse contrasts the term *Vibhajjavāda* a to *ekaṃsavāda*, to taking a categorical stance on the matter. A notable circumstance of this discourse, as well as of the *Subha Sutta*, is that the Buddha is one who adopts *Vibhajjavāda* in regard to this particular point, *ettha*.5 That is, these two Pāli discourses present the Buddha as adopting *Vibhajjavāda* in regard to specific proposals that in both cases involve unwarranted generalizations. Thus "the Buddha did claim himself to be an analyst (*vibhajjavādi*), but this was dependent upon the sort of question or 6claim made by the inquirer".

In fact, according to the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* there were matters in regard to which the Buddha took a categorical position, *ekaṃsika* (*D*. I, 191). An example of an *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta*, are the four noble truths. The same holds true for matters of morality and the need for wholesome conduct, where the Buddha categorically declared that unwholesome deeds of body, speech and mind should not be undertaken, *Bhagavatā ekaṃsena akaraṇīyaṃ akkhātaṃ kāyaduccaritaṃ vacīduccaritaṃ manoduccaritaṃ* (*A*. I, 57).

The term *vibhajja* and *ekaṃsa* also make their appearance in the context of altogether four types of questions that should be met with by the appropriate mode of reply. One of these four types of question requires a categorical reply, *ekaṃsa vyākaraṇīya*, while another needs to be met with by undertaking further analysis, *vibhajjavyākaraṇīya* (e.g. A.I, 197). Notably, out of these four," one kind of answer is not considered superior or inferior to any other kind of answer..... each kind of answer, when apposite, is equally valid and equally commendable.".7

This set of four answers helps to clarify the implications of *vibhajjavāda* as a characterization of the early Buddhist teachings. To adopt the analytical methodology does thus not make categorical replies impossible, in fact at tunes such categorical replies are quire opportune. Yet, such categorical replies should be based on a previous undertaking of the analytical method. This much can be seen from the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta*, since the *ekaṃsika* teaching it presents, the four noble truths, are in themselves an analysis of the human predicament. This analysis was the outcome of the analytical insight the Buddha had gained with his awakening. In regard to *ekaṃsika* statements on wholesome and unwholesome conduct, the *Dvedhāvitakka* Sutta records that this distinction, too, was the outcome of an analysis undertaken by the Buddha before his awakening (*M*. I, 115). This ore-awakening analysis enabled him to make clear-cut categorical statements on this matter.

In this way, then *vibhajjavāda* as a referent to the early Buddhist teachings can be understood to highlight the thorough emphasis on investigation and analysis in early Buddhism, an attitude that may then express itself in categorical assertions as well as in replies that differentiate between alternative possibilities. When considered from this perspective, the suggestion made in the account of the third council that the Buddha should be reckoned a *Vibhajjavādin* would not conflict with his taking a categorical stance on certain matters. That is, the Buddha can indeed be reckoned a *Vibhajjavādin*, in the sense that the propositions he made were based on previous analysis of the matter in question.

Analayo

References

1 A survey of other references to this term in Pāli literature can be found in Cousins: "On The Vibhajjavādins, the Mahiṃsāsaka, Dhammaguttaka, Kassapiya and Tambapaṇṇiya Branches of the ancient Theriyas". *Buddhist Studies Review*, 2001, 18.2:131-182.

2 Cox: "Mainstream Buddhist Schools", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, New York 2004, 2: 506;
CF. ALSO Dutt: *Buddhist Sects in India*, Delhi 1978: 208

3 Jayatilleke: *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, Delhi 1980: 162 quotes *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.14.22: *vibhajjavāyaṃ ca viyāgarejjā* ,

recommending that a wise man "should expound the nalytical theory".

4 *T.* stands for the Taisho edition

5 Prasad: "Theravāda and Vibhajjavāda, A Critical Study of the Two Appellations", *East and West,* 1972, 22.1/2: 106 comments that "from the use of the term 'herein' (*ettha*)... it is clear that he declared himself to be so only in that given context".

6 Kalupahana: *The Buddha's Philosophy of Language*, Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha 1999: 73

7 Karunadasa: "Theravāda as Vibhajjavāda: A correct Identification for Wrong Reasons?". *Wilhelm Geiger and the Study of the History and Culture of Sri Lanka*, Colombo 2000: 26.

VIBHAṄGAAṬṬHAKATHĀ See **SAMMOHAVINODANI**

VIBHAṄGAPPAKARAṆA : *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa* is the second treatise of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* of the Theravāda School of Buddhism. It is the Theravāda counterpart of *Dharmaskandha Sāstra* of *Sarvastivāda Abhidharma.* It is regarded as the supplement and continuation of *Dhammasaṅgani*, the first treatise of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*.

Vibhaṅga means exposition, classification or analysis. Accordingly *vibhaṅga* contains analysis of eighteen topics of Buddhist doctrines such as (1) *khandha*-aggregates, (2) *āyatana*-base (3) *dhatu*-elements (4) *sacca* –truths (5) *indriya*- faculty (6) *paccayākāra* –cause and effect (7) *satipatthāna* – mindfulness (8) *sammappadhāna*- right exertion (9) *iddhipāda* – basis of psychic power (10) *maggaṅga* – constituents of path (11) *bhojjhaṅga* – factors of enlightenment (12) *jhāna*- absorption (13) *appamaññ a*- noble living (14) *sikkhāpada* –precepts (15) *patisambhidā* –analytical knowledge (16) *ñāna* – wisdom (17) *khandhakavatthu* – minor section dealing with numerous classification of *dhammas* and (18) *dhammahadaya* –mental elements.

It is also important that each of the eighteen *Vibhaṅgas* are discussed under three criteria i.e. *suttantabhājaniya* according to suttanta, *abhidhammabhājaniya* according to abhidharma, and *pañhāpucca* by way of question and answers (catechism). All the eighteen expositions (*vibhaṅgas*) are complete in themselves and independent. Among the eighteen *vibhaṅgas* the *khandha vibha ṅga* which occupies nearly one third of the whole *pakaraṇa* appears to be the biggest *vibhaṅga*. Traditionally *vibhaṅga* contains thirty five *bhānavaras*. Many of the passages of the *Vibhaṅga* are found in the *Patisambhidāmagga*, to which it has a great resemblance, in contents, as well as in arrangements.

The tradition attributes the authorship of *vibhaṅga* (also the authorship of the remaining six *pakaraṇas*) to Buddha himself. But scholars are of the opinion that they must have been produced during a period of two or three hundred years, beginning from second or third century, after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha. The scholars assign seven *abhidhamma* treatises into three periods of composition chronologically, i.e. early, middle and late. Accordingly the *Vibhaṅga* along with the *Dhammasaṅgani* and the *Puggalapaññatti* are assigned to the proposed early period. The scholars also point out quotations from the first four *nikāyas* often found in the above three treatises indicate that they belong to the early period.

The *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa* is published in the roman script by *PTS*, edited by Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids in 1904. The *Vibhaṅga* commentary is assigned to the great commentator Ven. Buddhagoshācārya and it is named "*Sammohavinodani*" (Expeller of Bewilderment). The commentary is published in Roman scripts by the *PTS*, edited by Ven. A.P. Buddhagosha in 1923.

K. Arunasiri

VIBHĀṢĀŚĀSTRA See MAHĀVIBHĀṢĀ

VIBHAVA, "non-existence" or "non-becoming", occurs regularly in the early discourses together with such synonyms as "annihilation", *uccheda*, and "destruction", *vināsa*. Another sense of the term *vibhava*, found mainly in commentarial literature, is "wealth" or "prosperity". The present article, however, is concerned with *vibhava* in the sense of non-existence.

Views that propound future non-existence, '*vibhava-diṭṭhi*, are an extreme that has its counterpart in views that propose external existence. Those who

uphold either of these two views are at odds with each other and, being under the influence of craving and clinging, will be unable to reach liberation (*M.* I. 65). Caught up in these two types of views, mankind either lags behind or else overshoots the goal (*It.* 43). Upholding *vibhava-diṭṭhi* overshoots the goal, as out of disgust with existence one develops delight in the notion of non-existence, perceiving the cessation of the self at death as peaceful and sublime. Someone endowed with vision, in contrast, sees what has come into being just as something that has come into being, *bhūtam bhūtato passati*, and develops detachment in regard to it.

A stark instance of annihilationist types of view that propound future non-existence would be the stance that according to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* was taken by Ajita Kesakambali (*D.* I. 55; see also AJITA KESAKAMBAI and SĀMAÑÑAPHALA SUTTA), propounding that a human being merely consists of the four elements. According to this view, when someone passes away all that happens is that the body will be carried to the cremation ground, the bones will turn white and all offerings turn into ashes. To assume some form of survival after death is according to this doctrine merely empty prattle, as fools and wise alike will be annihilated at death and perish entirely. As the *Sandaka Sutta* points out, to uphold such a doctrine renders the living of a life dedicated to spiritual progress meaningless (*M.* I, 515).

In its survey of the various grounds for views held among contemporary Brahmins and recluses, the *Brahmajāla Sutta* lists altogether seven grounds for proclaiming the annihilation of a self (*D.* I, 34; See in more detail VIBHAVA— TANHĀ). In whatever way those Brahmins and recluses may proclaim *vibhava* to be the escape from *bhava*, they will be unable to escape from existence (*Ud.* 33). Only when *vibhava* and *bhava* are both left behind can future becoming be eradicated *vibhavañca bhavañca vippahā ya khīnapunabbhavo* (*Sn.* 514). The situation of those who uphold annihilationism is quite vividly depicted in the *Pañcattaya Sutta*, which compares their predicament to a dog that is bound to a pillar and keeps running in circles around this pillar (*M.* II. 232). The point of this imagery is that, in spite of being motivated by disenchantment with personal existence, *sakkāya*, annihilationism is unable to go beyond the inherent sense of identity. Instead, the annihilationist keeps on running, as it were, in circles around the same personal existence he or she tries to abandon.

The decisive shift of perspective that is required can best be illustrated with the help of an aspiration that a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* presents as the expression of an annihilationist view, *uccheda-diṭṭhi* (*S.* III. 99). This aspiration reads: "may I not be, may it not be for me, I shall not be and it will not be for me", *no c'assam, no ca me sia, na bhavissami, na me bhavissati*. The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* discourse points out that this aspiration is rooted in ignorance and an expression of craving. A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* reckons this type of aspiration as the supreme among heterodox views, *aggaṃ bāhirakānaṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ* (*A.* V. 63). The reason for this comparatively favourable assessment in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourse may well be that a somewhat similar maxim was employed in Buddhist circles, with a small but decisive difference. The modified mode of this aspiration reads "may it not be, may it not be for me, it shall not be and it will not be for me", *no c'assa, no ca me siyā na bhavissati, na me bhavissati* (*M.* II, 24 ;S. III. 55; A IV, 70; Ud. 78). By replacing the first person formulation in the verb forms with the third person, the need to go beyond the self-notion implicit in the annihilationist approach becomes apparent, and the maxim becomes adoptable for the early Buddhist aspiration for the cessation of existence, *bhavanirodha*.[1]

A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* explains how this aspiration can lead to the eradication of the lower fetters and onwards to final liberation. An uninstructed worldling does not realize that each of the five aggregates is im- permanent and will any way come to be non-existent, *vibhavissati*. A noble disciple, in contrast, understands the true nature of the five aggregates and thereon applies himself or herself to the above aspiration ('may it not be, may it not be for me, it shall not be and it will not be for me"). In this way the destruction of the lower fetters can be expected (*S.* III. 57). If this aspiration does not cause the arising of fear, and if any lust in regard to the five aggregates is overcome, then consciousness becomes unestablished, *apatiṭṭhita*, and final liberation will be attained. The *Āneñjasappāya Sutta* notes that clinging to the equanimity developed in this way needs to be avoided in order for practice in accordance with this maxim to lead to final liberation (*M.* II, 265).

The *Alagaddūpuma Sutta* reports that contemporary recluses and Brahmins were of the opinion that the Buddha was an annihilationist, since according to them he taught the annihilation, destruction and non-existence of a [truly] existing being. *Sato sattassa ucchedaṃ vināsaṃ vibhavaṃ paññāpeti* (*M.* I, 140). In reply to such mistaken assessments of his teaching, the Buddha would point out that what he taught as merely *dukkha* and its cessation. General Sīha and the Brahmin Verañja had a similar misunderstanding of the Buddha's teaching. In reply to their assumptions that he was an annihilationist, the Buddha admitted, tongue in cheek, that in a way he could indeed by considered to be teaching annihilation, as he taught the annihilation of unwholesome mental states, or else the annihilation of lust, anger and delusion (*Vin.* I, 235 = *A.* IV, 182; *Vin.* III, 2= *A.* IV, 174).

Not only recluses and Brahmins, but at times even Buddhist monks could have misunderstandings in this respect. According to a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, the monk Yamaka had proclaimed that an arahant will be annihilated at death (*S.* III, 109). This amounts to adopting one of the four modes of the tetralemma about the future destiny of an awakened being, a *tathagata*, according to which *tathagata* either exists after death, or does not exist, or both, or neither. The Buddha consistently refused to take up any of these positions (e.g. M. I, 484). The basic problem involved in such proposals is the same as the one illustrated in the *Pañcattiya Sutta* with the imagery of a dog that keeps running in circles around a pillar to which it is bound, namely the assumed existence of self about which predications can be made. The monk Yamaka's mistaken assertion was taken up by Sāriputta for closer examination, with the result that Yamaka had to admit that it was impossible to find a *tathāgata* in truth and fact even here and now, hence what to say of any future existence or non-existence of a *tathāgata* after death (*S.* III, 112, see also TATHĀGATA).

What happens at the death of an awakened one is put rather succinctly by the novice Adhimutta, who was about to be killed by a gang of brigands.

Unruffled by any fear of death, he told the gang leader that from his perspective there was no cause to lament at the prospect of being killed, as merely *saṅkhāras* will come to be non-existent, *saṅkhārā vibhavissanti, tattha kā paridevanā* (*Thag.* 715). Hence, far from being a frightening teaching that leads to the annihilation of a self, the Buddhist path to liberation is a path that leads to the annihilation of any fear, even to the annihilation of the fear of being annihilated at death.

Anālayo

Reference

1 Cf. e.g. A. V, 10: *bhavanirodho nibbānaṃ*; or the explanation of the *anupādisesa Nibbāna–dhātu* at It. 38 as *yamhi nirujjhanti bhavāni sabbaso*.

VIBHAVATAṆHĀ, "craving for non-existence" or "craving for non-becoming", is the third of the three types of craving listed in the standard expositions of the second noble truth (e.g. *M.* III, 250, see also TAṆHĀ). Such craving for non-existence would cover suicidal intentions, in the sense of those types of craving that motivate someone to forcefully put an end to life (see also SUICIDE). Yet, for *vibhava-taṇhā* to be explicitly mentioned in the succinct presentation of the arising of *dukkha* in the formulation of the second noble truth, alongside such basic motivating forces as sensual craving and craving for existence, *kāma-taṇhā* and *bhava-taṇhā*, one would expect *vibhava-taṇhā* to have broader implications than merely the wish to commit suicide.

Here it is of interest that the *Brahmajāla Sutta* lists altogether seven grounds, *vatthu*, that lead to the arising of annihilationist views (*D.* I, 34). These seven are different modes of identifying a type of self and its cessation. The first of these seven modes identifies the self with the material body, assuming that with the death of the body the self will become annihilated. This mode of thinking would correspond to the type of reasoning that motivates suicide, which assumes that, by cutting short life and forcefully bringing about the death of the material body, all problems will similarly come to an end. Whether this is based on an explicit belief in a self or only on an implicit self-notion, the rationale behind such a suicidal attempt is to find a solution through escape from the material body.

In its treatment of annihilationist views, the *Brahmajāla Sutta* also lists the possibility of identifying the self with a divine material body that

feeds on gross food, or with a divine mind-made body that is endowed with limbs and faculties. The final four grounds for annihilationist views in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* involve the four immaterial attainments, namely the attainment of boundless space, boundless consciousness, nothingness and neither-perception-nor-non-perception.

From the perspective of attempting to find a deeper meaning and a broader scope of implication for the term *vibhava-taṇhā*, the final four grounds for annihilationist views listed in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* are intriguing, since they suggest that non-existence or non-becoming may have been envisaged as a goal to be reached through meditation practice in ancient India, in particular through attaining any of the immaterial spheres. Since the experience of these immaterial spheres requires a considerable amount of meditative proficiency and practice, an annihilationist view related to the attainment or experience of these states could not reasonably assume that all beings are destined to such annihilation. That is, from the perspective of the upholders of such a view, annihilation would probably not have been considered as the inevitable fate of all beings, but rather as a goal to be attained through an appropriate form of conduct and meditation practice. The idea behind such an aspiration for annihilation could be a merger with a form of ultimate reality, held to be equivalent to boundless space, or to boundless consciousness, or to nothingness, or to neither-perception-nor-non-perception. Attaining such a merger at the death of the body any self-hood would be successfully annihilated.

Support for this interpretation could be gathered from the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta*, which describes the development of insight and detachment in regard to the experience of the immaterial attainments (*M.* III. 244). In the concluding section of this description, just before turning to the attainment of final liberation, the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta* indicates that at this high point of meditative development and mature insight one will be free from intentions and volitions in regard to existence or non-existence, *n' eva abhisaṅkharoti nābhisañcetayati bhavāya vā vibhavāya vā*. In this context, intentions and volitions in regard to *vibhava* most certainly do not refer to any suicidal impulse. Instead, the implication of the passage seems to be that one who has reached this lofty stage of mental development is aloof from interest in any form of existence as well as in the type of merger with an ultimate immaterial reality that involves a cessation of the self, such as appears to be implicit in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*'s description.

That annihilation was by some contemporaries of the Buddha perceived as a goal to be attained through a particular mode of conduct and practice would also be implicit in the formulation of the aspiration "may I not be, may it not be for me, I shall not be and it will not be for me", *no c' assaṃ, no ca me siyā, na bhavissāmi, na me bhavissati*, which a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* explicitly identifies as an expression of an annihilationist view, *ucchedadiṭṭhi* (*S.* III, 99; see also VIBHAVA). Since this formulation clearly involves an aspiration, here again it would not make much sense to assume that all beings are destined to annihilation. Nor does this formulation appear to be merely the expression of a suicidal intention, since a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* reckons this aspiration as supreme among heterodox views (*A.* V, 63). Instead, what this aspiration most probably intends is a form of annihilation that requires effort and practice, such as would indeed be required for attaining the immaterial spheres.

From this perspective, then, *vibhava-taṇhā* could be understood to comprise craving for annihilation in a materialist as well as a spiritual sense, ranging from the wish to destroy the physical body by suicide to the aspiration for leaving behind the sense of selfhood through a mystic merger with an ultimate reality. The decisive factor that these different modes of craving share in common is the assumed sense of a self that lurks behind them. From a Buddhist perspective, all these forms of craving are but manifestations of ignorance, since however refined the experience they aim at may be, the truth of the matter is that there was never a self to be annihilated in the first place.

Anālayo

VICIKICCHĀ, "doubt", (Skt. *vicikitsā*) is reckoned in early Buddhism as a mental obstruction in regard to the development of mental tranquillity, *samatha*, as well as in regard to the development of liberating insight, *vipassanā*. The role of *vicikicchā* as an obstruction to the development of deeper states of concentration is reflected in its inclusion as the fifth among the five hindrances (e.g. *D.* I, 246; see also N*VARAṆĀ). The debilitating effect of *vicikicchā* in relation to liberating

insight, its 'binding' force to *saṃsāra*, finds its expression in the fact that one of the three fetters that are to be eradicated with stream-entry is the fetter of doubt (e.g. *M.* I, 9; see also SAMYOJANA). The same is also reflected in the circumstance that the removal of *kaṅkhā*, a synonym to *vicikicchā*, is a distinct stage in the series of purifications that lead up to liberation (*M.* I, 147; See also KAṄKHĀVITARAṆAVISUDDHI and RATHAVINĪTA SUTTA). In short, only after doubt has been overcome, will the eradication of lust, anger and delusion be possible (*A.* V, 147). Other advantages of overcoming doubt are that one will meet deadly disease with composure (*A.* II, 175), and will be able to live in secluded spots in a forest wilderness without fear (*M.* I, 18).

The nature of *vicikicchā* has been illustrated in the discourses with the help of various similes. One of these introduces doubt as the seventh army of Māra, the Evil One (*Sn.* 437). One who successfully gives battle to this army and overcomes doubt is, according to a simile given in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, comparable to someone who safely crosses a dangerous desert without any loss (*D.* I, 73). A nuance similar to the desert imagery in this simile is the depiction of doubt in relation to the teacher, the teachings, the community and the training as a "barrenness of the mind", *cetokhila* (*M.* I, 101). The theme of travelling that underlies the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* simile of crossing a desert recurs in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which illustrates *vicikicchā* with the example of a man who stands at the junction of a forked path, *dvidhāpatha* (*S.* III, 108; see also *M.* I, 144), and hence is in need of another person who tells him which way to take. The imageries of having to cross a dangerous desert and of being unable to decide on one's own which way to take bring out the insecurity and vacillation caused by doubt, the uncertainty as to what is the proper thing to be undertaken. The desert imagery and the idea of a barrenness of the mind add to this the nuance of an almost sterile and infertile condition, since due to doubt the mind becomes unproductive and even profound teachings are like seeds that fall on stony ground.

According to the detailed explanation given in the *Visuddhimagga*, uncertainty is in fact characteristic of doubt, *saṃsaya-lakkhaṇa*, whose function is to waver, *kampana-rasa*, and which manifests as indecisiveness or inability to take a clear position, *anicchaya-paccupaṭṭhāna* *anekaṃsagāha-paccupaṭṭhāna vā*, having unwise attention as its proximate cause, *ayoniso-manasikāra-padaṭṭhāna* (*Vism.* 471).

The nuance of lack of clarity and vagueness that underlies the imagery of a forked path recurs more explicitly in a simile that compares the effect of each of the five hindrances on the mind to attempting to see the reflection of one's own face in a bowl filled with water. Here *vicikicchā* is equivalent to using a bowl that is placed in the dark and filled with turbid and muddy water (*S.* V, 123 and *A.* III, 233). Obviously a bowl of water in such condition will be incapable of accurately reflecting the true condition of one's face, just as a mind under the influence of doubt will not be able to accurately know and see the true nature of reality. The imagery of turbid and muddy water to illustrate the clouding and blurring effect that doubt has on the mind has a counterpart in another simile that compares the five hindrances to various metals that corrupt the purity of gold. In the context of this simile *vicikicchā* corresponds to silver, as the presence of silver will render gold brittle and unfit for being employed by the goldsmith, since by being mixed with silver it looses its malleability (*S.* V, 92 and *A.* III, 16).

As a hindrance, *vicikicchā* can manifest in relation to internal as well as external phenomena (*S.* V, 110). Moreover, doubt could arise in regard to the past, the present or the future (*D.* III, 217; cf. also *S.* IV, 327). The underlying tendency responsible for the fetter of doubt is already present in a new-born baby, even though an infant would not even know things about which doubt could arise (*M.* I, 433). Hence to overcome and remove doubt requires working against a deeply ingrained tendency in the mind.

Giving unwise attention to phenomena that cause doubt is the main factor or 'nourishment' that leads to the manifestation of doubt, *vicikicchāṭṭhāniyā dhammā tattha ayoniso manasikāra-bahulīkāro ayam āhāro anuppannāya vicikicchāya uppādāya* (*S.* V, 103). Unwise attention, *ayoniso manasikāra*, is in fact the condition par excellence for the arising of doubt (*A.* I, 4). Its opposite, 'wise' or perhaps 'radical' attention, *yoniso manasikāra*, should be directed to the distinction between what is wholesome and unwholesome, blameable and blameless, inferior and superior, dark and bright, since this constitutes the antidote or 'denourishment', *anāhāra*, for doubt (*S.* V, 106).

The above shows that the hindrance of doubt is in particular concerned with a lack of ability to clearly recognize what is skilful or wholesome, *kusala*, and what is unskilful or unwholesome, *akusala*. This is noteworthy in so far as the central factor or 'nourishment' for the awakening factor of investigation-of-phenomena, *dhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅga*, is precisely wise attention directed to the distinction between what is wholesome and unwholesome, blameable and blameless, inferior and superior, dark and bright (*S.* V, 104). This contrast between the hindrance of doubt and the awakening factor of investigation-of-phenomena, where the same factor that overcomes the former is responsible for the development of the latter, reveals that in early Buddhism doubt is not overcome through faith or mere belief. Rather, to overcome and counter doubt requires a process of investigation, and it is based on the clarity and understanding that arises through investigation that doubt is dispelled.

According to the detailed treatment of the awakening factors given in the *Ānāpānasati Sutta*, the awakening factor of investigation-of-phenomena arises based on the previous development of mindfulness (*M.* III, 85). This suggests the type of investigation required to overcome doubt to stand in close relation to mindfulness, in the sense of 'investigating' with awareness the true nature of 'phenomena'. In fact, *satipaṭṭhāna* is explicitly qualified to be a "straightforward" and "direct" path, *ekāyano maggo* (*M.* I, 55), an expression explained in the commentary to imply that *satipaṭṭhāna* is not a forked path, *eka-maggo ayaṃ, na dvedhā-patha-bhūto* (*MA.* I, 229). Thus the development of mindfulness would indeed be an appropriate method for overcoming the forked path of doubt.

Another facet of the same awakening factor would be a more theoretical type of inquiry. This can be seen from the definition given in the same *Ānāpānasati Sutta*, according to which the development of *dhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅga* requires one to examine with wisdom 'that *Dhamma*', *taṃ dhammaṃ paññāya pavicinati pavicarati parivīmaṃsaṃ āpajjati* (*M.* III, 85). The use of the singular form suggests that the inquiry is concerned with *dhamma* in the sense of the "teaching" or the "truth".

The role of theoretical inquiry and understanding for the removal of doubt is reflected in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which indicates that to overcome doubt, *kaṅkhaṃ vitarati*, is a benefit to be expected when one listens to the *Dhamma* (*A.* III, 248). A specific instance for this potential is the *Sampasādanīya Sutta*, which concludes by noting that the topics it treats are of particular benefit for overcoming doubt in regard to the Buddha (*D.* III, 116). Familiarity with the Dhamma will even be of benefit in a future life, since one will without vacillation recognize the teachings if one comes across them again, just as someone who hears the sound of a drum or a conch would not have any doubt or uncertainty about the nature of the sound just heard (*A.* II, 185). Good knowledge of the teachings, together with clarification of these through questioning others, *bahussutatā paripucchakatā*, are according to the commentaries factors that indeed help in overcoming doubt, in addition to which one should be well versed in matters related to Vinaya and have a strong sense of commitment, *vinaye pakataññutā adhimokkhabahulatā*, and one should also associate with wise friends and engage in suitable types of conversation, *kalyāṇamittatā sappāyakathā* (*MA.* I, 286).1

The need to remove doubt in relation to Vinaya matters appears to have been the rationale for the title given to the commentary on the *pātimokkha* rules, the "dispeller of doubt", *Kaṅkhavitaraṇī*. The degree to which matters related to Vinaya might lead to the arising of doubts can also be seen from the name of the monk Kaṅkhārevata, "Revata the doubter", who was given this nick-name because he had been greatly worried and concerned about properly maintaining ethical conduct (*UdA.* 314). Kaṅkhārevata was successful in settling his doubts for good, as the *Udāna* reports him seated in meditation, reviewing his own purification through overcoming doubt, *kaṅkhāvitaraṇavisuddhi* (*Ud.* 60).

The procedure to settle doubts through inquiry is described in several discourses, which depict how junior monks approach experienced elders to get clarification of their questions in order to remove their doubts, *kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinodenti* (e.g. *M.* I, 223). A case that well illustrates how inquiry can lead to overcoming doubt is described in the *Sakkapañha Sutta*. This discourse reports how the king of the heaven of the Thirty-three, Sakka, approached the Buddha with a set of questions during what appears to have been their first personal meeting (*D.* II, 269).2 After receiving a series of clarifying replies to his queries

from the Buddha, Sakka proclaimed that he had overcome and removed his doubts, *tiṇṇā m'ettha kaṅkhā, vigatā kathaṃkathā* (*D.* II, 283). The discourse concludes by indicating that Sakka's removal of doubt had been thorough indeed, as he attained stream-entry while listening to the explanations given by the Buddha (*D.* II, 288).

With stream-entry doubt is eradicated for good, *kaṅkhā pahīnā* (*S.* III, 203), and the stream-entrant can be qualified as one who has overcome doubt, *tiṇṇavicikiccho* (*D.* I, 110). This removal takes place at the moment of stream-entry itself (*A.* I, 242 and *Sn.* 231), when the deathless element is seen and realized through wisdom (*S.* V, 221). Such direct realization is the arising of the dustless and stainless eye of the Dhamma, *virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ udapādi*, due to which the stream-entrant sees, attains, understands and fathoms the Dhamma, *diṭṭhadhammo pattadhammo viditadhammo pariyogāḷhadhammo*; and by having removed doubt and overcome perplexity has gained intrepidity and become independent of others in regard to the teacher's dispensation, *tiṇṇavicikiccho vigatakathaṃkatho vesārajjappatto aparappaccayo satthusāsane* (e.g. *M.* I, 380). It is based on such total removal of doubt through the experience of stream-entry that the noble disciple is henceforth endowed with unwavering confidence or faith, *aveccappasāda* (*S.* V, 357). Coming back to a point already made above, faith and confidence, instead of being required to overcome doubt, are the result of the successful removal of doubt through investigation.

In the same context, it is noteworthy that on occasions the Buddha approved of doubt, telling his auditors that they were entertaining doubt in regard to matters that are indeed perplexing, *kaṅkhanīye ca pana te ṭhāne vicikicchā uppannā* (*S.* IV, 350; *S.* IV, 399; *A.* I, 189; see also KĀLĀMA SUTTA). In fact, according to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* even during the last moments before his passing away the Buddha encouraged the assembled monks to voice any doubt they had, so that it could be clarified as long as he was still alive (*D.* II, 155), and just a few moments earlier he had resolved the doubts of the wanderer Subhadda (*D.* II, 149). This goes to show that the arising of doubt, though an obstruction to deeper concentration or insight, has its rightful place in as much as it leads to investigating matters that should be investigated.

Anālayo

References

1 In the context of *jhāna* attainment in particular, according to *Vism.* 141 the *jhāna* factor of sustained mental application, *vicāra*, is responsible for keeping doubt at bay.

2 *D.* II, 270 reports that Sakka had already come on an earlier occasion, but had not been allowed to disturb the Buddha who was in deep meditation.

VIDYĀLANKĀRA PIRIVENA: The Vidyālankāra Pirivena is one of the foremost seats of oriental studies and a centre of National and Religious Renaissance in the 19[th] century in Sri Lanka. It was established in 1875; two years after the establishment of the Vidyodaya Pirivena. It is important to note that it was founded by Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka, who studied under Panditācārya Walāne Siddhārtha, along with Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumaṅgala, who established the Vidyodaya Pirivena. Thus it should be clear that the Vidyālankāra Pirivena too was established at a time, when the Sinhala nation and Buddhism were facing a severe catastrophe from the Christian Missionaries and other colonial forces, as described at the beginning of the article on Vidyodaya Pirivena (q.v. Vidyodaya Pirivena). Before long Vidyālankāra Pirivena too joined Vidyodaya Pirivena in its noble effort to revive the declining nation and the religion in the 19[th] century.

The establishment of the Pirivena: The Vidyālankāra Pirivena, appear to have had a modest beginning. As per the records, Ven. Ratmal^¶āne Dhammāloka and his pupil Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammārāma, on an invitation from the Buddhists of the area, spent their "Rainy Retreat" (*vassāna*) at Peliyadgoda in Kelaniya near the "Torana Junction" ,on the Colombo – Kandy road, in the year 1875. The idea of commencing a school for Oriental Studies had occurred to the *dāyakas* during the said "vassāna" period. The *dāyakas* conveyed the idea to Ven. Dhammāloka, who readily agreed to the proposal. They formed themselves into an organization called the "Dāyaka Sabhā" and made necessary arrangement within a month. Accordingly the proposed school was commenced by Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka and his pupil Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammārāma in a temporary building roofed with cadjan, at Peliyagoda, on the 1[st] of November 1875, in a small scale.1 At the beginning it was named "Vidyālankāra Sāstra Sālāwa" and was popularly called "Sālāwa". The names of the

Buddhists who formed themselves into the first Dāyaka Sabhā are not known. But the names of lay supporters, Don Daniel Jayatileke Senanayaka Gardige Liyanarachchi, Mudlier Hewa Devage Pelis Fernando, Wimala Gunawardena and Ratnayaka Pathirana Amāris Upāsaka are preserved in the records. It is also important that the Vidyālankāra Pirivena did not receive a financial grant from the government though Vidyodaya Pirivena received a government grant within two years of its establishment. It is seen that the Vidyālankāra authorities did not want a government assistance, without which they continued till 1956.

Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka Thera - the founder Parivenādhipati 1875-1887. Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka Thera, the founder of the Pirivena became the first "Parivenādhipati". He was ordained by Ven. Andupe Sonuttara Thera of the Purāna Vihāra in Ratmalāna and studied under Ven. Maligaspe Maṅgala Mahā Thera and Paṇḍitācārya Walāne Siddhārtha of Paramadhamma Cetiya Temple in Ratmalāna. Ven. Dhammāloka was assisted by his brilliant pupil, Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammārāma.2 Records are not available regarding the earliest phase of Vidyālankāra. As it appears, there have been no teachers other than Ven. Dhammāloka and Ven. Dhammārāma during this period. It is seen that the first Parivenādhipati had strictly followed ecclesiastic traditions of Theravāda, in the management of the infant institution. The details of subjects taught are not known. But it is reasonable to assume that subjects such as Pāli, Sinhala and Sanskrit were taught to begin with. An assessment of Ven. Dhammāloka's contribution to the Vidyālankāra Pirivena shows that he founded the Pirivena on a firm footing so that it could one day blossom into a major educational institution of traditional studies. His other contribution was the training of a worthy pupil who could manage the Pirivena even better than the founder himself. Ven. Dhammāloka died in 1887, after a dedicated service of twelve years to Vidyālankāra in particular and in general to the Buddhasāsana.

Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammārāma, the second Parivenādhipati 1887-1918: Ven. Dhammāloka was succeeded by his beloved pupil and deputy, Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammārāma, a scholar of great reputation. Due to his personal reputation as a great scholar of the day, many pupils from far away places flocked to Vidyālankāra to study under him. There appear to have been no change in the curriculum etc. of the Pirivena during his tenure of office. He continued the Pirivena on the same line as his predecessor. His duties and responsibilities as the head of the Pirivena did not deter his academic pursuits. Some times his contribution to the Sinhala Language, Literature, Sanskrit and Pali appear to have excelled his service as a Parivenādhipati. In fact his personal reputation as a great scholar seems to have added to the reputation of the Pirivena.

The most important contribution made by Ven. Dhammārāma to the Sinhala Language is accepted as the re-discovery of the "Discriminative use of the Dental N and L and the Cerebral Ṇ and Ḷ" (*Na, Ṇa, La, Ḷa bhedaya*) in the Sinhala Language, which has been confused and wrongly used after the Kotte Period. As advised by his teacher Dhammāloka, Ven. Dhammārāma examined the entire Sinhala Literature texts carefully and re discovered the correct usage of the above spelling, as used by ancient writers. His thesis was accepted by the Paṇḍits of the day and is followed up to date, when writing Sinhala. Further Ven. Dhammārāma is reported to have edited several ancient Sinhala Literary works such as *Hansasandesaya, Selalihinisandesaya, Kāvyasekaraya, Dharmapradipi-kāwa, Mahābodhivamsa Geṭapadaya, Kāvyadarsha Purāna Sannaya* etc.

Ven. Dhammārāma studied Sanskrit under a Brahmin Pandit Mātrubhūtesvara Sharmā, who had come from India, as arranged by the teacher Ven. Dhammāloka. He mastered Sanskrit within a short period and was able to win the admiration of the Brahmin. His re-construction of non extant Sanskrit *Mahākāvya Jānakīharana* (of the king Kumāradāsa) with help of its Sinhala paraphrase, is a testimony to his supreme command of the Sanskrit Language.

On the request of the Governor Sir Robert Chalmers (1912- 16) Ven. Dhammārāma undertook the strenuous task of editing of *Papañcasūdanī*, the *Majjhima Nikāya* commentary, which had not been properly edited till then and successfully completed the task. It is seen that he had collated several manuscripts containing many errors and give the variant readings, as done by the present day western scholars. Ven. Dhammārāma adorned his *Papañcasūdanī* edition with an introduction in Pali, giving the history of the Pali Language and its connection with Prakrit and the history of the *Sāsana*. The present *Papañcasūdanī* edition is a proof to his undisputed Pali scholarship.

Another masterly product of Ven. Dhammārāma is his scholarly edition of the *Pañcikāpradīpaya* of Ven.

Totagamuve Sri Rāhula Sangharāja, a further elucidation of the *Moggallāna Vyākarana.* Ven. Dhammārāma displays his supreme command of the Pali Language with its grammatical traditions and also the related grammatical systems such as the Sanskrit grammatical system etc. He added a scholarly introduction in Pali verse to his *Pañcakapradīpa* edition, which received the admiration of the scholars of day. It is said if someone wants to know the erudition of Ven. Totagamuve Sri Rāhula he should read his *Pañcakapradīpa* and if he wants to know the scholarship of Ven. Dhammārāma he should read his introduction to the *Pañcakapradīpaya* edition.3 The colonial government appreciated Ven. Dhammārāma's scholarship by printing it in the Government Press, on the order of the Governor Sir Arthur Havelock (1890-95).

As per the records there have been only two or three teachers on the staff to teach about 75 pupils. Yet Ven. Dhammārāma was able to proceed with his research work in the academic field in spite of his busy schedules. His personal reputation as a scholar enhanced that of the Pirivena. It was during his tenure of office that the Vidyālankāra Pirivena became known even outside the country. The governor Sir Robert Chalmers (1912-16) often invited him to his residence to get the problems relating to Pali solved. He was ailing towards the end of his carrier and died at the age of 65 years.

Ven. Pandit Lunupokune Dharmakīrti Sri Dhammānanda -the third Parivenādhipati (1918-1945): Ven. Dhammānanda was succeeded by Ven. Pandit Lunupokune Dharmakīrti Sri Dhammānanda, the deputy, who studied under both Ven. Dhammāloka and Dhammārāma. The Vidyālankāra Pirivena remained more or less the same during the tenures of office of the first and second Parivenādhipatis. The modern development phase of the Pirivena commenced with the tenure of office of the third Parivenādhipati Ven. Dhammānanda. The most important change initiated was with regard to the administration. Ven. Dhammānanda believed in the modern management concept of delegation. He delegated various functions among his able colleagues and pupils. The administration was entrusted to Ven. Yakkaduwe Sri Pragnārāma who managed it efficiently. Matters pertaining to education were discussed with staff members before decisions were taken. This developed the sense of collective responsibility among the staff. This was the secret behind the success of the Dhammānanda period.

The curriculum of the Pirivena remained the same during the tenures of office of the first and second Parivenādhipatis. A change was seen during the period of the third head, Ven. Dhammānanda. The curriculum was re-organised during the period 1935-6 to cater for the changing needs. The education at the Pirivena was divided into two major sections, the primary and higher. The curriculum was expanded to include English, Tamil, Prakrit, Hindi, History, Hygiene, Arithmetic, Archaeology, Geography, Logic etc.

Ven. Dhammānanda who was a Pali scholar extended his fullest co-operation to the Tipiṭaka Publication Project under the Simon Hewāvithārana Bequest, for which he edited the *Majjhima Nikāya* commentary and the *Manorathapūranī*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* commentary. He was also a Pali grammarian and his thorough knowledge of the Moggallana grammar is visible in his editions of *Moggallana Vritta Sannaya*, *Moggallāna pañcikā* with *Suttavutti Padasādanaya*, *Padasādana Sannaya*, etc. Ven. Dhammānanda was awarded the degree of D. Litt (Honoris Causa) by the University of Ceylon at its first convocation.

The Dhammānanda era was an era of development at the Vidyālankāra Pirivena. There were many innovative developments witnessed during the period, which would be discussed subsequently.

Ven. Pandit Kirivattuduwe Pragnāsāra, the fourth Parivenādhipati (1945-1959) : Ven. Dhammānanda was succeeded by the deputy Parivenādhipati, Ven. Pandit Kiriwattuduwe Pragnāsāra . Under him, too, the administration of the Pirivena was handled by Ven. Yakkaduwe Pragnārāma. It was during this period that two posts of deputy heads were created in the staff. Consequently Ven. Paṇḍit Madowita Gñānānanda and Ven. Paṇḍit Hedipannala Pragñāloka were appointed as the two deputies.

Ven. Pragñāsāra was well versed in Pali, Sinhala, Sanskrit and Prakrit and authored and edited several Pali, Sinhala and Sanskrit works, such as *Papañcasūdanī* second and third parts of the *Pañcatantra* " Mitrabheda" section, *Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa*, *Hansa Sandesa*, *Selalihini Sandesa*, *Sinhala Thūpavamsa* etc. when the Pirivena was elevated to a University in 1959, he was appointed the first Vice Chancellor of the Vidyālankāra University.

Ven. Paṇdit Yakkaduwe Pragñārāma (1959-86): After the appointment of Ven. Kiriwattuduve Pragñāsāra as the Vice Chancellor, Ven. Pandit Yakkaduwe Pragñ ārāma became the fifth Parivenādhipati of the Pirivena. This was no new experience for him. As the Director of the Pirivena, he was running the show under the two previous Parivenādhipatis. An able administrator, he managed the Pirivena efficiently and executed many development projects that were planned, first as the Director and later as Parivenādhipati. The new building projects at Dematagoda and Pannipitiya Pirivena premises were supervised by him and today those institutions stand to his credit. He was the chief force behind the historic Vidyālankāra – Declaration of 1946, as we will see later.

Though burdened with administrative functions and development work, Ven. Pragñārāma was a shining star in the literary field. He had his own literary style and language. He shunned the Sanskritized Sinhala of Paṇḍits. His Sinhala Language was almost the popular language in normal usage that could be easily understood by everybody. As a result his writings became very popular.

His Sinhala translation of the *Majjhima Nikāya* with a critical introduction, named "*Sāmannesanā*" may be described as a landmark in the translation of Tipiṭaka into Sinhala. His Sinhala translation of the Sanskrit "*Pañ catantra*" using folk idiom and vocabulary under the title "*Vanakatā*" became very popular, both among children and adults. Among his other popular Sinhala publications are "*Guttila Vicāra Vicāraya*" (the criticism of criticisms on Guttilaya) "*Bhavataranamaga saha Buddhacarita*" (the crossing of Saṃsāra and the "*Buddha carita*).

His outward appearance was somewhat peculiar. He shaved his beard seldom. He was a nocturnal worker, worked during the night, slept during the day (up to lunch time). Dr. Sarvapalli Rādhakrishṇan, subsequently the President of the Republic of India, was once invited as the Chief Guest for a function at the Pirivena. When Ven. Pragñārāma was introduced to the Chief Guest, he was described as the person behind everything, but hidden. The chief guest is supposed to have quipped "Yes the foundation of a building is not visible only the building is visible". He died in 1986, after 52 years of dedicated service to his "Alma Mater". After the death of Ven. Pragñārāma, Ven. Paṇḍit Nāttandiye Pragñākara was appointed as the Parivenādhipati. He was a former librarian. Though his term of office was short as the Parivenādhipati, he served the Pirivena as a teacher for a long time. Ven. Pragñākara died in 1990 and Ven. Paṇḍit Welamitiyāwe Kusaladhamma succeeded him. He was able to restore the cordial relationship the Pirivena once had with the Buddhist Public. His untiring effort for the upliftment of the Pirivena, has already won the admiration of both students and the teachers.

Vidyālankāra Pirivena awards Degrees: It is observed that the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena had novel ideas and has put them to practice without any fear or hesitation. The conferment of Degrees by the Pirivena is a similar instance. During the period of Ven. Dhammānanda, the authorities of their own, have launched a programme to conduct public examinations and award degrees, long before the establishment of a University in the country. The students were examined in the fields of Buddhasāsana, Tipiṭaka, Sinhala, Pali, Sanskrit and Ayurveda. The examinations were open for external students, too, and syllabuses had been approved for each subject. Degrees awarded were *Tipiṭakācārya, Dharmācārya, Sāhityācārya, Sāhityapaṇḍita Vidyācakravarti* and *Vaidya Śiromani* etc. It is creditable that a Pirivena that did not get any assistance from the it¶ Government successfully carrying out such important tasks.

Vidyālankāra established schools for lay students : Another important decision taken by the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena is the decision to establish Buddhist schools . The Pirivena catered mainly for monks. There was no proper school for Buddhist boys and girls of the area. In order to cater for this need, Vidyālankāra authorities established two schools. One was named Sri Dharmāoka Vidyālaya, established in 1938 to commemorate the name of the founder of the Pirivena Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka and the other was named Gurukula Vidyālaya (established in 1947). At present these schools are the leading schools in the area. Mahaweva Buddhist Mixed School, Buddhaghosa Vidyalaya in Hunupitiya, the Buddhist Mixed School, Batagama were later established.

Vidyālankāra Tipiṭaka Sangiti: Another laudable step taken by the Pirivena is its Tipiṭaka Saṅgiti which was undertaken to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Pirivena. It is described as the Saṅgiti held after the Saṅgiti held at Mātale. It was ceremonially inaugurated on August 15, 1950 with the participation of the Mahāsaṅgha, exceeding one thousand from all three nikāyas , including Mahānāyakas and Anunāyakas. It was planned to prepare two sets of Tipiṭaka, one in Pali

and the other in Sinhala. The Sinhala translation of the *Majjhima Nikāya* with the "*Sāmannesanā*" by Ven. Yakkaduwe Praġñārāma was the pilot copy of the planned Sinhala Tipiṭaka. The project was completed in four years. It is creditable that this mammoth task, bravely undertaken, was successfully completed without any state assistance.[4]

The Journal Saccasamuccaya: It is important that Vidyālankāra Pirivena had commenced a learned journal named *Saccasamuccaya*, published by the Society named "Prabhāshodaya", as far back as 1887. This was very useful to spread learning among the people, during the period when books were very rare. Some say that it is the old *Saccasamuccaya* that appeared as *Prabhāshodaya*, in 1930 under the Editorship of Julius Lanerolle.

Vidyālankāra acquires the coveted genuine bodily relics of the Buddha: Another land mark in the history of the Pirivena was the acquisition of the genuine bodily relics of the Buddha, after a big tussle. Two archaeologists, General Masy and Sir Alexander Cunnningham, in the course of their archaeological excavations had discovered a casket supposed to contain genuine bodily relics of the Buddha at Bilsa tope, in 1849. Subsequently the relic Casket had been taken to England and Madam Winifred Boros, a grand daughter of General Masy, happened to possess the relics. Sir D.B. Jayatilaka the leader of the State Council succeeded in getting the relics for Sri Lanka with the assistance of Sir Andrew Caldecott (1936-45), the Governor of Ceylon at the time. But there was a request from the donors that the relic should be kept in a place where it would not be used for collecting funds. Consequently there arose a problem as to which institution, the relics should be entrusted. Sir D.B. Jayatilaka the head of the Council of Ministers of the State Council, the illustrious old boy of the Pirivena, wanted to deposit the relics in the Vidyālankāra Pirivena. But Mr. D.R. Wijewardene, the owner of the Lake House Group of papers, wanted to take them to the Kelaniya Vihāra, which is connected to his family. There was a big tussle between the two groups. The Lake House papers launched a vehement battle on behalf of the Kelaniya Temple. The papers used to call it the "Relic Crisis" (*Dhātu Kolāhalaya*) and the battle continued for a couple of months without a decision. Ultimately Sir D.B. Jayatilaka was able to get the relics for the Vidyālankāra Pirivena. This was considered a big victory and a blessing for all Buddhists. The relics were ceremonially taken to the Pirivena on the 7th of April 1940. A special building was constructed for the relics where it is venerated up to date.

The Historic Vidyālankāra Declaration of 1946: The declaration named Vidyālankāra Declaration made on 13th February 1946 is a landmark in the history of the Vidyālankāra Pirivena. It was the eve of Ceylon being granted independence. Ceylon was about to emerge as a free nation in the world. There was a big enthusiasm in the country. The leftist movement was in its formative stage. Buddhist monks did not take to politics directly up to that time. In this environment there arose a controversy whether it is proper for Buddhist monks to engage in politics. The traditionalists or conservatives held the view that the *Vinaya* rules do not permit Buddhist monks to engage in politics. The radicals headed by the Vidyālankāra monks argued that Buddhist monks should provide guidance for the welfare of the people in the present life as well, in addition to their advancement in future lives. They pointed how the Mahāsangha gave correct guidance to the people in the hours of crisis in ancient Sri Lanka and it does not amount to a violation of the *Vinaya* rules. The whole country both monks and laity were divided into two camps.

In February 1946 a meeting was held at the Vidyālankāra Pirivena attended by the monks of the Pirivena and the Dāyaka Sabhā to discuss the issue. A long discussion from 2 p.m. to 12 midnight followed. Those who opposed the monks taking to politics pointed out that it would be disastrous to the Pirivena, Buddhasāsana and the country. The monks headed by Ven. Yakkaduwe Pragnārāma, pointed out that there is nothing wrong in Buddhist monks patronizing a course of action, for the welfare of the masses provided it is not harmful to the spiritual life of the monks, though it is known as "politics" or by any other name. Despite the strong opposition of the wealthy and powerful members of the Dāyaka Sabhā, the proposal justifying the Buddhist monks participating in politics was approved. The declaration containing the above decision called the "Vidyālankāra Declaration' was formally issued on Feb. 13, 1946, under the signature of the Parivenādhipati. 5

This was an important milestone not only in the history of the Pirivena, but also a milestone in the history of the country. From this time it is seen, Buddhist monks gradually involving themselves in politics and its impact was clearly seen in the political arena. In fact, the Vidyālankāra declaration changed the political atmosphere

so far prevailing in the country the result of which was seen hence forth.

In the meantime the Vidyālankāra Pirivena had to face several difficulties immediately. It came under adverse criticism of the Press. 6 The important, powerful and the wealthy lay members of the Dāyaka Sabhā resigned and withdrew their material support they so far extended to the Pirivena, which completely depended on the public contributions. Their sustenance too was at stake. Yet they faced the difficulties with courage till the difficulties were over in the course of time.

Vidyālankāra monks in the Buddhist Missionary Movement: The Vidyālankāra Pirivena has taken several strides in the Buddhist Missionary Movement. Ven. Lunupokune Dhammānanda, the third Parivenādhipati is said to have taken a special interest to re-introduce Buddhism to India, the birth place of Buddhism. Three Indian nationals Ven. Jagadīsh Kāsyap. Prof. Rāhula Sanskrutyāyana and Ven. Ananda Kaushalyāyana who mastered the teachings of the Buddha at Vidyālankāra are reported to have led the Vidyālankāra Missionary Movement in India. Ven. Jagadīsh Kāsyapa undertook the laborious task of transliterating the whole Pali Tipitaka with commentaries into the "Nāgari script" and successfully completed it. Moreover he made arrangements to publish the said Tipitaka in the Nāgari script together with the commentaries as Navanālanda Publications under the Publication Department of the Bihar State. In the meantime Ven. Jagadish Kāsyap was able to establish "Nālanda Mahāvihāra Education Institute" at the site of the ancient Nālanda University.

Tipiṭakācarya Rāhula Sankrutyāyana is reported to have translated the complete *Vinaya Piṭaka* into Hindi within 27 days. Further he translated *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* Nikāyas into Hindi and authored many other books on Buddhism in Hindi. Rahula Sankrutyāyana proceeded to Tibet and brought the Tibetan Tripitaka (*Kanjur Tanjur*) to Vidyālankāra, as directed by Ven. Dhammānanda.

Ven. Ananda Kaushalyāyana, master of several languages such as English, Sinhalese, Pali, Sanskrit, Urdu, Marāti, Panjābi etc. translated the *Aṅguttara Nikāya Dhammapada* and the complete *Jātaka* Book to Hindi.

Among many other Indian students at the Vidyālankāra Pirivena were Vaidyanātha Misrā, (later Bhikshu Nāgārjuna), Prof. Shanti Sāstri Bhikshu who obtained a doctorate from the Lipzig University of Germany, Pandit Anantarāma Bhatta, Shāndilāyana Ratthapāla and Bhikshu Amurtāsananda.

A perusal of the list of foreign students who came to study Buddhism at the Vidyālankāra Pirivena shows that it had attracted students from many countries other than India. The students from distant countries in the globe such as England America, Netherlands, Nepal, China, Bengal (Bangladesh), Austria, Thailand, Laos, Tibet, Malaya (Malaysia) were seen at Vidyālankāra. The foreign students had arrived at Vidyālankāra wishing to study Buddha's teachings, due to the influence of the Vidyālankāra monks engaged in the Buddhist missionary service in the respective countries. The foreign students on their return to their native countries after studying were instrumental in the propagating the teachings of the Buddha in their native countries. Thus Vidyālankāra Pirivena was able to disseminate the teachings of the Buddha successfully around the world with the help of its foreign students.

In the meantime local Vidyalankara monks, specially those who studied during the Dhammānanda period proceeded to foreign countries with the message of the Buddha and commenced missionary campaigns in various parts of the world undergoing severe hardships. The foreigners who heard about Buddhism from them came to Vidyālankāra in order to learn Buddhism from its very fountain, as already shown. In the list of many Vidyālankāra past pupils who were dedicated to the Buddhist missionary campaign in foreign countries are seen Ven. Dr. Kirinde Dhammananda, Ven. Dr. Henepola Gunaratana. Ven. Dr. Walpola Piyananda, Ven. Dr. Pannila Ananda, Vinayācarya Mirisse Paññasiri, Paṇḍit Paraduwa Pemaratana, Ven. Dr. Kotawila Pemāloka, Ven. Dr. Hewanpola Ratanasāra, Ven. Katugastota Uparatana, Ven. Horapāwita Hemasiri and Ven. Galmuruwe Paññ aratana.

Eminent Past Pupils of Vidyālankāra: There are some eminent past pupils of Vidyālankāra (other than those who adorned the chair of Parivenādhipati) who deserve recording. Foremost among such Mahātheras is Vādibhasingha Bedigama Ratanapāla Mahāthera, Chief High Priest of South Sri Lanka. He belongs to the earliest strata of pupils of the Pirivena who had the opportunity of studying under both Ven. Dhammāloka and Dhammārāma Theras. After the completing of education, he was appointed as a teacher in the Pirivena, and subsequently was promoted to the position of deputy

head of the Pirivena. Later he resigned from the Pirivena and proceeded to Mātara, in order to serve his native place. He established the Mahāmantinda Pirivena in Matara which is one of the oldest Pirivenas in the area. He was erudite, and was a good orator. Hence he was called *Vādibhasingha* i.e. "Lion in the Debate". During the Sinhala –Muslim riot in 1915, the Colonial Government Agent at Mātara, when he failed to quell the riot came to Ratanapāla Nāyaka Thera and solicited his assistance to quell the riot. The Nayaka Thero was able to pacify the crowds, due to the great respect the people had for him and the Muslims of Mātara escaped unharmed. When the Nāyaka Thero passed away a couple of years later, it is said, the grateful Muslims strewed Jasmine flowers over his coffin when it was being taken to the cemetery for cremation.

Ven. Dr. Walpola Rāhula, though he did not have his initial education at the Pirivena but had it from a past pupil of the Pirivena subsequently, joined the Pirivena and considered the Pirivena as his *alma mater*. He became a member of the staff and had close and intimate relationships with the Pirivena throughout. Ven. Dr. Rāhula played a leading role in issues such as the Free Education Bill, The Relic Issue and the issue of Buddhist Monks in Politics, in which the Pirivena monks were involved, for the benefit of the common man. He was a Buddhist scholar of international repute. He was the Vice Chancellor of the Vidyodaya University and later the Chancellor of the Kelaniya University.

Ven. Prof. Bambarende Siri Sīvali, a past pupil and a member of the staff was a charismatic character. He was of a pleasant personality, kind and popular among all. He was a capable orator and a good writer who could write in Sinhala, English or in Hindi. He had his own lucid style, easily understandable by all. Hence his writings were very popular. To his credit stand a large number of books on Buddhism, Buddhist culture, Indian culture, humanism and related topics. He formed a writers' guild named "The Progressive Writers' Guild".

Ven. Koṭahene Pragnākīrti, another worthy product of the Pirivena was attached to the staff of the Pirivena for a long time. He specialized in ancient Sinhala literature and authored a series of books on the subject that became "hand books" for students in the upper classes during the years 1950 to1960.

The two deputy Parivenādhipatis, Ven. Pandit Mādowita Gnānānanda and Ven. Pandit Hedipannala Pragnāloka, Ven. Dr. Welamitiyāwe Dhammarakkhita, Ven. Pandit Nārāwila Dhammaratana, Ven. Dr. Kākkapalliye Anuruddha and Ven. Dr. Kumburugamuwe Vajira have adorned the list of past pupils of the Vidyālankāra Pirivena. The last two in the list , Ven. Dr. Kakkapalliye Anuruddha and Ven. Dr. Kumburugamuwe Vajira served as Vice –Chancellors of the Pali & Buddhist University of Sri Lanka.

Sir D.B. Jayatilaka – The Most illustrious past lay pupil of the Vidyālankāra Pirivena: Sir Don Baron Jayatilaka was undoubtedly the most illustrious lay past pupil of the Vidyālankāra Pirivena. He was an educationist, oriental scholar, statesman, lawyer, an ambassador and a national hero. He studied Pali, Sinhala and Sanskrit at the Vidyālankāra Pirivena under Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka and Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammārāma and got admitted to the Wesley College Colombo for his English education. Thus his education was a super blend of the East and the West. He was appointed the Principal of the Ananda College. Subsequently he proceeded to England where he qualified as a barrister. He entered politics and was elected the Chairman of the Committee on Home Affairs and was elected as the leader of the Council. The Colonial government honoured him by conferring a knighthood on him.

Sir D.B. Jayatilaka was the pioneer editor of the Sinhala Dictionary Project. In spite of his busy life he continued academic studies. He brought out scholarly editions of *Dampiyā Atuvā Getapadaya, Sikhavalanda Vinisa, Saddharma Ratanāvaliya* and its *Getapada Vivaraṇa*. He did not forget his *Alma Mater* Vidyālankāra Pirivena, and did much for its development and continued to be the Chairman of the Dāyaka Sabhā up to his death in 1944. Finally he was appointed as the ambassador for Ceylon in India and he died on his way back from India.

During the last 132 years of its existence Vidyālankāra Pirivena has produced thousands of pupils, lay and cleric, who did yeomen service for the country and the Buddha Sāsana.[7]

The Religious and National Movement of Sri Lanka and the Vidyalankara Pirivena: The Vidyālankāra Pirivena has contributed immensely to the religious and the national Movement, together with its senior counterpart Vidyodaya Pirivena. An Examination of its participation in the religious and national movement shows that the Vidyalankara monks were influenced by

Socialist ideals. As already pointed out when the question arose whether Buddhist monks could engage in politics, Vidyālankāra monks took up the position that Buddhist monks could take to politics for the welfare of the common man without violating *Vinaya* rules.

C.W.W. Kannangara, the Minister of Education of the State Council brought forward the far reaching Free Education Bill in 1945, in order to help the children whose parents could not pay for their education. Surprisingly some of the Cabinet Ministers including the leader of the Council vehemently opposed the Bill. There was a doubt whether the Bill would be passed. At this crucial hour the Buddhist monks mainly from the Vidyālankāra Pirivena came forward to defend the worthy Bill that would decide the fate of thousands of poor children in the country. The monks organized meetings all over the island and successfully created a strong public opinion in favour of the bill. At the end, those members of the State Council who were not in favour of the Bill at the beginning had no alternative but to vote for the Bill.. On seeing this miraculous victory, V. Nalliah, a Hindu member bf the Council from the North is reported to have quipped "it is a victory of the shaven heads". At present no one in the country dares to speak against the Free Education Bill of C.W.W. Kannangara. This shows that Vidyālankāra monks had taken a wise decision to support the Bill and they were far seeing than some of the Political leaders of that period.

Some Traditions of Vidyālankāra: Vidyālankāra has its own traditions, since the very beginning. The administrative body of the Vidyālankāra Pirivena still continues to be known as the "Dāyakasabhā", the name given to the organization that looks after the affairs of a temple. But in the case of the Vidyodaya Pirivena the Administrative Body is called Vidyādhāra Sabhā, which is separate from the normal Dāyakasabhā.

The Vidyālankāra Pirivena did not accept government assistance and continued to depend entirely on public contributions till 1956. The authorities appeared to have thought that acceptance of government assistance would lead to government intervention in the Pirivena. They wanted the Pirivena to be completely independent of government intervention.

Hence they did not want to adjust the curriculum according to the approved government curriculum contrary to the Vidyodaya Pirivena that followed circulars issued by the Ministry of Education from time to time.

The examinations of the Pirivena were conducted by outside examiners. But the school inspectors were not invited for the examinations. It is creditable that non-Buddhists were in the Panel of Examiners. Rev. Father Theodore G. Perera was in the Panel of Examiners of the Pirivena for a long time. Vidyālankāra Pirivena was the first Pirivena to appoint monks from other *nikāyas* to its staff. Ven. Kosgoda Dhammāvāsa, later Mahānāyaka of the Amarapura Nikāya, was the first to be appointed from other *nikāyas*. He was also an illustrious past pupil of the Vidyodaya Pirivena.

Vidyālankāra Pirivena becomes the Vidyālankāra University: The Government decided to grant University status to Vidyālankāra along with the Vidyodaya Pirivena. This was described as the crowning of the Pirivena system of Education. Accordingly Vidyālankāra University was established on the 1st of January 1958, along with Vidyodaya University under the Act of Parliament No. a48 of 1958. Ven. Kirivattuduwe Paññāsara became the first Vice Chancellor of the Vidyālankāra University. As in the case of the Vidyodaya Pirivena, Vidyālankāra Pirivena did not cease to exist with the creation of the Vidyālankāra University. The Vidyālankāra Pirivena existed side by side with the Vidyālankāra University. Ven. Pandit Yakkaḍuwe Pragñ ārama, the deputy Pariven ādhipati became the Pariveṇādhipati of the Vidyālankāra Pirivena. The Vidyālankāra Pirivena was temporarily shifted to Dharmaprāsāda temple in Dematagoda to make room for the University. Later the University was shifted to its new premises at Dalugama, after the completion of the buildings. The Pirivena came back to its original home at Peliyagoda.[8]

The Pirivena Universities were established with great expectations. Yet they were established on the lines of Western Secular Universities as done in the case of the University of Ceylon, presently at Peradeniya. The question was raised whether the Pirivena universities were serving the purpose for which they were established. But there was no idea as to how they should have been planned. There was no prototype of a Buddhist University. However in the course of time various problems such as student unrest etc. started appearing in both new Universities (q.v. Vidyodaya Pirivena). A Commission of Inquiry was appointed by the Governor General in August 1982 to look into the working of all three universities existing at the time. The Commission found serious lapses and shortcomings in the entire University System. However, in the case of the

Vidyālankāra University, the Commission has noted that the constructional work etc. has been executed economically and in a short time.

Finally under the Act of Parliament No. 16 of 1978, Vidyālankāra University was re-named the Kelaniya Univeristy with effect from 1st January 1979. The ambiguity regarding a Pirivena and University bearing the same name ceased to exist. The Pirivena became the sole owner of the prestigious name Vidyālankāra.

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K. Arunmasiri

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1 The original premises at Peliyagoda were not adequate, when the Pirivena gradually expanded. With the generous support of Gate Mudliyar Henricus Lusiyas Dasanayaka Abhayaratna Gunawardena, who donated the land, the Pirivena premises were expanded up to eight acres in 1898.

1 Traditionally the Buddhist monks are named after their village of birth. Ven. Dharmārāma was born at Kalapaluwāwa, which should have been prefixed to his name i.e. Kalapaluwāve Dhammārāma. But when the novice Dhammārāma who was ordained by another monk was entrusted to Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka, he re-ordained him as his own pupil and changed the name as Ratmalāne Dhammārāma. The young novice Dhammārāma was a brilliant student, who was able to memorize fifty Sanskrit verses per day. It is said that once a friend of Ven. Dhammāloka wanted to know what he was doing at the time. Ven. Dhammāloka has replied that he was building a "Dhamma Sālā". The friend wanted to know where his Dhamma sālā was. Ven. Dhammāloka is reported to have shown his pupil Dhammārāma as the "Dhammasālā" he was building.

2 Once when Dhammāloka is supposed to have questioned his pupil Dhammārāma whether he likes to associate Ven. Toṭagamuve Sri Rāhula Thera. Though Ven. Dhammārāma knew very well that Ven. Rāhula lived in the 15th century, replied "Yes Sir, Of course" Then Ven. Dhammāloka said if so you study *Pañcikāpradīpaya* well. It is like associating Ven. Toṭagamuve Sri Rāhula.

3 A delegation from Burma headed by Hon. U Vin, the Minister of Buddhasāsana came to Vidyālankāra to study about the Sangāyanā in order to get first hand information of the sangiti, which would be useful to them, in view of the Saṅgīti (*chaṭṭha Saṅgīti*) which Burma was planning to commence in the near future. The Burmese Minister was so pleased with the Pirivena, promised to donate ten tons of rice to the Pirivena

annually. This annual donation of rice was continued till the change of government of Burma.

4 Ven. Yakkaduwe Pragñārāma is reported to have drafted the Declaration.

5 Vidyālankāra Pirivena launched a paper titled "Kālaya" (Time) in order to answer severe criticisms against the Pirivena and the Declaration. Ven. Yakkaduwe Pragñārāma, Ven. Walpola Rāhula (later Ven. Dr. Walpola Rahula) and Ven. Kotahene Pragñākirthi are reported to have successfully countered the arguments of the critics.

6 As per the Centenary Commemorative Volume of the Pirivena (p. 101-102) sixty three Maha Theras who studied at the Pirivena have established sixty three branch Pirivenas in various parts of the country.

7 The Vidyalankara premises including the religious edifices such as the Cetiya, Bodhighara, Refectory etc. was acquired by the government in power as per the Government Gazette 9[th] September 1967 amidst the protest of the Mahā Saṅgha. However, the Government that succeeded took action to cancel the Acquisition Order and return the Pirivena premises back to the Pirivena in Sept. 1975.

VIDYODAYA PIRIVENA. Vidyodaya Pirivena is the first and the foremost college of Oriental Studies in Sri Lanka in modern times and also the Centre of the National and religious renaissance in the 19[th] century.

At the beginning the term Pirivena has been used to identify the building where monks resided. The commentaries and the *Mahāvaṁsa* refer to many Pirivenas where monks lived. The name of a Pirivena where a particular monk is given is, possibly for easy identification. Since the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka, education of both monks and laymen was in the hands of senior monks. At the beginning there were no separate buildings for the purpose of teaching. The teaching was done in the Pirivenas itself, where the monks resided. Thus the Pirivenas were of a dual purpose i.e. residing and teaching. This was possible as long as the number of students was small. But when the numbers gradually grew, in the course of time, it was found necessary to put up separate buildings for teaching and those buildings too came to be identified as Pirivenas. At the end the term Pirivena became the sole name for the place where teaching was conducted. It is seen that the Pirivena institution gradually became strong and popular during the Anuradhapura period itself. Towards the latter part of the Anuradhapura period, there is evidence regarding the existence of eight monastic institutions called Aṭṭhāyatanas, such as Uttarolha, Mahānetta Pasāda, Kappuramūla, Vāhaka Dīpaka, Dakkhinamūla, Selantara, Sarogama and Senapati. It is deemed that education was among the main functions of those institutions and some of them appear to have survived up to the Polonnaruwa Period.

The Kotte Period (1412-1580 A.C.) is regarded as the "Golden Age" of Pirivenas in the history of Sri Lanka. Sinhalese Literature of the day provides a graphic picture of flourishing Pirivenas such as Vijayaba Pirivena Toṭagamuwa, Padmāwati Pirivena, Keragala, Sunetrādevi Pirivena in Pepiliyāna, Ghanānanda Pirivena in Raigama etc. Most of those Pirivenas, being in the South Western coast, got destroyed in the hands of Portugese vandals. It is difficult to find an instance of a functioning Pirivena after the Portugese period. Thus the traditional Pirivena system of education completely collapsed under foreign domination which was one of the main causes for the decline of the religion witnessed in the centuries that followed.[1]

The Pathetic state of Buddhists and Buddhism in the 19[th] century under British Administration: It is necessary to examine the socio-religious atmosphere prevailing in the country, at the time of establishing the Vidyodaya Pirivena, for a correct assessment of its contribution and its impact on the society in general and particular to Buddhists. The Portugese trying to spread Christianity with the help of the sword persecuted Buddhists and vandalized their shrines. There is no record of the Dutch who succeeded the Portugese persecuting Buddhists. But they too wanted to propagate their form of Christianity with various crooked means. The British who took over the Dutch possessions at the end of the 17[th] century were able to annex the Kandyan Kingdom, too, in 1815. But they did not honour the Kandyan convention, where they agreed to protect Buddhism. The British declared that freedom of worship is guaranteed in the island under their rule. Yet they thought that it was their duty to convert the so-called

uncivilized disbelievers to Christianity, for which they made use of various unethical ways and means. Moreover they lavishly spent from the government coffers for the propagation of their denomination of Christianity, the "Church of England", which was the unofficial state religion of the Island under the British.

Though the British colonial Administration is supposed to have followed a policy of tolerance towards all religions in the island, the early phase of the British Administration turned to be a humiliating and tormenting period as far as the Buddhists were concerned. The Christian missionaries with the help of the newly acquired printing Press, launched a baseless, severe, insulting and a denouncing campaign against the unprovoking Buddhists and the tolerant religion Buddhism. The Christian missionaries commenced printing and publishing various books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers openly insulting Buddhists and their religion. Buddhism was branded as an uncivilized, primitive form of belief and the Buddhists as followers of the devil worshippers and idols. The education was in the hands of the Christian missionaries, who made the best use of it, to convert the younger generation to their faith. Buddhists had no alternative, but to send their children to missionary schools. Those Sinhalese who had their education under missionaries were taught to look down on their own nation, religion and culture. They taught that the locals belonged to an uncivilized race. Government employments were given to those who had their education in missionary schools. Those converted to Christianity were given many concessions and privileges. Many got converted to Christianity to enjoy such concessions and privileges. Christianity was the religion of the higher strata of the society and Buddhism was the religion of the lower class. The Buddhists were ashamed to disclose that they were Buddhists in public. They identified themselves as Christians in public. But they were Buddhists in their private life.It was under these circumstances That James de Alwis, Sinhala academic converted to Christianity, predicted that Buddhism would vanish from the Island by the turn of the 19th century.

The British colonial government of the day turned a blind eye to this Christian onslaught against the unprovoking and innocent Buddhists. The Buddhists, at the beginning tolerated those attacks as they had no alternative. But this vigorous campaign of Christian missionaries against the Buddhists itself generated a reaction among Buddhists. The Buddhists realized that they should organize themselves to face the Christians onslaught. As a result several Buddhist Organizations were formed in Galle and Colombo. They realised that the immediate need was a printing press to counter Christian attacks, but Buddhists were not economically strong enough to have their own Press. However, with great difficulty Buddhists were able to establish their own Printing Press in 1861 in Galle, which was named Lankopakāra Press and a Newspaper under the same name was commenced. Next, another Printing Press named Lankābhinavavisruta Yantrālaya was established and the newspaper Sarasavisandaresa, the first registered Newspaper was launched. With the help of the newly acquired printing facility Buddhists were able to contain the Christian abusive literature against them successfully.

Next the Buddhists were brave enough to meet the Christians on public platforms, in order to answer Christian allegations against Buddhism. Those were called public debates and the first debate was held at Baddegama in 1864. It was called Baddegamvādaya, since it was held at Baddegama. It was followed by debates held at Warāgoda and Gampola. The most important of these debates was held at Pānadura in 1873 which was called Pānadurāvādaya. Specially at the Pānadura debate, it is reported that Buddhists have successfully countered Christian arguments while shooting counter questions which baffled their opponents and emerged as victors, and the Buddhists were jubilant. After this a great enthusiasm was seen among the Buddhist public who were earlier down trodden and disheartened as we have already seen. They realized that their religion was not a primitive mythological belief and the Sinhala nation is not uncivilized as the Christians say. At this stage the re-awakened Buddhists needed proper guidance and leadership and a centre to operate. The Sinhalese Buddhist businessmen, specially those who migrated to Colombo from the South, who acquired wealth, engaging in various trades under the capitalistic economy introduced by the British, came forward to assist Buddhists, when the need arose. This was the environment in the country prior to the establishment of the Vidyodaya Pirivena.[2]

The Establishment of the Vidyodaya Pirivena: Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumaṅgala (q.v.) who studied under Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha, successfully completed

his education by the time he was old enough to receive his Higher Ordination (Upasampadā). He was the most erudite monk of the day and his reputation spread far and wide. He was well aware of the challenges that Buddhists and Buddhism faced. As recorded in the chronicles, it was the Mahāsaṅgha who came foreword to give leadership to the people to safeguard the country and Buddhism. Ven. Sumaṅgala correctly realized that the country urgently needed the guidance and leadership of virtuous, disciplined, learned and brave fraternity of monks. The handful of such monks available was hardly sufficient to deal with the crisis. There were no facilities in the country to educate and train such monks. Therefore Ven. Sumaṅgala decided to establish an institute to train and educate monks, where laymen too could be accommodated. But he could not materialize his noble idea immediately, due to obvious reasons and was waiting for an opportunity.

In the meantime the intelligent Buddhist leaders, specially those businessmen who migrated from the South and acquired a fortune in Colombo, too realized the need of a school for Buddhists. They observed that the great advantage that the Christians possessed over the Buddhists were their schools managed by the missionaries. They saw that Christians who secured government jobs reached the top of society of the day, with the help of their education. Buddhist leaders were convinced that a Buddhist education system was essential in order to uplift the Buddhists. It is reported that a proposal to establish a "common Buddhist School" has been made for the first time in a letter in the Sinhala Newspaper Lakminipahana on Dec. 14, 1864 by Don Philip De Silva Epā Appuhāmy and Don Welun Wickramatileka, for which there has been a good response from the public and some coming forward to assist financially. It was the good fortune of the nation, particularly Buddhists that brought together Ven. Sumaṅgala and the Buddhist leaders such as Don Philip De Silva Epa Appuhāmy and H. Don Karolis etc. who had the same intention. Ven. Sumaṅgala got the opportunity to materialize his long cherished idea of establishing a Buddhist educational institution for the monks where laymen would not be barred. Thirteen Buddhist leaders including the two above mentioned 3 formed themselves into a society named "Vidhyādhara Sabhā", bought a land at Dematagoda in Māligākanda and entrusted it to Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumaṅgala to establish an educational institution, primarily for monks and also for the laymen. The members of the Vidhyādhara Sabhā 4 were intelligent enough to prepare and sign a legally valid agreement, where the duties and responsibilities of the society and head of the educational institution are clearly defined. The educational institute was commenced in December 1873 with eight monks and twenty lay pupils, in an existing building called "Palm House". It was named 'Vidyodaya Pirivena'. Ven. Sumaṅgala was the first to use the term "Pirivena" in modern times for which there was some objections at the beginning. It is interesting to note that the members of the Vidyādhara Sabhā had consented to contribute two rupees each per month for the maintenance of the èᴸ ¶ Pirivena and two rupees was a substantial amount at that time. The Vidyodaya Pirivena was opened to everybody from the very beginning. There was no Nikāya distinction or upcountry low country difference. To begin with, Pali Tipiṭaka, Sanskrit and Sinhala were taught to the monks and Sanskrit, Ayurveda, Astrology for the lay students. Before long the curriculum was expanded to include prosody logic Prākrit, History, Archaeology, English, Arithmetic etc. The education was free to all. The teachers did an honorary service. The majority of the student monks resided in the Pirivena itself.

The establishment and the management of a free educational institute was not an easy task in Colombo, where non Buddhists were powerful, during this period. But due to the commitment and unfailing courage of Ven. Sumaṅgala, the Pirivena flourished beyond expectations. The Chief Priests in the temples were keen to send their novices to Māligākanda to be trained under Ven. Sumaṅgala. As a result a steady increase of the numbers was seen. Additional accommodation had to be found in order to cater for the increasing numbers. It was found necessary to find new teachers too. It is said that Ven. Sumaṅgala utilized the income from Siripāda, where he was the chief, to maintain the Pirivena. It is important that the colonial government recognized the services of the Pirivena and made an annual grant of Rs.400/= in 1875, just two years after its establishment.

From the very beginning there has been a practice of holding annual examinations at the Vidyodaya Pirivena. The preparation of the question papers has been in the hands of outside academics. It is important that the first prize giving of the Vidyodaya Pirivena has been held on January 10, 1876, where Sir Henry Gregory, Governor General of Ceylon (1870-1877) has distributed the prizes. There has been no previous

similar occasion where a governor general has distributed the prizes, which is a rare honour to Ven. Sumaṅgala personally. Among the other guests who graced this occasion, as per the records, were such eminent persons as James De Alwis, Mahamudliyar J.P. Obeysekera, T.B. Pānabokke, Iddamalgoda, J.N. Maduwanwela, S.D. Mahawalatenne, T.B. Kobbekaduwa, William Dunuwila, P. Rāmanāthan, P. Arunācalam, Samson Rajapakse etc. which shows the respect Ven. Sumaṅgala has commanded among the elite of the day.

The Prācina Bhāshopakāra Samitiya (Oriental Society) was established under the Ministry of Education in 1902 for the development of Oriental languages. The Society conducted examinations and started conferring the Degree "Prācina Pandit" for the successful candidates. The monks who studied at Vidyodaya Pirivena did extremely well at those examinations and added to the reputation of the Vidyodaya Pirivena as the Primer seat of learning in Oriental studies. The story of the Vidyodaya Pirivena is a story of success. The success of Vidyodaya Pirivena is mainly due to the personal unblemished reputation and unique erudition of its founder Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumaṅgala. The generosity of the dedicated members of the Vidyādhāra Sabhā and that of the Buddhist public is the other factor behind its success.

The establishment of Vidyodaya branches in the Districts : The number of students, both monks and laymen seeking admission to Vidyodaya kept increasing and it was not possible to admit everyone due to obvious reasons like accommodation etc. Many monks used to stay in temples within travelling distances and travelling, too, was not easy at the time. Except for the small annual grant given by the government Vidyodaya was managed with public contributions, which was not an easy task in Colombo. Under the circumstances, monks who successfully completed their education at Vidyodaya lost no time in establishing Pirivenas in their own temples. This reminds us of the *Mahāvagga* report (*Vin.* I p. 21) how the Buddha, not long after His enlightenment, sent sixty arahants in sixty directions, taking the message of the Dhamma to the periphery. Similarly Ven. Sumaṅgala's early pupils took the torch of learning to the provinces. Soon there was a net work of Pirivenas in the Island providing traditional education to monks and also for the lay students. The monks who successfully completed the primary were sent to Māligākanda for higher studies. Ven. Pandit Yagirala Paññānanda Thera, the author of the Biography of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumaṅgala (Biography Vol.1 p.236 f.) has listed 46 branch Pirivenas established by the pupils who studied at Vidyodaya before 1911 (that is before the death of Ven. Sumaṅgala). Another 17 Pirivenas were established by those who studied at Vidyodaya Pirivena after the death of Ven. Sumaṅgala. Those who had their education in the branch Pirivenas, in turn started Pirivenas in the places that needed Pirivenas. This is the third generation of Pirivenas. The biographer of Ven. Sumaṅgala (Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda) has collected names of seven such Pirivenas existing by the time he wrote the biography (in 1947).

Illustrious Pupils of Vidyodaya: Vidyodaya Pirivena was able to produce an array of illustrious pupils when such personalities were badly needed in the society. The perusal of the list of past pupils of the Vidyodaya Pirivena show such illustrious pupils as Ven. Heyyanthuduwe Siri Devamitta (Director, Vidyodaya Pirivena), Ven. Mahagoda Ñānissara (later Principal of the Vidyodaya Pirivena), Ven. Pelene Vajirañāna (later Mahānāyaka of the Amarapura Dharmarakshita Nikāya), Ven. Kahawe Sumaṅgala (later Principal Vidyodaya Pirivena), Ven. Palipāna Sirinivāsa (Later Mahānāyaka of the Asgiriya Chapter of the Siyam Nikāya) Ven. Raigama Indrajoti (later Mahānāyaka, Kotte Nikāya), Ven. Suriyagoda Sumaṅgala (who edited Pali texts for the *PTS*) Ven. Welivitiye Soratha (First Vice Chancellor of the Vidyodaya University), Ven. Paravāhera Vajirañāna (later Vice Chancellor of the Vidyodaya University), Ven. Kalukondayāve Paññāsekera (later Principal, Vidyodaya Pirivena, who spearheaded the Temperance Movement), Ven. Baddegama Piyaratana (later Principal, Vidyodaya Pirivena), Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda (Editor of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumaṅgala's Biography and Editor of Pāli Manuscripts), Ven. Dehigaspe Paññāsāra (scholar monk), Ven. Bentara Saranaṅkara (scholar monk) and Mr. G.P. Wickramarachchi, the eminent Ayurvedic physician. The list of past pupils of the Vidyodaya Pirivena who served the nation and the Buddhasāsana is too exhaustive. However, Ven. Yagirala Paññānanda has collected the names of 236 past pupils (Biography Vol. I, 233) who belonged to the Sri Sumaṅgala era of the Vidyodaya Pirivena.

Foreign students of the Vidyodaya Pirivena : Though the Vidyodaya Pirivena was not named as an

International Institute of Oriental Studies, it attracted many foreign students who came of their own and studied at the Vidyodaya. This is due to it's worldwide reputation and recognition as the premier institute of Theravāda studies known at the time. Among the foreign students, several Japanese and Indian students are well known. Tacibānā, a Japanese, came to Vidyodaya in 1905, studied Pāli and later became the Professor of Pāli at the Osāka University in Japan. Sato, another Japanese, studied Pāli and Buddhism at Vidyodaya, composed a book on Ceylon, after his return to his motherland. A Japanese monk Ko Jimā known here as "Kojima Kondañña" put up some rooms for the use of Japanese students at the Vidyodaya Pirivena and those rooms were known as the line of Japanese Rooms. In 1888 another Japanese monk Ko Jin, known here as Kojin Gunaratana, studied Pali and Theravāda Buddhism and was converted to Theravāda. He is supposed to have continued as a Theravāda monk even after he returned to Japan. Two more Japanaese monks arrived in Ceylon in 1897, studied Pali & Buddhism at the Vidyodaya Pirivena and received *Upasampadā* at the Malwatta Chapter, before returning to Japan.

Among the Indian students at the Vidyodaya Pirivena Dr. Satischandra Vidyābhūsana, Professor of Sanskrit at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta was the most important and famous. At the farewell ceremony held on the eve of his departure from the Vidyodaya after completing his studies, he is reported to have presented a " Felicitation in Sanskrit Poetry" of a very high standard, in honour of his teacher Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumaṅgala Mahā thera , which was his own composition. Another Indian student at Vidyodaya, a resident of Kosambi converted to Buddhism from Hinduism later entered the Order as Kosambika Dhammānanda. Two more students from India, followers of Jainism Becaradāsa and Haragovinda, both pupils of Satischandra Vidyābhūsana studied under Ven. Ñānissara, the Deputy Principal , as Ven. Sumaṅgala was too busy. Cattigama Puññānanda a monk from Citagong (modern Bangaladesh) studied Pāli and Buddhism at the Vidyodaya, on his return to his country became a teacher of Pali in a college.

Sir Edwin Arnold, the author of "Light of Asia", is reported to have arrived in Ceylon in 1886 and studied Buddhism for a week.

Missionary Services of the Vidyodaya Pirivena: It is observed that the Vidyodaya monks have actively taken part in spreading the message of the Dhamma in various parts of the world. Anagārika Dharmapāla who launched the pioneering campaign to re-introduce Buddhism to India was closely associated with Ven. Sumaṅgala and the Vidyodaya Pirivena, from the very beginning. Anagārika Dharmapāla selected three past pupils of the Vidyodaya Pirivena, Ven. Dr. Paravahera Vajirañāna, Ven. Pandit Dehigaspe Paññāsāra and Ven. Hegoda Nandasāra to establish a Branch of the Mahābodhi Society in London, in order to propogate Buddhism in Europe .

Ven. Prof. Hammalava Saddhātissa, a distinguished past pupil of the Vidyodaya Pirivena was the Head of the London Vihāra for thirty long years. He was instrumental in establishing a number of Buddhist Vihāras in Europe. Ven. Prof. Saddhātissa was a visiting Professor of the Toronto University, Canada. Ven. Dr. Medagama Vajirañāna, after his services in India proceeded to Britain and succeeded Ven. Prof. Saddhātissa as the Head of the London Vihāra and continued his services, disseminating the teachings of the Buddha. He too was among the distinguished Vidyodaya past pupils.

Ven. Kurunegoda Piyatissa first went to the United Kingdom for the same service and then proceeded to the United States of America and is the Head of the New York Buddhist Vihāra, from the very beginning up to date, doing yeoman service. Ven. Piyananda who started his missionary services as an assistant to Ven. Neluwe Jinaratana in India, proceeded to U.S.A. and took charge of the Dharmavijaya Vihāra of Los Angelis. Ven. Piyananda was instrumental in establishing several vihāras in the U.S.A. Ven. Galayāye Piyadassi commenced his missionary service as an assistant to Ven. Prof. Hammalava Saddhātissa, Head of the London Buddhist Vihāra, and established the "International Buddhist Centre in London". After the death of Ven. Saddhātissa, he named it "Saddhātissa International Buddhist Centre, London", in honour of his guru. Ven. Piyadassi's services to the British Public was well recognized by the British Government and Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, conferred on him a Knighthood . Ven. Piyadassi too is a precious jewel that adorn the long list of past pupils of the Vidyodaya Pirivena.

Ven. Murungagasyāye Ñānissara, Head of the Jetavana Vihāra in Paris is carrying on his worthy Dhammadūta Services in France for a long time. Ven. Weihene Paññāloka heads the Washington Buddhist Centre.

Among the Vidyodaya past pupils who strived in the past and are striving at present to re establish the Buddha Sāsana in it's place of Birth (India) are late Ven. Parawāhera Paññānanda, Late Ven. Potuwila Gunaratana, late Ven. Hedigalle Paññātissa, Ven. Julampitiye Ñānaratana, Ven. Dodangoda Revata, Ven. Kongala Sivali, Nārampanāwe Dhammānanda, Ven. Āndāwala Devasiri, Bibilegama Medhankara etc. deserve mention. It should be clear that Vidyodaya past pupils are leading the Dharmadūta campaign overseas and the list appears too extensive.

Vidyodaya Services for Literature: Vidyodaya Services in the literary sphere is "epoch-making". When the Vidyodaya Pirivena came to existence in 1873, most of the Sinhala, Pali and Sanskrit books were still in manuscript form. The Ola manuscripts were not freely available and many had no access to them. Though the printing Press had been introduced to the island by this time, still the Buddhists had not made use of this new facility. In fact there was a scarcity of persons who could undertake to edit a manuscript and prepare it for printing. The books were essential, too, for the propagation of learning. As we have seen, Christians by this time were making full use of the printing Press to propagate Christianity in the Island. The contribution of Vidyodaya in the field of editing the unedited manuscripts for printing is praiseworthy. From the very beginning the members of Vidyodaya teaching staff as well as those taught by them have toiled in editing the Sinhala, Pāli and Sanskrit manuscripts and seen them coming out in printed form. The programme to print and publish Pali commentaries under the "Simon Hewāwitarana Bequest" commenced in 1911. It is seen that erudite monks of the Vidyodaya Pirivena are taking an active part in this programme. The majority of the Hewawitarana editions have been edited by Vidyodaya Pandits. The principals of Vidyodaya such as Ven. Mahagoda Ñānissara, Ven. Kahawe Ratanasāra and Ven. Baddegama Piyaratana themselves have edited Pali commentaries for the Hewāwitarana Publication series.

Moreover, apart from the Pali commentaries above referred to, Vidyodaya scholars have edited and published numerous Sinhala, Pali and Sanskrit works, majority of which were in manuscript form. The composition of glossaries, aids, translations for the convenience of students and others for the study of original texts is another area where Vidyodaya pandits have shown their competence.

Inspite of his busy life, it is creditable that Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumangala Nāyaka thera with the help of Pandit Batuvantudāwe has brought out a full Sinhala translation of the Pali *Mahāvamsa* for the first time on the invitation of the Government of Ceylon. Another Vidyodaya Pandit Ven. Yagirala Paññananda, completed the third part of the Pali *Mahāvamsa*. Ven. Suriyagoda Sumangala became the first Sri Lankan monk to edit a Pali manuscript for the *PTS*, editing the *Dhammapada* in 1914. But the most outstanding contribution by an old pupil of Vidyodaya Pirivena could be considered as the Sri Sumangala Sinhala Dictionary composed by Ven. Pandit Velivitiye Soratha. It was the Vidyodaya contribution in the literary field that helped the revival of learning in modern times, during its early period.

Vidyodaya Traditions: A new development that was witnessed in the second half of the 19th century was debates or controversies on various religious or literary topics. One of such debates was on the correct way of wearing the robe and it was called "Pārupanavādaya", the debate on wearing the robe. The group headed by Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumangala argued that the monks should cover both shoulders especially, when entering the village. The opposition held the view that the monk should cover only the left shoulder. They pointed out that the Buddha and his pupils covered one shoulder only. This debate continued for some time without a decision. Both groups were adamant and neither party was able to convince the other. Though Ven. Sumangala was unable to convince the opponents, he strongly believed that the correct and more decent way of doning the robe was to cover both shoulders and wanted his pupils to do so. The Vidyodaya monks up to date follow this tradition and cover both shoulders. Another Vidyodaya tradition is when writing words like Vidyālaya they add an additional "ya" and make it Vidyālayaya. Those who belong to the Vidyodaya camp as a whole preferred conservatism to radicalism.

The illustrious Maha Theras who guided Vidyodaya as Parivenādhipati : Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Nāyaka thera, the founder of the Pirivena adorned the chair of Vidyodaya from 1873 up to his death in 1911. Ven. Sumangala who possessed great courage and keen intellect successfully guided the infant institution amidst numerous problems and constraints, with the generous help of the Vidhyādhara Sabhā and the Buddhist public. Within a short period of time Vidyodaya Pirivena was able to reach the position of the chief oriental seat of learning in the island and was able to win the confidence and admiration of the public and the colonial government of the day. It was a personal achievement of Ven. Sumangala.

The Sumangala period which was considered as the golden age of the Vidyodaya Pirivena came to an end with the death of Ven. Sumangala on the 29th April 1911. Ven. Sumangala was succeeded by his deputy principal, Ven. Pandit Mahagoda Ñānissara, an expert in Sanskrit, who is supposed to have possessed a good personality. A significant development during the period was the introduction of English to the curriculum of the Pirivena.

Though there was no much improvement in the buildings during this period, the number of students rose from 200 to 600, which was a sharp increase. He was appointed as the chairman of the Hewavitārana Tripitakaț Publication Committee, consisting of the highest academics of the day and has made a substantial service, personally going through the final proof and approving the editions for printing. Ven. Ñānissara's death occurred in 1922.

Ven. Ñānissara was succeeded by his deputy principal, Ven. Pandit Kahawe Ratanasāra thera.5 His period is noted for the vast improvements to the buildings in the Pirivena. The provision of additional buildings facilitated a steady increase of student in take. Ven. Ratanasāra was actively involved in the Tripiṭaka publication and personally edited several volumes. He passed away in 1936 and was succeeded by his deputy, Ven. Pandit Baddegama Piyaratana, another Sanskrit expert. It was during his period that the second world war broke out and teaching in the Pirivena had to be temporarily suspended due to the threat of the war. But Ven. Piyaratana commenced sixteen branch Pirivenas in the Districts and diverted the teachers to them and was able to continue teaching till the war ended. The university of Ceylon conferred a D. Litt (Honoris Causa) on Ven. Piyaratana at its first convocation, one of the first Buddhist monks to receive such an honor (the other being Ven. Lunupokune Dhammānanda, Principal of Vidyālankāra).

After the death of Ven. Piyaratana the senior deputy, Ven. Pandit Weliwitiye Soratha was appointed as the Vice Chancellor of the new Vidyodaya University, the other deputy Ven. Kalukondayāwe Paññāsekera was appointed as the Principal of the Vidyodaya Pirivena in 1960. Ven. Paññāsekera was famous for his voluminous work on the history of news papers and journalism in Ceylon. As the Vidyodaya buildings were occupied by the university, Pirivena classes were conducted at the Nālanda college with great difficulty till the university was shifted to its new buildings at Gangodawila.

After Ven. Paññāsekera passed away in 1977 the most senior Thera in the staff Ven. Panamgala Jinaratana was appointed as the principal. He was 78 years of age at the time of his appointment and was feeble and needed rest. However he continued till 1978.

In the meantime, the conditions at the Vidyodaya Pirivena was fast deteriorating in an unprecedented level. The Vidyādhara Sabhā, the Past Pupils Association and the well wishers agreed that the Pirivena need a re-organization. At a joint meeting of the Vidyādhāra Sabhā and the Past Pupils Association, the Vidyodaya Pirivena re-organization committee was appointed. But there were objections to the findings of the committee and seven members of the staff resigned in protest. Subsequently another committee was appointed consisting of three senior theras connected to the Pirivena and three eminent lay members. But there was an objection to the three theras who were in the former committee and the three lay members continued to serve in the Committee. The committee unanimously decided to invite Ven. Pandit Akurāṭiye Amaravamsa Nāyaka Thera, the Principal of Vidyāloka Pirivena in Galle, to accept the Principal's post of the Vidyodaya Pirivena, his "Alma Mater" and he assumed duties on 18th Feb 1978.

It was a good decision and the correct choice. Ven. Amaravamsa was experienced as the Pirincipal of the Vidyāloka Pirivena in Galle and as the chief inspector of Pirivenas under the Department of Education. He was able to put things in order within a short period.

Ven. Amaravaṁsa was able to get the assistance of the government to repair all dilapidated and half finished buildings and construct new buildings that were needed. An improvement was witnessed in the academic staff, curriculum quality of the education and the number of students during his tenure of office. The successful era of the Vidyodaya Pirivena in modern times came to an end in 2007 with the demise of Ven. Amaravaṁsa. He was succeeded by his pupil Ven. Balangoda Sobhita Thera ,a young Pandit scholar.

Vidyodaya Pirivena in the fore-front of the Religious and National Renaissance.

As envisaged by its founders Vidyodaya Pirivena did not become a mere school that taught oriental subjects. It kindled national feelings and patriotism in the minds of its students, thus producing national leaders, both clergy and laity, the country badly needed in the context of the prevailing pathetic situation, as pointed out at the beginning of the article. Those who passed out from the Vidyodaya Pirivena, both monks and laymen, were educated, disciplined, brave and fearless. They were proud of their nation and were conscious of their rights. They provided the leadership the country needed. As we have already seen monks who successfully completed their education returned to their own temples and made arrangements to establish Pirivenas in the out station places. They commenced *"Dhamma schools"* in the villages to teach Buddha dhamma to the young generation. They further involved themselves in Col. Alcott's movement to establish Buddhist schools. The temperance movement and the Rural Development Programmes were the other areas, where the educated monks were actively involved. They awoke the people from their sluggish sleep and were made to realise their legitimate rights and due place in the society. Though Buddhist monks did not involve themselves directly in politics of the day, their influence on the rulers cannot be undermined. The educated Buddhist monks and laity fostered a silent revolution without resorting to violent means which culminated in wining independence in the mid 20th century, where Vidyodaya past pupils contributed in no small way. Therefore the Vidyodaya Pirivena could be described as an academy of oriental studies par-excellent and the cradle of the religious and national movement in Sri Lanka.

Vidyodaya Pirivena elevated to the position of a University

The government that came to power in 1956 decided to grant university status to Vidyodaya Pirivena and Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena. The decision was highly acclaimed and was described as the final victory of the Pirivena System of Education. Accordingly the Vidyodaya University was establish on 1st January 1959, under the Act of Parliament no 48 of 1958. The co-principal of Vidyodaya Pirivena Ven. Pandit Velivitiye Soratha was appointed as the Vice Chancellor and the other members of the academic staff were absorbed into the university academic staff. During the initial years the new university was at the Māligākanda Pirivena premises and later shifted to the new university complex at Gangodawila.

The Vidyodaya University was established on the lines of secular western universities. There were objections for the new Buddhist University being established in the lines of western universities, as done in the case of the University of Ceylon already established. But those who wanted a Buddhist university themselves were unable to explain how it should be established. There was a dilemma as regards the Buddhist University, the people expected. It was found difficult to blend the idea of the western University with the traditional system of teaching.

Another ambiguity was seen after the establishment of the University. The fate of the Vidyodaya Pirivena, after the establishment of the university apparently, has not been thought, at the time of drafting the Act, whether, the Pirivena should cease to exist or whether it should co exist side by side with the new university.

However the Vidyodaya Pirivena did not cease to exist after the establishment of the Vidyodaya University. The Vidyodaya Pirivena, too, was functioning, receiving the usual government grant. Thus there were too academic institutions under the same name, Vidyodaya Pirivena and Vidyodaya University.

Under the traditional Pirivena education system the pupils always respected their teachers and did not dispute with them. As a result there was a peaceful and cordial relationship between the students and the teachers, similar to father-son relationship. But under the modern university system the undergraduates are not bound to do so. But the Pirivena teachers elevated overnight to the positions of professors, lecturers etc.

found it difficult to adjust themselves suddenly to the new system. But the new undergraduate expected to enjoy the freedom found in a modern secular university. The traditional Pirivena ethics and the modern concepts of university freedom did not work well at the beginning. Before long serious disagreements were seen between the student unions and the university administration, which ultimately led to temporarily closure of the university, some times indefinitely. As a result a commission of inquiry was appointed by the Governor General in Aug 1962 to examine the working of all the three universities extant at the time, and to recommend a remedial course of action.

The commissioners had observed serious lapses and short comings in the entire university system of the country and was not at all satisfied with the administration and recommended a drastic course of action. They went to the extent of recommending the closure of two of the extant three universities of the country and suspension of the administration of the university of Ceylon for 18 months. But the government was not bound to accept the recommendations and no action was taken accordingly.

The general feeling among the people was that the Vidyodaya University has failed to accomplish the aspirations for which it was established, although it was not clear how it should have been established and managed as a modern university, without deviating from the traditional system. In the above context some believe that conferring the university status to Vidyodaya Pirivena has only disturbed and damaged the prestigious Pirivena in the country. Ultimately the government took necessary steps to re name Vidyodaya University as Sri Jayawardanapura University under the act no 16 of 1978 of Parliament of Sri Lanka, with effect from January 8 1979.

And now it is a secular university. As a result the ambiguity regarding the name Vidyodaya ceased to exist. The Vidyodaya Pirivena is the prestigious seat of oriental learning and there is no other academic institution by that name, at present.

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K. Arunasiri

References

1 The last Pirivena on record is the Niyamakanda Pirivena close to Embekke, commenced by Weliwita Saranankara Sāmanera(long before the Siamese upasampadā was brought) for training Samaneras with the patronage of king Narendrasingha.

2 During the dark period, before the establishment of Vidyodaya Pirivena, three dedicated Mahātheras, all pupils of the lineage of Weliwita Saranankara Sangharāja, were engaged in the noble task of keeping the torch of learning burning of their own. They were Ven. Galle Medhankara of Pelmadullavihāra, Ven. Bentara Atthadassi of Vanavāsa Vihāra, Bentara and Ven. Walāne Siddhārtha of Paramadhamma Cetiya

Vihāra of Ratmalāna who educated limited numbers of monks in their own Vihāras, when there was a great vacuum of learned monks in the country. It was those monks educated at the three places referred to who filled the vaccum and prepared the ground work for the religious revival that followed. It is important that both Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, the founder of the Vidyodaya Pirivena and Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka the founder of the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena were the pupils of Ven. Paṇḍitācārya Walāne Siddhārtha of Paramadhamma Cetiya Vihāra, Ratmalana.

3 The rest of those patriotic businessmen who formed themselves into the original Vidyadhāra Sabhā, were Don Andiris Perera, Don Coranelis De silva, G.D.Peiris, B.C Cooray, D.T Weerakkody, W.C.Perera, P.H.Perera, Simon Silva, H.D. Carolis, D.C De Silva, C.S. Perera and Don Haramanis (Sri Sumangala Biography -vol . I p.193). It is on record that Lansage Andris Perera (Don Andris Perera) later Andris Perera Dharma Gunawardana, the owner of the land, without any hesitation handed over the land to the society (Vidyadhara Sabha) when it was unable to raise even half of the nominal value Rs 6000/-, accepting whatever collected. He was the father in law of Don Carolis Appuhamy, father of Anagārika Dhammapāla (Sri Sumangala-Biography Vol. I p 188)

4 The Vidyadhāra Sabhā still continues as the Administrative Body of the Vidyodaya Pirivena

5 Unfortunately, Ven. Morontuduve Dhammananda, seeking the assistance of the law against the Vidhyādhāra Sabhā, in order to get himself appointed as the chief incumbent of the Vidyodaya Pirivena during the tenure of office of Ven. Ratanasāra was harmful to the reputation and progress of this prestigious seat of learning.

VIETNAM.

Introduction

Vietnam, officially the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the Eastern-most country on Peninsular Southeast Asia (so called Indochina). It is bordered by China to the north, Laos to the northwest, Cambodia to the southwest, and the South China Sea to the east. On a land area of 325,360 sq. km. with a population of over 86 million, Vietnam is the 13th most populous country in the world.

The northern part of today's Vietnam had been conquered by the Chinese Empire in 111 B.C. and remained under Chinese rule until 939 A.C. when the Vietnamese formed an independent state named Dai Viet which was known in Chinese as G.no Chi. The territory from the middle of today's Central Vietnam to the eastern part of South Vietnam belonged to the Hindu Champa kingdom (Cham) that originated in the 2nd century A.C.. The then southern part of Vietnam was part of the Khmer (Cambodian) Kingdom which followed a syncretic form of Saivism and Mahayana Buddhism until the Theravada arrived there in the 12th century A.C.

The Dai Viet annexed the land occupied by the Champa during conquests in the 15th century, and by the 18th century, had also annexed a part of the Khmer empire resulting in the current borders of Vietnam. Since then, the Dai Viet as well as Champa, followed the Mahayana tradition while the people of Khmer origin in the south of Vietnam continued to practise Theravada. Vietnamese Buddhism, heavily influenced by China, absorbed elements of Taoism, Confucianism and ancestor worship along with the veneration of local deities.

Of Vietnam's many religions today, Buddhism is the most popular, with about 55% of Vietnamese dentifying with Buddhism (all sects) even though they do not practise on a regular basis (Vietnam: International Religious Freedom Report 2007). Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism are the widely practised Triple Religions in Vietnam. Confucianism which is more a religious philosophy than a religion, emphasises duty and hierarchy and has become a basis of every day Vietnamese life and its social system. Confucianism was introduced to Vietnam by Chinese as early as the first century. Taoism was also introduced to Vietnam during the Chinese rule. Lao Tse (600-500 B.C.), the founder of Taoism, advocated a philosophy of harmony between man and man, and between man and nature. Mahayana is the predominant form of Buddhism and Theravada Buddhism is practised mainly in the south by the ethic Khmer people (Khmer

Krom), and by a few thousands of ethnic Vietnamese. Mahayana Buddhism that is practised in Vietnam today is a combination of Pure Land, Zen and Tantrayana Buddhism. Peaceful co-existence of Mahayana and Theravada is most striking in the South, for example, Theravada monks and nuns study alongside Mahayana monks and nuns at Van Hanh Buddhist University in Saigon.

Buddhism reached Vietnam before China

It has been claimed that Luy Lau, founded in 1st century A.C., now in the B¯c Ninh province, north of the present day Hanoi City was the first of the three Buddhist centres of ancient China - Lo Yang, Ring Ch'eng and Luy Lau. This claim is based on Vietnam's geographical position of being located between China and India. The pioneer Indian monks who carried Buddhist texts and images to China had to pass through Luy Lau which was on the main trade route between India and China, on their way to Lo Yang, the then capital of China. Luy Lau was founded under the Han Dynasty around the early part of the first century A. D. and was the capital of Giao Chi, the former name of the northern part of Vietnam (Nguyen Tai Thu ed., *History of Buddhism in Vietnam,* Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1992, pp. 10-11).

This claim has been supported by the appearance at Giao Chi in the 2nd century A.C., of a number of *sutras* including the *Sutra of Forty Two Chapters*, an excerpt of the *Agamas* that were translated into Han script. These are believed to be the first selection of *sutras* translated into Chinese. The literary evidence in the above translation proved that in its very beginning, Vietnamese Buddhism adopted the fundamentals of Orthodox Buddhism from Indian monks and in later centuries with the development of Buddhism in China, it received, the Mahayana doctrine (Thich Minh Chau, *A Brief History of Vietnamese Buddhism*, International Monastic Seminar Proceedings, Vancouver, 1991).

Several other scholars too have advanced that Buddhism reached Vietnam before China, and that for several centuries, the main tradition in Vietnam was *savakayana*, but gradually Mahayana came to be predominant (**Thien-An Thich, *Buddhism and Zen in Vietnam.* Tokyo, 1975). That** Buddhism was imported directly from India is also evident from the Vietnamese word for the Buddha. It was initially '*Bật*', though generally seen as a deity who helped good people and punished the bad. Later in the 4th -5th centuries, the word '*Bật*' was replaced by '*Ph-t*' from the Chinese pronunciation of the word Buddha. The success of the continuous spread of Buddhism in Vietnam from the very beginning up to now has been attributed to the effort in integrating Buddhism to the people's traditional beliefs such as the worship of indigenous saints (Nguyen Tai Thu, *op.cit.* p. 53).

History and development of Buddhism

It has been widely accepted that by the 2nd century A.C., Buddhism in Vietnam had been fairly well established with contributions made by several great Buddhist monks who arrived in Luy Lau: Mahajivaka (Ma Ha Ky Vuc), Kalacarya (Khau Da La) and K'ang Seng Hui. According to the Vietnamese text *Cao tang truyen* (Narratives of the Enlightened Monks), Mahajivaka was a native of Tay Truc (India), who arrived in Gia Chi. Later, he went to many parts of China to propagate Buddhism there. Kalacarya, as his name means 'black sage' has been thought to be a Dravidian from South India. He remained in Vietnam and became one of the best known monks in Vietnam in the initial period. (*Ibid*, pp. 18-20). K'ang Seng Hui, a monk of Sogdiana origin, but born in Giao Chi became famous for translating a large number of Buddhist Canonical books into Chinese and later he visited Nanking, where he built the first pagoda and preached the Dhamma (Thich Minh Chau, *opcit*).

Meou Fo (Mau Bac or Mau Tu) was a Chinese lay scholar who contributed a great deal to the development of Buddhism in Vietnam by writing in the 2nd century A.C., the first book *Ly Hoac Luan* (Truth and Doubt) in Han script which described the situation of Buddhism in Vietnam. This book written in Giao Chi demonstrates that by that time, the latter was a recognised centre of Buddhism. He was a talented scholar who understood the philosophies of both the great Chinese philosophers Lao Tseu and Confucius well, so that in debates, he easily made the comparison between Chinese philosophical traditions and Buddhism and so gained the respect among Chinese scholars at that time. His famous book, was considered as the first one written at that time about Buddhism, not only in Vietnam but in the whole of East Asia.

By the 3rd century A.C., pagodas began to be built in Vietnam. According to the *Thien Uyen tap anh*, Dau

Pagoda, also known as Dien Ung, was built in the 3rd century A.C. in the Thuan Thanh District in the Bac Ninh Province. This is the oldest recorded pagoda in Vietnam. It was at this pagoda that the Ch'an Master Vinitaruci who arrived in 580 A.C. resided.

Introduction of Zen Buddhism

Vinitaruci (Vietnamese: *Ti-ni-đa-lưu-chi*), an Indian monk, who was deeply influenced by Indian Zen (Sanskrit *Dhyāna*, Pāli *Jhāna*, Chinese Ch'an, Japanese Zen, Vietnamese *Thien*) which attached great importance to meditation, was in China, and was strongly inspired by Chinese Zen. After completing his studies under Sengcan, the third patriarch of Chinese Zen (*Ch'an*), Vinitaruci travelled to Vietnam, and introducced Ch'an school in 580 A.C. He was later recognised as the first Patriarch of the Zen sect in Viet-Nam. By the 10th century, the Vinitaruci School had become one of the most influential Buddhist groups in Vietnam. This school has remained the most popular school of Buddhism up to the present. A second Zen lineage which was less influenced by Indian Zen was initiated in Vietnam by the Chinese monk Wu Yen T'ung (Vo Ngon Thong) who came to Kien So pagoda in the village of Phu Dong in Ha Bac province in 820 A.C. Vietnam during this time had twenty *stupas* which enshrined relics, offered by the Chinese Emperor, as well as many temples and around five hundred monks, many of whom were famous for their great knowledge and strict discipline. The third Zen lineage in Vietnam was the Truc Lam Yen Tu school initiated by Emperor Tran Nhan Tong at the end of the 13th century. This school was well known for its active social-political role in Vietnam at the time. Emperor Tran Nhan Tong after leading the country through three consecutive victories against the Mongol's invasion, left his throne and became a monk.

A period of prosperity for Buddhism

After the victory won by Ngo Quyen in 938 A.D, the newly independent state of Vietnam was strongly motivated by Buddhism to pursue its gradual consolidation and vigorous development. Buddhism also played a major role in the people's struggle against foreign oppression and for national independence. In addition to Luy Lau and Kien So, Ha Bac province witnessed the construction of a large number of pagodas.

After Dinh Tien Hoang became king in 971 A.C., he established a hierarchy of monks as well as of officers. The monk appointed as Chief of Monks was conferred the title of 'Great Master' and a Deputy Chief was also appointed. The king also appointed his monk advisors in domestic and foreign policy. This practice of recognition of monks in religious as well as in the secular affairs hierarchy continued in the subsequent royal dynasties. King Le Dai Hanh founder of the Earlier Le dynasty had a monk advisor who belonged to the Thien sect of Vinitaruchi. It was the monk Van Hanh who advised King Le Dai Hanh on the war of resistance against the Song in 980 A.C. and also who actively worked for the accession of King Ly Cong Uan to the throne leading to the establishment of the Ly dynasty.

During the Dinh and Le dynasties whose rulers were strong Buddhists, the country's then capital Hoa Lu became an important Buddhist centre with many pagodas. Many of them still exist today. The remains of the Thap pagoda can still be found on its ancient site on the banks of the Hoang Long River. The only remains of the Nhat Tru pagoda are the octagonal stone columns carved with *gathas* and magical formulas of *Usnisavijayadharani*. Twenty such columns, carved with texts, have been found. The text of the first discovered in 1963, reveals that Dinh Lien, the son of Dinh Tien Hoang had in 975 A.C. erected 100 such *ratnadhvajas* columns. The text is in Chinese characters, but their Sanskrit pronunciation has been retained. It should be noted that the only Buddhist sects in Vietnam during this time were Thien sects (Nguyen Tai Thu, *opcit*, p. 51-59).

Buddhism reached its peak

After the patronage given to Buddhism during the Dinh and Le dynasties, Ly dynasty (1010-1225 A.C.) saw Buddhism reach its peak. As in 1010 A.C., the capital of the kingdom moved from Hoa Lu to Thang Long (now Hanoi, the present day capital), the latter soon became an important Buddhist centre with many pagodas being constructed. Pagodas now emerged even in ethnic minority regions all over the country.

King Ly Cong Uan who grew up in pagodas and received the support of the monk Van Hanh to become king, issued royal edicts promoting the construction of pagodas as well as the ordination of monks. Special ordination ceremonies were held in newly constructed

ordination halls in Van Tue pagoda. In 1016, over 1,000 persons were ordained as monks. Kien So pagoda had over 100 disciples while Trung Minh pagoda on Mount Thien Phuc, monk disciples numbered in the thousands. Rice fields taken over by the king from communal holdings or those granted by nobles and other dignitaries of the Court, provided the required food for such a large number of monks, a practice which continued for a long period of time. The king also sent a mission to China requesting canonical texts. It is important to note here that once the king and the country consolidated themselves politically, the Court sought the advice from monks only on religious matters.

Pagodas began to serve as places of learning not only for monks, but also for children. They also turned into centres of cultural activity and celebrations. When the *Tripitaka* books arrived from China, a library was constructed for them to be kept, and a copy of the texts was made in 1023 A.C.

King Ly Thai Tong who ascended the throne in 1031 A.C., constructed 150 pagodas, the most famous of which is the one-pillar pagoda, known as Diên Hũu (Chua Mot Cot). This historic pagoda built in the capital city of Hanoi is regarded as one of Vietnam's two most iconic temples, the other being the Perfume Pagoda (Chua Huong), a collection of temples, set in a huge cave. The one-pillar pagoda is built of wood on a single stone pillar 1.25 m in diameter, and it is designed to resemble a lotus blossom, which is a Buddhist symbol of purity. It was destroyed by the French in 1954, and rebuilt afterwards. During the Ly dynasty, at the one-pillar pagoda, the king performed the Buddha-bathing ceremony annually to mark the birth of the Buddha on the occasion of Vesak after which he would free a bird, which event was followed by the people (Vo Vang Tuong, *Buddhism Today*).

The large number of Buddhist monuments constructed during the Ly dynasty were pagodas with multi-storeyed towers. For example, Bao Thien pagoda in Thang Long had up to 12 storeys, the tower of Doi pagoda had 13 storeys. These pagodas contained many statues of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Devarajas.

A dramatic downfall of the monks began to be apparent by 1198 A.C., as indicated by the criticism of them made by Confucian scholars. A report made by one Confucian scholar to King Ly Cao Tong described the behaviour of the monks as sordid even in monasteries and that they undermined the country's customs and religion. Consequently, the king forced many monks to leave the monkhood.

Nationalist Buddhist resurgence under the Tran Dynasty

The Tran dynasty began with the accession of Tran Canh to the throne in 1226. King Tran Nhan Tong founded the new Thien sect Truc Lam, and ordained in 1229 and became the first patriarch of the Truc Lam sect. The Tran era was a critical period as the country had to fight two wars against the Mongol invaders in 1285 and 1288, and thereafter engage in nation building. A national resurgence manifested in many areas. Buddhist scholars such as Thai Tong, Tue Trung, Thanh Tong and Nhan Tong became true national heroes with their patriotic actions. They instilled a national spirit through Buddhism, and made Buddhism closer to the life of the people. Buddhism, thus developed in harmony with Confucianism. In line with the new national spirit, the new Thien sect of Truc Lam inaugurated the founding of a unified Buddhist brotherhood which is totally Vietnamese, devoid of foreign influence.

A remarkable progress was also made in the fields of art and literature. A domestic script Nom, derived from Chinese was created and brought into use. Popular tales, legends and stories about the deeds of national heroes began to be compiled. The writing of a national history began (Minh Chi, *opcit*, pp. 85-93).

Tue Trung's contribution to Buddhist thought

Tue Trung (1230-1291 A.C.), the Buddhist scholar of the Tran era became a national hero due to his great contribution to the two wars of resistence fought by Vietnam against the Mongol aggressors referred to above. His contribution to Buddhist thought and scholarship in Vietnam is equally significant. His work *Tue Trung thuong si ngu luc* is an exposition on the theory of knowledge he developed. His theory of knowledge categorically rejects dualism and is in line with the *sunyata*, expounded by Nagarjuna in his *Madhyamika Sutras*.

Scholar Phap Loa

Monk Phap Loa (1284-1330) became a head teacher in 1306 and by 1312, he was officially appointed the

second patriarch of the Truc Lam sect. Under his direction, Buddhism flourished, and by 1329, a total of 15,000 monks had been ordained. He was so popular that each of his teaching sessions attracted 600 to 1,000 listeners. He also wrote a large number of Buddhist texts, and some of them were carved on wood. He had over 5,000 copies of the *Tripitaka* printed, and had the teachers to conduct instructions of the text. The construction of pagodas and towers increased (Minh Chi, *opcit*, pp. 111-117).

Decline of Buddhism

In spite of the great progress made in the propagation of Buddhism during the previous centuries, Buddhism began to decline by mid 14th century for other reasons. The nobility which supported Buddhism had lost its political and economic power, and Confucianism had triumphed. The number of monks was too large that the ruler issued an order to force the monks under the age of forty to return to lay life (*Ibid*, p. 118). After twenty years of Ming rule, the previously Buddhist country had become Confucian when the Later Lê Dynasty (1428 to 1788 with a brief interruption) took over.

The Later Lê Dynasty's rule saw Vietnam's territories grow from a small state in northern Vietnam into almost its current size. It also saw massive changes in Vietnamese society. The Lê emperors instituted many changes modelled after the Chinese system, including the opening of a national college to train civil servants. The development of Buddhism was curtailed during this period, not by suppression, but by administrative structures. For example, a provincial examination for monks was inaugurated, and those who did not pass examinations had to return to lay life, and the first legal system drawn up under a centralised monarchy made no reference to Buddhism (*Ibid*, p. 121).

It is noteworthy, however, that although Confucianism dominated at Court, the Thien sect of Buddhism had become so deep rooted in the people's consciousness, that the Confucian scholars had to recognise the moral and the spiritual support which was in Buddhism lacking in the Confucian doctrine. Even King Le Thang Tong, despite his effort to banish Buddhism, was influenced by it. Thus Buddhism became practically reconciled to Confucianism (*Ibid*, pp. 123-131).

The role of monks during the French rule

With the accession of Nguyen Anh to the throne, the Nguyen dynasty began in 1802, and continued until 1945. At the beginning, the rulers suppressed all religions such as Taoism, Christianity, but to a much lesser extent, the nation's traditional religion, Buddhism due to two reasons - one, Buddhism did not dispute the Court's right to govern the country, two, it had penetrated the majority of the population and had the potential to make them rebel against the royalty. Rigorous laws instituted during this period, however weakened Buddhism as well as the position of monks (*Ibid*, p. 183).

After the French moved in 1859, Vietnam witnessed a great deal of social, ideological and organizational change. The French first made Vietnam a protectorate and then made it a colony until 1954. The French rule created conditions for Christianity to develop and replace local religions. This created a strong feeling of anti-colonialism among the masses. Pagodas now began to serve a dual function, on one hand, serving as religious and spiritual centres, and on the other by acting as safe havens where patriots could store secret documents and prepare for future uprisings (Nguyen Tai Thu, *opcit*, pp. 374-375).

From the late 19th and early 20th century, Buddhist monks organised numerous uprisings against the colonial regime and suffered arrest, torture, imprisonment and execution. French accounts described the attack on Saigon in 1916 thus, "the revolt was led by a prestigious, witty, steady and highly influential monk who enjoys much popularity and esteem among the population" (*The Evolution of Thought in Vietnam from 19th Century to the 1945 August Revolution*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi 1984, p. 527).

It is also interesting to note the transformation of the ideological orientation within the minds of patriotic leaders. Vuong Quoc Chinh, Vo Tru, Nguyen Huu Tri and Phan Phat Sanh, for example, began their carrier as Confucian scholars and ran into severe difficulty along the path towards national salvation. As Confucianism revealed itself as increasingly impotent, they looked to Buddhism which had deep roots in the national religious life which could be used more effectively. It was an example of using Buddhist principles in the interest of protecting both the nation

and the religion from extinction (Nguyen Tai Thu, *opcit*, pp. 381-383)

Development of a Buddhist movement

Parallelling the above mentioned political changes, a new Buddhist movement developed. Printing of a large number of periodicals and books, establishment of Buddhist associations, collection and preservation of Buddhist texts and the opening of religious schools contributed to an unprecedented degree of Buddhist development in all regions in Vietnam. The two Buddhist monks, Khanh Hoa and Thien Chieu who formed the Luc Hoa Association in Southern Vietnam initiated the publication of two Buddhist magazines, *Phap Am* and *Phat Hoa Tan Thanh Nien* respectively. Their passionate writings advocating 'reorganisation of Buddhism' to include an active role in social life gave rise to much excitement within Buddhist circles. Thien Chieu made an effort to ensure the sanctioning of Buddhist monks's participation in social activities by Buddhist doctrine wrote, "It is the compassion and benevolence preached by the Buddha that incites Buddhists to involve themselves in patriot deeds".

Between 1930 and 1933, four associations of Buddhist research were set up. In 1933, monks from Long Hoa pagoda in Tra Vinh province, Thien Phuoc pagoda in Tra On province and Vien Giac pagoda in Ben Tre province together established a residential school for the study of Buddhism and the training of Buddhists. In 1934, the Luong Xuyen Association of Buddhist Study was founded in Tra Vinh province to preserve classical texts and train monks and nuns. In 1935 only one year after its foundation, the Buddhist Association of Northen Vietnam had a membership of around 200 monks and nuns and over 10,000 lay men and women. In 1937, the Buddhist Association of Central Vietnam had a membership of 3,000. Although the French prevented the formation of a nation-wide Buddhist association, the different regional associations developed relations and cooperated with one another. As the revolutionary path led by the Communist Party developed, however, many of these monks disrobed and other Buddhist activists left Buddhism to take to revolutionary activities (*Ibid*, pp.388-427)

Political upheaval

In 1941, the Indochina Communist Party, popularly known as the Vietminh grew in strength, gaining power over both the north and south and declared Vietnam the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945. Though negotiation between the French and Vietnam took place, war finally broke out in 1946, and ended after nine years with the Geneva Accords, leaving Vietminh in the North and the French and their Vietnamese supporters in the South.

The partition was intended to be temporary, with national elections scheduled for 1956 to create a government of a reunified nation. In 1954, Ngo Dinh Diem who was a Catholic priest and elder brother of a Cardinal in the Vatican, became the Prime Minister, and in 1955, scheduled a referendum on whether South Vietnam should become a republic. Diem won the referendum, which was rigged by his brother Nhu, and proclaimed himself the President of the newly created Republic of Vietnam. Diem refused to hold the reunification elections, and strengthened his autocratic and nepotistic rule over the country. Dissidents, communists and nationalists, were jailed and executed in the thousands, and elections were routinely rigged. South Vietnam's Buddhist majority had long been discontented with Diem's strong favouritism towards Catholics in public service, government contracts, American aid, business favours and tax concessions. In some rural areas, Catholic priests led private armies against Buddhist villages. Discontent led to mass protest when nine Buddhists died on the Vesak day in May 1963 at the hand of Diem's army and police. The Buddhist flag was banned from display. The Buddhists defied the ban and the protest only ended when government forces opened fire. The Mahayana Buddhist monk, Thich QuĿng Đèc burned himself to death at a busy road intersection in Saigon on 11 June, 1963. Photos of his self-immolation were circulated widely across the world and this brought attention to the policies of the DiÇm regime, and led to a change in regime.

In November 1963, Diem was overthrown and killed by a military coup, organised by the CIA after they found he was a liability. This led to the Vietnam War which started in 1964. By 1965, the South was losing badly and the US Military committed combat troops to the war. By December 1967, there were almost half a million American men in the Vietnam War with deaths numbering 16,021. Frustrations built up in the US fighting units, discipline and moral began to decline, use of drugs and alcohol increased, and the fighting capabilities continued to erode. The Paris

agreements signed by the USA, South Vietnam, North Vietnam and Vietcong in December 1973 resulted in the total withdrawal of US combat forces.

Formation of the Unified Buddhist Church

In 1964, as the Vietnam War and the American commitment to confront Vietnamese Buddhism accelerated, Buddhists attempted to fashion an adequate organization to carry out political and religious activities. Recognising the need to project a united voice in opposing the war, they created the Unified Buddhist Church (UBC), which combined elements of eleven different sects and the Theravada and Mahayana streams of Buddhism.

The UBC has since been outlawed by the Communists, fearing the broad appeal of the UBC as the only long-term domestic opposition movement during the war. Security forces raided pagodas, closed down orphanages, disbanded religious organisations and placed prominent Buddhist leaders like Thich Tri Quang under house arrest or imprisonment in remote locations. The new regime established a government sponsored and controlled Buddhist church, which became the only recognised Buddhist religious association in the country. Others had acquiesced with the government dominance of religion by refusing to speak out and tacitly accepting government control.

The UBC took a leading role in opposing the Communist government despite the great personal risk involved. In January 1992, Thich Quang Do, a prominent leader of the UBC published an open letter to Vo Van Kiet, Prime Minister of Vietnam. This poignant statement detailed the long history of religious and political repression in Vietnam from the ascension of the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1945 and ended with a courageous call for religious freedom in a country that had seldom witnessed it in its modern history. Thich Quang Do subsequently received a five-year prison term for his actions. Other members of the UBC who came forward with complaints about religious persecution likewise received prison terms ('The Wisdom of the Heart and the Life of the Mind', Cross Currents, Spring/Summer 2000).

Vietnam Monks in exile

Many Vietnamese monks and nuns left Vietnam to live in exile, due to persecution of Buddhism in the 1950's by the Communists in the north and the Catholic Diem government in the south, a situation which had become worse since the Communists gained control over the whole country in 1975. Thousands of monks were forced to disrobe, and thousands of monasteries were emptied. Among those in exile, the best known is Thich Nhat Hanh, who has become a major interpreter of the Vietnamese Ch'an school of Buddhism to the West. He has authored dozens of books and founded Dharma Centre Plum Village in France together with his colleague, Bhikkhuni Chan Khong. (**Thien-An Thick**, *opcit*).

Founding of the Vietnam Buddhist Sangha

In 1975, after the liberation of the South, a movement led by the Most Venerable Thich Tri Thu to unify all Vietnamese Buddhist sects and organisations resulted in the founding of the Vietnam Buddhist Sangha in 1981. The Vietnam Buddhist Sangha headed by the Most Venerable Dhamma Patriarch Thich Duc Nhuan approved an action program for national co-operation and harmony among all Buddhist sects and establishing a system of monastic education and promoting friendship with world Buddhist organisations.

In 1981, the Institute of Higher Buddhist Studies was established in Hanoi, and in 1984, another one in Ho Chi Minh City with the objective of training monks and nuns. The latter continues to be headed by Venerable Dr. Thich Minh Chau (trained also in Sri Lanka and India) with a team of Buddhist scholars under him, and conducts four-year bachelor degree courses on Buddhism. The Buddhist Research Institute was founded in 1989 in the same premises as the Institute of Higher Buddhist Studies in Ho Chi Minh City. The Buddhist Research Institute functions with the Most Venerable Thich Thien Sieu as Vice Rector in charge of the Department of Vietnamese Buddhism and the Venerable Dr. Thich Thien Chau (at Truc Lam Pagoda, France) as Vice Rector in charge of the Department of world Buddhism. The main task undertaken by the Buddhist Research Institute in 1991 was its programme on translation and publication of the *Tripitaka* from Pali and Chinese into Vietnamese. Venerable Thich Minh Chau has been honoured in Vietnam for translating 17,251 pages of Pali *suttas* into Vietnamese -*Truong Bo Kinh (Digha Nikaya), Trung Bo Kinh (Majjiima Nikaya), Tuong Ung Bo Kinh (Samyutta Nikaya), Tang Chi Bo Kinh (Anguttara Nikaya), and Tieu Bo Kinh (Khuddaka Nikaya.* He is

also the Vice Chairman of the Vietnamese Buddhist Sangha. (*Buddhism Today*, April 2008)

Theravada Buddhism

Along with the re-organisation of the Mahayana Buddhist movement in the 1920s and 1930s, referred to above, there developed a growing interest in Theravada meditation as well as the teachings in the Pali *Tripitaka*. The Theravada writings were then available in Vietnam through French translations. Among the pioneers who brought Theravada Buddhism to ethnic Vietnamse was a young veterinary doctor, Le Van Giang, born in South Vietnam, who worked for the French government in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. He developed an interest in Theravada Buddhism and received ordination under the name of Ho-Tong or Vansarakkhita. In 1940, he helped establish the first Theravada temple Buu-Quang (Ratana Ramsyarama) at Go Dua, Thu Duc (now a district of Saigon) at the request of a group of lay Buddhists led by Nguyen Van Hieu. Later, the Cambodian Sangharaja, Venerable Chuon Nath, together with 30 Cambodian Bhikkhus established the *Sima* boundary at this temple (Nguyen Van Hieu, *Cong Tac Xay Dung Phat Giao Nguyen Thuy tai Viet Nam (The Work of Establishing Theravada Buddhism in Vietnam*, Saigon, 1971).

At Buu-Quang temple, together with a group of Vietnamese monks, who had received training in Cambodia, such as Venerables Thien-Luat, Buu-Chon, Kim-Quang and Gioi-Nghiem, Venerable Ho-Tong began teaching the Dhamma in Vietnamese language. He also translated many Buddhist texts of the Pali *Tripitaka*, and Theravada became part of Vietnamese Buddhism. In 1949-1950, Venerable Ho-Tong together with Nguyen Van Hieu and other lay supporters built a new temple in Saigon, named Ky-Vien Tu (Jetavana Vihara). This temple became the centre of Theravada activities in Vietnam, which continued to attract increasing interest among the Vietnamese Buddhists. In 1957, the Vietnamese Theravada Buddhist Sangha Congregation (Giao Hoi Tang Gia Nguyen Thuy Viet Nam) was formally established and recognised by the government, and the Theravada Sangha elected Venerable Ho-Tong as its first President, or Sangharaja. From Saigon, the Theravada movement spread to other provinces, and soon, a number of Theravada temples for ethnic Viet Buddhists were established in many areas in the South and Central parts of Vietnam. (Ethnic Khmers living in Vietnam were Theravada.) As of 1997, there were 64 Theravada temples throughout the country, of which 19 were located in Saigon and its vicinity. Besides Buu-Quang and Ky-Vien temples, other well known temples are Buu-Long, Giac-Quang, Tam-Bao (Da-Nang), Thien-Lam and Huyen-Khong (Hue), and the large Sakyamuni Buddha Monument (Thich-Ca Phat Dai) in Vung Tau (Binh Anson, *Theravada Buddhism in Vietnam*, Perth, 1999).

Theravada activities were further strengthened by the presence of Venerable Narada Maha Thera from Sri Lanka who arrived in Vietnam in the 1930s with Bodhi tree saplings which he planted in many places throughout the country. During his subsequent visits in the 1950s and 1960s, he attracted a large number of Buddhists to the Theravada tradition, one of whom was the popular translator, Pham Kim Khanh who took the Dhamma name of Sunanda. Khanh translated many books of Venerable Narada, including *The Buddha and His Teachings*, *Buddhism in a Nutshell*, *Satipatthana Sutta*. *The Dhammapada*. *A Manual of Abhidhamma* etc. While residing at the Jetavana Vihara, Narada Thera took the leadership to organize Vesak celebrations jointly by the entire Buddhist community belonging to all sects. In 1969 he opened a Buddhist school with a full curriculum. He had undertaken over 17 *dhammaduta* missions to Vietnam. (Pham Kim Khanh, *Narada Maha Thera*, Saigon, 1991).

Historically, there has been a close relationship between the Cambodian and the Vietnamese Bhikkhus. In fact, in 1979, after the Khmer Rouge were driven out of Phnom Penh, a group of Vietnamese Bhikkhus led by Venerables Buu-Chon and Gioi-Nghiem came to that city to re-ordain seven Cambodian monks, and thus re-established the Cambodian *Sangha* which had been destroyed by the Khmer Rouge (Thich Dong Bon, Tieu Su Danh Tang Viet Nam *(Biography of Famous Vietnamese Monks*, *Saigon*, 1996).

Mendicant Sangha

The Vietnamese Mendicant *Sangha*, founded by Master Minh Dang Quang appeared in South Vietnam in 1946. While much of the philosophy is Mahayana, both monks and nuns wear yellow robes, follow strict *Vinaya* rules. They go on the traditional alms round resembling the *Theravada* tradition, but observing pure vegetarianism, like that of Mahayana tradition. As in the Mahayana tradition, females receive higher

ordination. The first female disciples of Master Minh Dang Quang were Huynh Lien, Bach Lien and Thanh Lien who were ordained in 1947 as Bhikkhunis at Linh Buu Vihara under Master Minh Dang Quang's guidance. See PLATES.

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Hema Goonatilleke

VIHĀRADEVI. Vihāradevi (Vihāramahā Devi) was the queen of King Kākavaṇṇatissa of Rohana Kingdom, and the mother or the national hero King Duṭṭhagāmani. She was a key figure of King Duṭṭhagāmani's campaign to liberate the kingdom of Anuradhapura from the South Indian occupation, to revive the Buddhasāsana. She was a "Bauddhamahopāsika" (great female lay disciple) of ancient Sri Lanka. Several sources such as the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini*, the *Rasavāhini*, the *Thūpavaṃsa*, the *Dhātuvaṃsa*, the *Sihalavatthuppakaraṇa*, the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* , Sinhala literary works like the *Saddharmālankāra* and inscriptional evidence are extant for the study of Vihāradevi. But conspicuously the *Dīpavaṃsa* the oldest of the chronicles is silent on her though her husband King Kākavaṇṇatissa is found mentioned independent of her. The *Mahāvaṃsa* account contains more details on her than the rest of the sources and the subsequent authors appear to have based their accounts on the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

Her childhood and marriage: According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxii verse 12 f) her father was King Tissa, King of the Kalyāni kingdom. The *Mahāvaṃsa* proceeds to relate how she happened to marry King Kākavaṇṇatissa of Rohana. The king of Kalyāni had a brother named Prince Uttiya1 who had developed a clandestine affair with his brother's queen. On the discovery of the unholy relationship, Prince Uttiya fled the kingdom, in fear of his brother and lived elsewhere. According to the *Rasavāhini* (Kākavaṇṇatissa rañño vatthu) Uttiya, while staying in the palace was studying under Tissa Thera at the Kalyāni Vihāra.2 The Prince Uttiya desirous of sending a secret letter to the queen sent it through a man disguised as a monk. He entered the palace unnoticed, with the Mahā Thera who was usually having his meals in the palace. The man in disguise of the monk had meals with the Thera and while leaving, dropped a letter to be seen by the queen.

The king turned at the rustling sound of the letter, saw it and picked it up. Reading the letter the king suspected the Thera because of the similarity of the handwriting in the letter with that of the Thera. On the order of the furious king, the innocent Thera and the man were killed and their bodies were thrown to the sea. Neither the *Mahāvaṃsa* nor the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* relate how the Thera was killed. But the *Rasavāhini* says that the Thera was put into a cauldron of boiling oil. (*Kākavannatissa vatthu-Rasavāhini* p. 166). The deities of the sea enraged by this serious crime caused the sea to overflow, submerging the land.[3]

The king had a beautiful daughter named Devi. The frightened king placed her in a golden vessel, where it was written "King's daughter" and floated her in the sea saying "this is a sacrifice to the sea god". The *Mahāvaṃsa* does not give her age at the time, while the other sources differ on it. The *Rasavāhini*4 says that she was twelve years of age while the *Saddharmālankāra* [5] states that she was sixteen. The *Vaṃsattha-ppakāsini* (Vol. II p. 432) states that King Kākavaṇṇatissa who recovered her from the sea, nourished her and when she reached young age married her. Therefore she would have been a minor yet.

There appear to be a similar controversy regarding the place she landed in Rohana. The *Mahāvaṃsa*

version is that she landed at Lanka; but does not say whether it was the name of the port or a vihāra. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* has quoted a *Mahāvaṃsa* verse (Chapter XXII verse 22) where it is said that she landed at Tolaka. But while commenting on the verse, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini*[6] says that Tolaka was a vihāra. The *Rasavāhini* names the port she landed as Tottilatira. The *Saddharmālankāra*[7] (13th century Sinhala Literary work) says that the king built a vihāra on the site (after her landing). All the sources agree that she was named after a vihāra at the port she landed.

Having learnt that she was a daughter of a king, King Kākavannatissa consecrated her as his queen. The present popular tradition is that she landed at Kirinda about eight miles from Tissamahārāma and the marriage took place at an ancient vihāra called Magulmahāvihāra[8] on Situlpahuwa, Tissa Road.

The *Sihalavatthu* has preserved a different tradition. Accordingly Vihāradevi and Kākavaṇṇatissa were from two known royal families. They were brought up together since their childhood. When they reached young age they were married. (*Sihalavatthu*, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta 1959 Colombo, p. 129 (Sinhalese script). But there is no any other evidence to prove it.

According to all records the newly married royal couple had no children for some time and that gave some worries to Vihāradevi. Once, she gave alms to the Mahāsaṅgha in the palace and in the evening proceeded to Tissamahārāma taking with her garlands, incense medicines and garments etc. and attended on the Mahāsaṅgha. Afterwards she was listening to the Mahā Thera who was preaching. The Thera addressing Vihāradevi admonished "you are endowed with great fortune, as a result of your past merit. You should be heedful even in the present life too, to which Vihāradevi supposed to have replied, Sir, what is the use of the fortune to us who have no children. "The Thera who possessed six supernormal powers (*chalabhiññā*) having foreseen that they were fortunate to have children requested her to go and speak to a sick sāmaṇera in the premises (Silāpassaya Pirivena).

The sāmaṇera was originally at Koṭapabbata Vihāra and was ever performing meritorious acts. He installed three stone ladders for the convenience of those who climb the *ākāsacetiya*. He provided drinking water and attended to the saṅgha. He fell seriously ill due to excessive work. The grateful monks brought him in a litter to Silāpassa Pirivena and attended on him. Vihāradevi went and spoke to the dying sāmanera and requested him to be born as her son. But he rejected the request. The sāmaṇera preferred to be born in the Deva world. But Vihāradevi, expert in diplomacy, though she understood that he was not willing, gave on his behalf various medicines, clothes to the saṅgha and pleaded again. Finally the sāmaṇera wished to be born in the royal family. Vihāradevi adorned the place (where the sāmaṇera was) in various ways, ascended the carriage and left. The sāmaṇera died in the same moment and conceived in the womb of the queen, proceeding in the vehicle. She realized it, returned and attended to the funeral rites of the sāmaṇera.

Birth of Princes Gāmani and Tissa: The *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter xxii verse 42 f) provides a detailed account of certain desires (*dohala*) supposed to have occurred to Vihāradevi, bearing Prince Gāmani, which are believed to reveal the character and the career of the child to be born. She longed to feed 12,000 members of the Mahāsaṅgha with honey from a honeycomb, one "Usabha" in length[9] (usabhamattaṃ madhugaṇḍaṃ) and consume what is left over. She also developed a craving to drink the water after washing the sword by which the head of the chief warrior of King Elāra was severed, standing on the same head. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the King was able to satisfy all her cravings. In due course Vihāradevi gave birth to a son endowed with all auspicious signs and was named "Gāmini Abhaya". Next she gave birth to another son who was named Tissa. She was a dutiful and far-seeing mother. It is quite possible that she trained them from their infancy, so that one day they would be capable to rescue the nation from the long foreign domination and resurrect the Buddhasāsana. When the princes were ten and twelve years old the king wanted them to agree on three promises i.e. not to betray the Mahāsaṅgha, not to fight each other and not to war with Tamils. It is said (*Mahāvaṃsa* chap.xxii verse 78 f) both happily undertook to abide by the first two promises, but rejected the third that prevented them from war with the Tamils. Gāmani at this instance withdrew to the bedroom and was sleeping drawing his hands and feet together. When Vihāradevi questioned him why he was not sleeping comfortably, Gāmani is supposed to have replied "Mother, beyond the river (Mahaveli) are the Tamils, in the South it is the sea. How can I sleep comfortably stretching my limbs?" Vihāradevi understood what he meant and informed the king who remained silent.

Next we hear of Vihāradevi in connection with the death of her husband King Kākavaṇṇatissa, who predeceased her. As the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter xxiv verse 12), King Kākavaṇṇatissa built sixty four vihāras and lived for the same number of years. When he died Vihāradevi went to Tissamahārāma in a covered vehicle taking the dead body with her and reported it to the Saṅgha. Possibly, it would have been the custom to take the dead body to the vihāra and show it to the monks, instead of them coming to see the body.

On hearing of the death of his father Prince Tissa came from Dīghavāpi and attended to the funeral rites and returned to Dīghavāpi with his mother Viharadevi and Kandula the elephant. Vihāradevi appears to have had no option but to obey her son Tissa and proceed to Dīghavāpi. But on the arrival of her elder son Gāmaṇi, the legitimate heir to the throne and when the dispute between them was settled, she came back to Mahāgāma with Gāmaṇi. The Maha Theras brought Prince Tissa to the palace at Mahāgāma in order to solicit pardon from his brother Gāmaṇi. When Vihāradevi heard that Prince Tissa has been brought and was kept outside by the Theras, she immediately went and stood covering Tissa, at the first meeting of the two brothers (after the dual) in order to save him from the possible wrath of his elder brother (*Mhv.* Chap. xxiv verse 53).

Vihāradevi joins the army, marching to recapture Anurādhapura: Vihāradevi was a brave woman. She joined the Sinhala forces marching to recapture Anuradhapura and shared the perils and the difficulties of the war with the common soldiers. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's army came up to Mahiyaṅgana, the threshold of the Tamil territory and successfully captured the Tamil General Chatta and the other Tamils. From there he came to the town Ambatittha, protected by the river and the moat. Though the army fought for four months, they failed to capture Ambatittha. Here Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had to adopt methods other than military, in bringing the place under control. The measures proved successful. The *Mahavaṃsa* (Chapter xxv, Verse 9) says Duṭṭhagāmaṇi showed his mother Vihāradevi to the Tamil General Ambatittha (mataram dassayitva tena lesena aggahi)and enticed him. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (Vol. II 473) commenting on the verse above says that the king proposed to give his mother to the Tamil general in marriage and caught him like a fish caught with a bait. Vihāradevi appear to have played the leading role in the trap that caught the Tamil general easily. It is seen that Vihāradevi was still attractive enough to entice anybody, even after her children were grown up. Such strategies are called in the chronicles as "mantrayuddha" (diplomatic warfare) and in modern military terminology as "Silver Bullets".

There is evidence to surmise that Vihāradevi was conversant with military strategies of the day. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxv verse 55 f) describes an instance, where Duṭṭhagāmaṇi sought his mother's advice in his war campaign, during the final stage of his march towards Anurādhapura. The army after taking the Mahelanagara camped South of Kāsapabbata. Elāra's army headed by Dīghajantu was ready to face the Sinhala army next day. At this point Duṭṭhagāmaṇi discussed with his mother and on her advice erected thirty two fortresses on the way to Anurādhapura and placed the same number of dummies resembling the King, surrounded by parasol bearers, while the king remained in the innermost fortress. Dīghajantu, the mighty general of Elāra cleaved each of the dummy kings, wasting his energy and the sharpness of the sword and came to the last fortress, where the King was. Suranimala, the General of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi challenged him, before he approached the King. Dīghajantu leaped in the air to strike him. Suranimala held his shield to avoid the blows. But the moment Dīghajantu's sword reached the shield, he allowed the shield to fall. The sword lost its aimed target and Dighajantu, unable to stand his own force, fell on the ground, to be killed by Suranimala. Thus with the help of Vihāradevi's strategy Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was able to kill the commander of Elāra's army without much difficulty. Finally King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was victorious and was able to regain Anuradhapura from the South Indian invaders.

Inscriptional evidence on Vihāradevi: Historians point out that several inscriptions are extant regarding the historicity of Vihāradevi. In the present context the inscriptions at Koṭādemuhela (Māgampattu in the Hambantota District, 12 miles south east of Yāla sanctuary) are of vital importance. Fourteen cave inscriptions have been discovered at the site bearing the following text, with slight variations.

"Damarajha puta mahatisa ayaha jhita abiśavera abhaya puta tisa ayaha jhaya abiśavera dane sagasadine"

"Daughter of Prince Mahatisa, son of Dhammarāja is princess Savera [that] princess Savera, wife of Tissa, son of Prince Abhaya that cave is gifted to the Sangha." (Inscriptions of Ceylon in Early Brahmi script, Vol., I. S. Paranavitāna, page 2, Inscription no. 556.)

Prof. S. Paranavitāna thinks that the term Śavera referred to in all the fourteen inscriptions (No. 556-569) refer to Vihāradevi. He points out that the name Śavera, by normal phonological process, could assume the form vehera and the name was turned to Pali as vihāra by the chroniclers. As seen in the above inscription at Kotādemuhela the Princess Śavera was the daughter of Mahātissa. (The prefix abi is used to denote a lady of high rank like a princess). Thus the princess Śavera was the grand daughter of Dhammarāja. The same inscription says that Princess Śavera was the wife of Prince Tissa, the son of Abhaya. Scholars identify Tissa-aya as King Kākavaṇṇatissa and Abhaya as Goṭhābhaya. The epithet aya used for Tissa (Kākavaṇṇatissa) and Abhaya (Goṭhābhaya) appear to be an honorary epithet used for males. It has been used for them as they were not consecrated kings. It is also important that all the 14 caves have been donated by the same Princess Śavera which shows that she was a wealthy and influential person.[10]

Another inscription at a place called Bovattagala in Pānampattu, in the Ampāra District (three miles north west of the Kumana Bird sanctuary) appear to throw more light on the ancestry of Princess Śavera. The inscription reads as follows:

"Gamani puta dasabatika jheta savatetaka puta dhamaraja.Dhamaraja puta mahatisa aya karate imalene [e] mahasudasana sagasa dine"

"Son of Gamini was the eldest of the ten brothers. Son of the eldest of all (ten brothers) was Dhammaraja. This cave Mahasudassana which Prince Mahatisa son of Dhammaraja is caused to be established given to sangha) (ibid. page 42 Inscription No 14).

The above inscription reveals that Mahātissa the father of Princess Śavera referred to in Koṭādemuhela inscription was the son of Dhammarāja and Dhammarāja was the eldest of the ten brother kings of Kājaragāma (kājaragāme dasabhatike rājāno), referred to in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* (p. 31). Thus Princess Śavera was the grand daughter of Dhammarāja, the eldest of ten brother kings of Kājaragāma. Another inscription at Mihintale (ibid. p. 2, inscription no. 14 and 15) reveals that Mahatissa was the king of Kānagāma."

The inscriptions above referred to appear to reveal an important phase of the Sri Lankan history that the *Mahāvaṃsa* has ignored. The dynasty of the ten brother kings was not completely annihilated by Goṭhābhaya as it was believed. The dynasty continued to exist even after Goṭhābhaya, apparently merged with the Mahānāga dynasty founded by Mahānāga Uparāja, brother of Devānampiyatissa. The marriage of Princess Śavera of Kājaragāma Kshatriya dynasty to Kākavaṇṇatissa of the Mahānāga dynasty of Mahāgāma, united the two dynasties ending their rivalry.

It is difficult to harmonize the above historical data in the Koṭademulla and Bowattegala inscriptions with the kingdom of Kalyāni, suppose to have been existing in the western coast. It is necessary to examine whether there was a kingdom of Kalyāni in the eastern coast of Sri Lanka during the pre Christian era. There are scholars who surmise the existence of a Kalyāni Kingdom in the Eastern province in addition to the Kalyāni kingdom in the Western coast. Dr. P.A.T. Gunasingha points out that there has been a Kalyāni kingdom in the Eastern province associated with the river known as "Heda Oya" at present. He further holds the view that the name Heda Oya and the Kalyāni River has the same meaning. Both kingdoms are associated with rivers bearing a name similar in meaning. He seems to suggest that the original Kalyāni kingdom in the Eastern province has been confused with a kingdom in the Western province due to the similarities (P.A.T. Gunasinghe, *Ancient Rohana Kingdom*, Dipāni Press, Maharagama, Sri Lanka, 1968, p. 30 – Sinhala medium). Ellāvala Medhānanda has discussed the idea favourably (Ellawala Medhananda *King Kāvantissa and Vihāramahādevi –Parents of a Hero Son*– Colombo, 2002, pages 90 and 100- Sinhala medium). Prof. S. Paranavitāna hints that Kālāyanakannika referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxxiv verse 89) as the Kalyāni Kingdom in the Eastern province while P.A.T. Gunasinghe is definite about the identification (Ellawala Medhānanda ibid. p. 100).

Moreover some scholars suggest that the Mahāgāma connected to Kākavaṇṇatissa episode was

also in the eastern province. Dr. Gunapala Senadhira points out with strong epigraphical and literary evidence that the original Mahāgāma connected to Kākavaṇṇatissa was about eight miles on the Moneragala Potuvil road and Mahāgāma in the Hambantota District is of subsequent origin. (*Asian Heritage* 1973, a Sinhala Journal edited by A.V. Suraveera, "*Where was the Kingdom of Māgama of King Kāvantissa* by Gunapāla Senādhira, pages 23-39).

The above two theses might be further strengthened by future archaeological explorations. If so Vihāradevi Kākavaṇṇatissa episode might be shifted to the Eastern province from Western and Southern province in the future.[12]

Vihāradevi's Relatives: A couple of names of her relatives are preserved in the sources, though her mother's name is not available. According to the *Dhātuvaṃsa* (page 41) she had a brother by name Cullapiṇḍapātiya Tissa Thera. Observing that King Kākavaṇṇatissa would not live long, it was this Thera who advised the king to enshrine the "Frontal bone relic" (*nalāṭa dhātu*) that was with the king in a thūpa built over a tank named "varāha" within the lake named "Seru". But Ellawala Medhānanda identifies him as the son of Vihāradevi's brother (Ellawala Medhānanda *loc. cit.* p. 50) Ven. Cūlapiṇḍapatiya Tissa is said to have accompanied King Kākavaṇṇatissa and Vihāradevi when he proceeded to build the cetiya. (The *Dhātuvaṃsa*).

Apparently she had no children other than Gāmani and Tissa. The two nuns Mahilā who was versed in the Dhamma and Samantā, given as Kākavaṇṇatissa's daughters in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (chapter XII, v.20 should be daughters from another wife of the King. If so those two should be step-daughters of Vihāradevi. Among her grand children are Sāliya, the well known son of Duṭṭhagāmani. She had three more grand children from her second son, King Saddhātissa (77-59 B.C). Thūlathana (reigned for a very short period), King Lanjatissa reigned for 9 years (59-50 B.C.), King Khallātanāga reigned for seven years (50-43 B.C.) and king Vaṭṭhagāmani reigned from 29-17 B.C.

Did Vihāradevi enter the Order of Nuns (Bhikkhuṇi Sāsana) in the latter part of her life? After the victory of her son Duṭṭhagāmani, the chronicles are silent on Vihāradevi. The last reference to her in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is seen regarding her advice to Duṭṭhagāmani, to put up thirty two fortresses along the route that has been already discussed. She is conspicuously absent on important occasions like the consecration of the Maricavaṭṭi Cetiya and the Lohapāsāda and the grand ceremony held on the occasion of the foundation laying ceremony of the Mahācetiya. Historians conjecture why she had gone to oblivion. However the *Mahāvaṃsa* provides us with an important clue regarding her. The *Mahāvaṃsa*, while discussing the meritorious deeds of her second son, King Saddhātissa (75-59 B.C.) who succeeded Duṭṭhagāmani, refers to a vihāra by name "Mātuvihāra " (Mother's Vihāra *Mahāvaṃsa* chapter xxxiii verse 9). With this little information it is possible to surmise that she might have entered the Bhikkhuni Order and remained as a nun till the end of her life.

Two inscriptions at Mihintale provide some more information regarding the final years of her life, that appear more strong, which reads as follows:

"Kanagama ra(jhasa) tisaha jhita śavera samaniya lene sagasa dine"

"The cave of the nun Savera, the daughter of King Tissa, the king of Kanagama (is given to) the sangha." Inscriptions of Ceylon in the early brahmi script Vol. I. S. Paranavitana page 2, Inscription no.[14]

In the inscription no. 15 the text is the same as no. 14 with the omission of the word 'sagasa'.

Scholars like S. Paranavitana think that this Śavera samaniya is Vihāradevi who had entered the Bhikkhuṇi Order. It is observed that the honorary epithet "Abi" (used for ladies of high rank)used for her in the Koṭādemuhela inscriptions is absent here. Apparently not used once the person enters the sāsana. As we have already seen she had donated fourteen caves at Koṭādemuhela, when she was a lay woman. Even after entering the Bhikkhuṇi Order, apparently she had continued with her favourite donation of caves for the saṅgha.

According to Prof. Wimala Wijayasooriya, the *Dīpavaṃsa* too contains a reference to Vihāradevi who later became a nun. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (chapter 17 Verse 34) speaks of two nuns Samuddanāvā devi and Sīvali who were daughters of a king (rājadhitaro). Prof. Wimala Wijayasooriya identifies Samuddanāvā Devi Bhikkhuṇi as Vihāradevi who had entered the

Bhikkhunī sāsana (Vimala Wijayasooriya – *Hidden Historical Legends of Ruhuna*, Tarangi Printers, Gangodawila, Nugegoda, Sri Lanka, 1987 p. 71 -74 Sinhala medium).If Vihāradevi entered the Bhikkhunī Order, she would have been among the 90,000 nuns that the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxxvi verse 15) says assembled at the Maricavaṭṭi vihāra consecration ceremony.

Vihāradevi to be born as the mother of Metteyya Buddha: The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxxii verse 81 f.) says that King Duṭṭhagāmani would become the chief disciple of Metteyya Buddha. The *Mahāvaṃsa* further adds that Duṭṭhagāmani's parents would become the father and the mother of Metteyya Buddha. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* (Vol. II p.602) too, confirms it. The *Rasavāhini*, the *Thūpavaṃsa*, the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* also repeat the same information.. Thus it should be clear that the *Mahāvaṃsa* and other literary sources have bestowed the highest position that a lay woman could achieve (i.e. future Buddha's motherhood) to Vihāra Devi.

Conclusion: It is fitting to assess the life of Vihāra Devi as the most illustrious lady recorded in the annals of ancient Sri Lanka. Her performances have to be assessed as the daughter of King Kalyānitissa, the queen of King Kākavaṇṇatissa, mother of King Duṭṭhagāmani and Tissa, the counselor of King Duṭṭhagāmani and a great devout female lay disciple of the Buddhasāsana and perhaps a Buddhist nun in the final years of her life.

It is necessary to examine how the *Mahāvaṃsa* looks at her. The *Mahāvaṃsa* introducing her for the first time, as the queen of King Kākavaṇṇatissa described her as *saddhāsampannā* (endowed with faith in the Buddhasāsana -chapter xxii verse 12). Again introducing her as the daughter of King Kalyānitissa, the *Mahāvaṃsa* says "Pure and beautiful daughter of King Kalyāni" (suddhaṃ deviṃ nāma surūpinim- chapter xxii verse 20).The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* commenting on the word "suddhaṃ", states that "she was endowed with auspicious signs, devoid of any female bodily faults" and that it was not a mere epithet i.e. she really had them". (*Vaṃsatthappakāsini* Vol. II p. 432).When Vihāradevi finally was able to convince and persuade the dying monk to be born as her son in spite of his refusal at first, the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxii verse 36 and 37) calls her "keen witted (*sumedhasā*") and "expert in diplomacy" (*upāya kovidā*).

As per the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxii verses 20-21), at the tender age of 12 or 16 she had to undergo a traumatic experience, being sacrificed to the sea gods, a non buddhistic barbaric act .13The *Mahāvaṃsa* does not say whether she consented or sacrificed under her protest. However she was miraculously saved as the records say. She married King Kākavaṇṇatissa apparently much older to her. Their marriage appears to have been happy and successful and she was an obedient wife and caring mother for her children. She appears to have brought up her children in the best tradition of Aryan chivalry. King Kākavaṇṇatissa did not want his sons to wage war with Tamils fearing for their safety. Judging from her behaviour after the death of King Kākavaṇṇatissa, it appears that she did not agree with him on the issue of her sons going to war with the Tamils. But there is no evidence of her raising any protest against her husband's decision. She was intelligent and remained silent.

While living with King Kākavaṇṇatissa she regularly attended to her religious observances. As evident from the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxii verse 29 f) she regularly provided alms to the saṅgha at the palace in the fore-noon and used to proceed to Tissmahārāma in the evening, taking medicines and other necessities in order to attend to the Mahāsaṅgha. Moreover, as per the inscriptions at Koṭādemuhela, Abi savera or Princess Vihāradevi should get the credit of donating 14 caves personally to the Mahāsaṅgha.

Vihāradevi manoeuvered the reconciliation of her two sons with patience. After the death of her husband, it is seen that Vihāradevi got involved with the affairs of the state. Though the *Mahāvaṃsa* does not say so, she became Gāmani's counsellor . She bravely joined the forces marching to take Anuradhapura and endured the difficulties of the strenuous journey and the risks to her life. From the beginning to the end she was with her son Gāmani encouraging and giving necessary guidance. It is quite clear that she was well versed in the state craft as well as the art of war. She was the driving force behind her son Gāmini and the secret of his victory. Perhaps soon after the victory she renounced everything and entered the Bhikkhunī Order and spent the remaining years of her life in a nunnery somewhere, striving for her deliverance from Samsāra. She appears to have shunned publicity, remained withdrawn from society, possibly gone to oblivion over the years. Therefore no reference to her is found after King Gāmani's victory, in the chronicles.

However the ancient statue of a noble lady found in the Ruwanveli Mahā seya premises is considered as the statue of Vihāra Mahādevi. The present society too has not forgotten her. The main Park in Colombo has been named after her (i.e. Vihāramahā Devi Park). Schools, Nunneries, have been named to commemorate her. Statues of her are made up to date to honour her.

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1 In this context *Vaṃsatthappakasini* (Vol. II p. 431) providing additional information says that their father was the grandson of King Mutasiva (307-247 B.C.) and son of Prince Uttiya. Prince Uttiya named his elder son Marupiyatissa and named the younger son after his father Uttiya.

2 *Rasavāhini Lankādīpuppatti Katāvatthu* – *Kakavaṇṇa Tissassa vatthu,* p. 166 Keligama Vijitananda edition 2004

3 *Rasavahini* has preserved a vital historical information in this context, which is not found in any other source.As a result of the catastrophy equal to a tsunami in the present day, nine small islands, thirty five thousand and five Hundred four villages, tanks, fields, and properties were submerged by the sea. At the time Kalyani was seven Leagues (gāuta) away from the sea. The sea advanced leaving one league as a result (Rasavāhini Lankādīpuppatti vatthu kathā Vanatissaraññavatthu p. 167.

4 *Rasavāhini* p. 167

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8 The modern scholars reject the tradition that Viharadevi landed at Kirinda and the marriage took place at Magul Mahaviharaya. They point out that both the places are devoid of any archaeological evidence to the effect. Ellawala Medhananda further points out the vihara known as Magulmahavihara near Situlpahuwa was the ancient Paluṭṭhagiri Vihara. (Ellawala Medhananda – The King Kakavannatissa and Viharamahadevi – Parents of a Hero Dayawansa Jayakody Colombo 2002 p. 85 and 91 (Sinhala Script).

9 An ancient measure of length 140 cubits

10 S. Paranavitana *Inscriptions of Ceylon in Early Brahmi Script Vol. I. Introduction LVIII and LXVI*

11 *Mahavamsa* (chapter XLV verse 43) refers to a Kanagama in the Rohana where king Dappula built a hospital for the blinds and a patimaghara. Perhaps the reference is to the Kanagama in the

Mihintale inscription. By the time this portion of Mahavamsa was written it was no more a kingdom as in the past.

12 Ven. Ellawala Medhananda has already identified the ruins at Lanakvihara on the eastern coast near Potuvil at the mouth of the River Hedaoya where Viharadevi might have been landed. Mahavamsa (Chapter XXII verse 22) appear supporting this view, saying that she landed at a place called Lanka. Ven. Ellawala further says the place known as "Abhisekamandapa" at the other end could be the place where King Kakavannatissa consecrated Viharadevi who landed there.

13 Instead Ven. Ellawala Medhananda thinks that she might have been sent by sea to Kakavannatissa for her protection due to the political turmoil at Kelaniya Kingdom. Ellawala Medhananda ibid. p. 92.

VIHESĀ, "injury", "vexation", or "frustration", is a term used in the dis-course with somewhat similar connotations to *vi-hiṃsā* (see VI-HIM-SĀ), but with a broader range of reference. The similarity in mean-ing between the two terms can be seen in instances where *vi-hesā* replaces *vi-hiṃ-sā*. Examples for this are when the standard set *kāma, vyāpāda, vihiṃsā*, "sensuality, ill-will and harming" instead reads *kāma, vyāpāda, vihesā*. Such replacing of *vihiṃsā* by *vihesā* can be found in a listing of six [mental] elements, *dhātu* (*M.* III, 62); in a listing of elements of release, *nis-saraṇā dhātu* (*A.* III, 245); and in a listing of different inclina-tions of the mind, *cittuppāda* (*M.* III, 50). In each of these cases, *vihesā* stands in place of *vi-hiṃsā*. The close rela-tionship between the two terms is also reflected in the cir-cumstance that the antidote to *vihesā* is the de-velopment of com-passion, *karuṇā* (*D.* III, 248), which would also be the way to overcome *vi-hiṃsā*.

In addition to being at times a near synonym to *vihiṃsā* - in the sense of standing for actual violence, cruelty or harming - *vihesā* can also connote vari-ous degrees of vexation and frustration, or even just disturbance, nuisance, or fatigue. This sense of the term can be seen, for example, in the complaint that the minor rules for monks are a nuisance, as they only lead to worry and *vihesā* (*Vin.* IV, 143). Or else a monk who remains silent when questioned about an offence in the midst of the *Saṅgha* would in this way cause *vihesā* to other monks through his behaviour (*Vin.* IV, 36).

According to a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta*, monks who delight in quarrel can cause *vihesā* to others who have already progressed on the path of self de-velopment (*Sn.* 276-277). This indicates that *vihesā* can even arise in those who are at a more developed stage of development. In fact, *vihesā* can even qualify the experi-ence of an *arahant*. A case in point is reported in the *Aṅgut-tara Nikāya*, ac-cording to which on one occa-sion Sāriputta was publicly con-tradicted by an-other monk up to three times. When the Buddha finally in-ter-vened, he cen-sured the other monks that had been present on this occasion for their lack of compassion, as they had not intervened when an elder was being "vexed", *theraṃ bhikkhuṃ vihesiyamānaṃ* (*A.* III, 194). Since Ānanda was present on this occasion, who became the Buddha's attendant only twenty years after the Buddha had started to teach (*Thag.* 1041-1043; see also ĀNAN-DA), the present incidence would have to be placed at a time when Sāri-putta had already become an *arahant*. Thus, ac-cording to this discourse, even an *arahant* can be "vexed" or perhaps better be "bothered".

In fact, the same can even be the case for a Buddha. Ac-cording to the *Ari-ya-pariyesana Sutta*, the recently awakened Buddha was dis-inclined to teach his discovery to others, as he anticipated that this would lead to fatigue and *vi-hesā*, *so mam' assa kilamatho, sā mam' assa vihesā* (*M.* I, 168). A verse that takes up the same theme even speaks of "perception of harm", *vihiṃsa-sañ-ñī*, when referring to the reason why the Buddha wanted to remain silent (*M.* I, 169). This disinclination and apprehension of *vihesā* should apparently be con-sidered typical for Buddhas, as the previous Buddha Vipassī was similarly hesi-tant to teach, anti-ci-pating that this would lead to *vihesā* (*D.* II, 36).

The theme of the Buddha's *vihesā* recurs also in other contexts, such as when the Buddha indicates that it causes him *vihesā* if Ānanda keeps on asking after the fate of people who have passed away (*D.* II, 93). Again, just when the Buddha was about to pass away the same *vihesā* makes its ap-pear-ance, when nanda tells the wanderer Subhadda to not insist on wanting to see the Bud-dha, *ma Tathāgataṃ vihethesi* (*D.* II, 149).

At first sight, these passages might seem difficult to reconcile with the total removal of any unwholesome

states or tendencies in the mind of one who has reached final liberation. Moreover, in the case of a Buddha an additional problem could seem to be the contrast between his anticipation or even experi-ence of *vihesā* and the dictum that it is impossible for *vihesā* to overwhelm and remain in the mind of someone who has developed the liberation of the mind through compassion, *aṭṭhānam etam anavakāso, yaṃ karuṇāya cetovimuttiyā bhāvitāya bahulīkatāya ... atha ca pan' assa vihesā cittaṃ pariyādāya ṭhassati* (*D.* III, 248). There can be little doubt that the Buddha had indeed developed libera-tion of the mind through compassion (*A.* I, 183). In fact, according to the *Upāli Sutta* the very basis for the Buddha's endowment with compassion was his total removal of any lust, anger or delusion on account of which he might experience vexation, *vihesāvā assa* (*M.* I, 370).

This suggests that there must be a form of *vihesā* that is unrelated to un-wholesome states of mind. In fact, the above dictum about *vihesā* and the lib-eration of the mind through compassion does not state that *vihesā* does not arise at all, but only that it is impossible for *vihesā* to overwhelm and remain in the mind, *cittaṃ pariyādāya ṭhassati*.

This, then, reveals an important perspective on the mind of an *arahant* or a Buddha. With full awakening all unwholesome states and tendencies have been fully removed. Yet, what remains is not just a blank. Wholesome emo-tions are still there, such as compassion etc., and some of their counterparts are also not totally left behind, such as the "bother" or "fatigue" that is represented by *vihesā*.

A parallel case could be seen in regard to food. An *arahant* or a Buddha would certainly be beyond greed for any particular food. Yet, this does not mean that they no longer experience the taste of food. As the *Brah-māyu Sutta* clarifies, when eating the Buddha would clearly experience the taste of the food, without, however, experiencing any greed for the taste, *rasa-paṭisaṃvedī kho pana so bhavaṃ Gotamo āhāraṃ āhāreti, no ca rasarāga-paṭi-saṃ-vedī* (*M.* II, 138). In a similar vein, the above passages on *vihesā* indicate that an *ara-hant* or a Buddha can also experience some form of tiredness or fatigue caused by irrelevant inquiries or by being faced with those who are simply incapable of understanding.

Notably, according to the account given in the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* the Buddha decided to teach after he had been in-vited to do so by Brahmā and had surveyed the world "out of compassion", *kāruññataṃ paṭicca*, (*M.* I, 169). Viewed from this perspective, then, the *Ari-yapariyesana Sutta* can be seen to accord with the above dictum about the impossibility of *vihesā* to overwhelm and remain in one who has developed the liberation of the mind through com-passion, as it was precisely compassion that outweighed the Buddha's antici-pa-tion of *vihesā*.

The Buddha's *vihesā* comes up again in a discourse in the *Udāna*, which reports how the Buddha, who was in town begging alms, was approached by the non-Buddhist ascetic B—āhiya and asked to give a teaching right there on the spot. Bāhiya insisted up to three times to be taught right there and then, in spite of the clear indication given by the Buddha that it was not the proper time for teach-ings. After the Buddha had agreed to dispense instructions, Bāhiya im-mediately put what he heard into practice and became an *arahant*. The narra-tion of the same discourse concludes with the Buddha remarking that Bāhiya had not caused him any *vihesā* on account of the *Dhamma*, *na ca maṃ dham-mādhikaraṇaṃ vihe-seti* (*Ud.* 9). That is, the inappropriate circumstances of Bāhiya's request and his insistence in spite of two refusals did not cause the Buddha *vihesā* apparently because the request came from a sincere aspiration and the instructions given were immediately put into practice.

The same appears to be the case with the wanderer Subhadda just before the Buddha's passing away, where the Buddha told Ānanda to let Subhadda ask his question as it was motivated by desire for knowledge and not in order to cause *vihesā*, *aññāpekkho 'va pucchis-sati no vihesāpekkho* (*D.* II, 150). Here, again, the point is the sincerity of the inquiry, not the inappropriate cir-cum-stances of asking questions of someone who is about to pass away.

In regard to the Buddha's hesitancy to teach the same perspective emerges, since the anticipation of *vihesā* was not related to any encumbrance related to teaching activities, but rather to the doubt whether beings so deeply entrenched in attachment will have the ability to understand what he had to convey, *pare ca me na ājāneyyuṃ, so mam' assa kilamatho sā mam' assa vi-hesā* (*M.* I, 168). Hence *vihesā* in such context seems to stand only for a form of fatigue that can even arise in one who has reached full liberation.

See also VIHIṂSĀ.

Anālayo

VIHIṂSĀ and the corresponding term *hiṃsā* cover various aspects of violence, such as injury, harm and cruelty. The emphasis given among early Buddhist and other contemporary recluses to abstain from any deed of violence could be understood to stand in direct contrast to the prevalence of *hiṃsā* in ancient Indian society. Judging from the early discourses and the *Vinaya*, violence in various forms appears to have been a rather common occurrence. Examples are the robber Aṅgulimāla, a merciless killer who according to the *Aṅgulimāla Sutta* was wearing a garland made of the fingers of his victims and had destroyed towns and districts (*M.* II, 98). The novice monk Adhimutta was seized by bandits and about to be killed (*Thag.* 705); and a cowherd who had just given a meal offering to the Buddha was assassinated right afterwards by someone else (*Ud.* 39), just to mention a few examples.

In their attempt to control bandits and robbers, kings would react with similar violence, apparently inflicting some of the cruellest types of punishment imaginable (*M.* III, 164). Violence would not only manifest when persecuting brigands, but also when kings quarrelled with each other, causing the violence of warfare and its infliction of death and injury on numerous human beings (*M.* I, 86). Dispensing violence in various ways, kings were themselves afraid of violence and had to be constantly surrounded by bodyguards (*Ud.* 19); in fact king Bimbisāra was apparently killed by his own son (*D.* I, 85).

Frequently, women were also the objects of violence. Repeated cases of the rape of nuns are reported in the Vinaya,1 and according to the *Udāna* the female wanderer Sundarī was killed by her fellows in an attempt to calumniate the Buddhist order (*Ud.* 44). Nor was traditional Brahminical religion free from violence, as the discourses refer to massive slaughter of animals for the sake of sacrifice (see also YAÑÑA).

It is against this background of *hiṃsā* prevalent in contemporary Indian society that the emphasis on *ahiṃsā* among early Buddhist monastics as well as other recluses becomes understandable. An incident that well reflects this attitude is described in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, according to which the mere fact that a lay person had slaughtered an animal with the intention of offering a meal to the Buddhist order was sufficient ground for Jain ascetics to create a public uproar, accusing the Buddha of partaking of this meal knowing that the animal was killed on his behalf (*A.* IV, 187).

A regulation given in the *Vinaya* reflects the same issue. According to this regulation, it is not appropriate for a Buddhist monk to partake of meat that is killed on purpose for him (*Vin.* I, 238). Other *Vinaya* regulations are promulgated in order to protect plant life and even the microbic beings in water from any harm, rules that reflect the concern with not harming any living beings among contemporary recluses and ascetics.2 The same concern also extends to the laity, in fact the very first precept to be undertaken by a lay Buddhist is to refrain from killing any living being. This goes to show the degree to which abstention from *hiṃsā* was seen as an integral aspect of proper conduct among early Buddhists.

Thoughts and intentions related to harming and violence, *vihiṃsā-vitakka* and *vihiṃsā-saṅkappa*, are singled out specifically in early Buddhism as one out of altogether three unwholesome types of thoughts and intentions (*D.* III, 215). To refrain from them is of such integral importance to spiritual progress that the opposite of such thoughts and intentions constitutes the second factor of right intention, *sammā saṅkappa* of the noble eightfold path (*M.* III, 73). The other two types of unwholesome thoughts or intentions that are to be overcome in order to develop *sammā saṅkappa* are those related to sensuality, *kāma*, and to ill-will, *vyāpāda*. It is noteworthy that, with ill-will already being mentioned, *vihiṃsā* should also be reckoned separately. The reason for this could be the above-mentioned importance given to *ahiṃsā*, which might have made it seem desirable to explicitly treat thoughts and intentions related to violence and harming, in addition to thoughts and intentions related to ill-will.

The arising of thoughts and intentions related to violence and harming is due to the corresponding type of perception, *vihiṃsāsaññā* (*M.* II, 27). To overcome them requires first of all a clear distinction between such unwholesome thoughts or intentions and their positive counterparts, a distinction intrinsically related to a clear appreciation of the fact that any thought or intention related to *vihiṃsā* will be detrimental for oneself and for others (*M.* I, 115). Based on such clear appreciation, an effort should be made to overcome and remove any such thought or intention, thereby gradually removing the tendency that leads to their arising. To implement this mode of practice is one of the methods recommended in the *Sabbāsava Sutta* for overcoming the influxes (*M.* I, 11), and can be compared

to a cowherd who properly looks after his cows by picking out the eggs that flies have laid on them (*M.* I, 223), a mode of practice that becomes a constituent of the "certain path" to liberation, *apaṇṇakā paṭipadā* (*A.* II, 76).

The *Sallekha Sutta* describes a whole range of different approaches towards overcoming *vihiṃsā* (*M.* I, 42). The discourse begins by encouraging the making of an effort at non-violence, *avihiṃsā*, even when faced with others who are engaged in *vihiṃsā*. The same discourse then implicitly brings up the kind of mental training that will enforce one's resolve to avoid *vihiṃsā* by pointing out that even to incline the mind towards non-violence is of great benefit, not to mention non-violent bodily and verbal actions. Just as one might avoid an uneven path by taking an even path, so *vihiṃsā* can be avoided by following the path of *avihiṃsā*, a path that leads upwards just as the path of *vihiṃsā* leads downwards. If a person has a tendency to *vihiṃsā*, the *Sallekha Sutta* concludes, then conscious development of *avihiṃsā* is the way to extinguish this tendency.

The *Sallekha Sutta*'s instruction on making an effort at non-violence when confronted with *vihiṃsā* by others would also imply refraining from reacting violently when being oneself the victim of violence. The *Kakacūpama Sutta* illustrates the degree of patience required in such situations with the famous simile of the saw. According to this simile, even when one's body is cut to pieces by bandits, one should nevertheless maintain an attitude of unwavering compassion and loving kindness, without giving rise to any hatred in the mind, let alone react with violence by way of speech or body (*M.* I, 129).

In addition to patience when faced with violence, the practice of loving kindness in particular is an effective protection against violence by others (*A.* IV, 150). This can be understood both in the sense that loving kindness will be the appropriate attitude when faced with violence, as well as in the sense that the regular practice of loving kindness will act as a protection against becoming the victim of violence.

For one who practices the path, *avihiṃsā* thus becomes like the weaponry of a chariot (*S.* V, 6), or like the front foot of an elephant (*Thag.* 693). Both images highlight how non-violence has to be put right in the front, in fact according to a succinct statement given in the *Dhammapada*, patience should be considered the highest austerity and one who harms others is not worth even being reckoned a recluse (*Dhp.* 183-184). Someone who harms other beings, which are but wishing for happiness, will himself or herself be bereft of happiness in the future (*Ud.* 12). But one who does not harm any being, deserves to be reckoned a noble one indeed (*Dhp.* 270). Hence *vihiṃsā* needs to be well left behind in order to proceed on the path to the final goal.

The Wise Ones, free from violence,
Always restrained in [their] bodily [actions],
They go to the deathless state,
Having gone to which they will be free from grief.

Ahiṃsakāye munayo,
niccaṃ kāyena saṃvutā,
te yanti accutaṃ ṭhānaṃ,
yattha gantvāna socare (*Dhp.* 225).

See also VIHESĀ.

Anālayo

References

1 *Vin.* I, 89; *Vin.* III, 35; *Vin.* IV, 63; *Vin.* IV, 65; *Vin.* IV, 228; *Vin.* IV, 229.
2 *Vin.* IV, 34; *Vin.* IV, 49; *Vin.* IV, 124; *Vin.* IV, 125.

VIJAYĀRĀMA. A Mahāyāna monastery now in ruins lying about two kilometres north of Anurādhapura, an ancient capital of Sri Lanka. This belongs to that group of Mahāyāna *ārāmas* popularly known as *pabbatavihāras* (Sk. *Parvata-vihāra*) lying scattered around the city of Anurādhapura and elsewhere in the island. The main feature common to these monasteries is that they have been built on a preconceived plan in accordance with an architectural tradition that was in vogue in ancient Sri Lanka, unlike the great monasteries like Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and Jetavanārāma which became full-fledged monasteries over a period of time. They are comparatively small in size with a building area almost square in shape raised within a retaining wall (about 10 feet high) filled with earth dug out most probably for the construction of the moat that ran round the monastery complex. Another interesting feature of these *ārāmas* is that all the religious and non-religious buildings were housed in one and the

same square. The base of the building plan was a grid (*vāstumaṇḍala*) of twenty-five squares (called *upapīṭha*) or of nine squares (called *pīṭha*). Each square was dedicated to a *vāstudevatā* by whose name it was identified. The following are the *upapīṭha* grid and the *pīṭha* grid with the names of the *vāstudevatās*:

Vāyu	Mukhya	Soma	Aditi	Īśa
Śoṣa	Rudra	Bhūdhara	Āpavatsa	Jayanta
Varuṇa	Mitra	Brahmā	Aryaman	Āditya
Sugrīva	Indra	Vivasvat	Savitṛ	Bhṛśa
Nirṛta	Bhṛṅga-Rāja	Yama	Vitatha	Agni

The *Upapīṭha Vāstumaṇḍala*

Vāyu	Soma	Īśa
Varuṇa	Brahmā	Āditya
Nirṛta	Yama	Agni

The *Pīṭha Vāstumaṇḍala*

The Vijayārāma belonging most probably to the seventh or eighth century judging from the state of ruins, is built in accordance with the *upapīṭha* plan described in the *Mañjuśrī-bhāsita-vāstuvidyāśāstra* as Hastyārāma with the main entrance in the south. The positioning of the buildings including the *pañcāvāsas* in the Hastyārāma with the southern entrance is as follows:

Kind of Building	Name of Chamber
Bodhiveśman	Nirṛta
Caitya	Bhṛśa
Pratimālaya	Rudra
Chapter House (*sabhā*)	Brahmā
Prāsāda (monks' residence)	Aditi
Refectory	Jayanta
Kitchen	Īśa and so on.

It must however be noted that the ruins of these monasteries as they lie today betray changes effected under Theravāda influence in later years. All these monasteries were given a complete overhaul by Mahinda IV in the 10th century and by Parakramabahu I in the 12th century. The non-religious buildings of these monasteries including the *prāsāda* (also considered a secular building) appear to have been transferred to the low-lying area surrounding the sacred square and the *sabhā* (Chapter House) transferred from the central square to the original position of *Prāsāda* (Aditi). So the ruins of the Vijayārāma as found today are shown in the following figure.

Plan of Vijayārāma

A circumambulatory path ran round the sacred square and the low-lying area extended from this path to the moat. Outside the moat there was a highway leading to all the four directions and the whole monastery complex was bordered by a coconut, arecanut or bamboo grove.

Not only the plan of the *ārāma* but also some of the archaeological finds unearthed from the *debris* of the *Vijayārāma* conform its Mahyana associations. A number of copper pieces with Mahayana *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras* inscribed on are definitely those that had been enshrined in the *harmikā* of the *caitya*, which has fallen down at a later date. Enshrining of gold, silver or copper plates with portions of Mahāyana *sūtras* written on, in the *harmikā*, in lieu of corporeal relics of the Buddha is a practice that has been very popular among the Mahāyānists .

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VIJJĀCARAṆA, "knowledge and conduct", is the third of the qualities of the Buddha described in a standard formulation found frequently in the discourses (e.g. *M.* I, 37: *iti pi so bhagavā* ... , see also

BUDDHĀNUSATI). According to the *Visuddhimagga*'s explanation of *vijjā-caraṇa* as a quality of the Buddha (*Vism* 202), "knowledge" here refers to the Buddha's endowment with eight knowledges. These eight knowledges comprise insight knowledge in regard to the material body and consciousness; production of a mind-made body; supernormal powers; the divine ear; psychic knowledge of the mind of others; and the three higher knowledges (*tevijjā*). "Conduct" then stands for the Buddha's endowment with moral restraint; guarding of the sense-doors; moderation with food; wakefulness; confidence; sense of shame; fear of wrongdoing; learnedness; energy; mindfulness; wisdom; and ability to attain the four *jhānas*.

This presentation reflects an explanation of *vijjā-caraṇa* given in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* and the *Sekha Sutta*, where the former treats the above mentioned eight knowledges under the heading of *vijjā* (*D.* I, 99), while the latter understand the compass of *caraṇa* to correspond to the above list of qualities, ranging from ethical restraint to the four *jhānas* (*M.* I, 358).1

According to the detailed exposition of *vijjā* given in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (*D.* I, 100; see in full *D.* I, 76), with the first out of the set of eight knowledges the mind is directed to insight in regard to the material body and consciousness. This insight amounts to understanding that the body is impermanent, made up of the four elements and kept alive through food, and consciousness is dependent on this body. The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* illustrates the development of such insight with the example of seeing a transparent gem that is strung on a coloured string.

Through the second of the eight knowledges one succeeds in producing a mind-made body that differs from the material body due to its mind-made nature, but is nevertheless also endowed with limbs and sense-faculties. To extract such a mind-made or perhaps astral body from the physical body can be compared to drawing a reed from its sheath, or a sword from its scabbard, or a snake from its old skin.

The third knowledge involves the exercise of supernormal powers, such as being able to multiply oneself; to disappear and appear at will; to pass through walls and mountains as if they were made of air; to enter the ground as if it were water; to walk on water as if it were solid ground; to fly through the sky, to be able to touch the sun and the moon; or to travel with this body to the Brahmā world. This type of knowledge is similar to an artisan who is able to fashion any kind of tool or item from raw material at his disposal.

The fourth knowledge is the divine ear, with the help of which one becomes able to hear sounds made by humans and non-humans, far away or close by. Such ability can be compared to someone who hears different musical instruments and is able to recognize the respective types of sound.

Psychic knowledge of the mind of others is the fifth knowledge, with the help of which one can directly discern if someone else's mind is under the influence of lust or anger etc. The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* illustrates the exercise of this type of knowledge with the example of looking into a mirror in order to examine if there are any spots on one's own face.

The sixth in the series of eight knowledges is at the same time the first of the three higher knowledges, *tevijjā*. The *Sekha Sutta*'s account of the compass of *vijjā* only covers these three higher knowledges, without referring to the other above-mentioned five knowledges included under the same heading in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (*M.* I, 358). The first of these three higher knowledges involves recollection of one's own past existences, whereby one remembers one's former name, social standing, and types of experiences in bygone times, and also how one passed away from that existence and was reborn elsewhere. Such recollection of former lives is comparable to someone who, having travelled from one village to another, recollects the path he had taken.

The seventh in the series of eight knowledges and the second of the three higher knowledges is the divine eye, which enables one to see the passing away and re-arising of other beings in accordance with their deeds. This knowledge provides direct insight into the working mechanism of karmic retribution, as one sees how due to misconduct beings arise in inferior conditions, whereas good conduct leads to rebirth in favourable conditions. The exercise of this divine eye is similar to observing people walking on a street and entering or leaving a house.

The final in the set of eight knowledges and the third of the three higher knowledges is the knowledge

of the destruction of the influxes. Of the set of eight knowledges or three higher knowledges, this is the knowledge most highly valued in early Buddhism, being the only one required out of both sets for reaching liberation. This knowledge involves direct realization of the four noble truths, applied to *dukkha* and to the influxes, whereby the influxes of sensual desire, of becoming and of ignorance are totally eradicated. After successful realization, the retrospective knowledge arises that the task has been done and future existence has been transcended. The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* compares this supreme level of insight into the four noble truths to looking into a clear pond and seeing the animals that live in it.

While the eight knowledges as different facets of *vijjā* constitute the final part of the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*'s account of the gradual path, the early part of this gradual path, which leads from going forth to the attainment of the four *jhānas*, covers different aspects of *caraṇa* (*D.* I, 100; see in full *D.* I, 63). The beginning point of this part of the gradual path is the observance of moral restraint in accordance with the monastic regulations. Key aspects of such moral restraint are to abstain from killing; theft; unchastity; false or other unwholesome types of speech; and to adopt a mode of conduct that accords with what is appropriate for one gone forth.

The next aspect of conduct is to guard the sense-doors in order to forestall the arising of unwholesome reactions. Such guarding of the sense-doors requires in particular refraining from taking up the distinguishing marks provided by perception, or subsequent associations, in a grasping manner, *nimittaggāha* and *anuvyañjanaggāha*. The point at stake is not mere avoidance of sense-data, but rather restraining the reaction to them.

Guarding of the sense-doors is followed in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*'s account of conduct by the exercise of mindfulness and clear comprehension, a mode of practice also described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.* I, 57). This practice involves maintaining clear comprehension during such actions as looking in a particular direction; moving the body; carrying one's belongings; eating and drinking; defecating and urinating; or any other type of activity.

Another aspect of conduct in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*'s account of the gradual path is the development of contentment in regard to clothing and food. One who is contented with whatever he or she has received is unencumbered by possessions and free to go anywhere, just like a bird roams freely in the sky, taking along with it only its two wings.

The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* continues by describing how one retires to a solitary and secluded spot for formal meditation. Here the task is to remove the five hindrances, a removal that enables the successive attainment of each of the four *jhānas*.

The description of conduct offered in the *Sekha Sutta* mentions several additional qualities under the heading of *caraṇa* (*M.* I, 355). These qualities are also listed in the *Visuddhimagga*'s explanation of *caraṇa* as a quality of the Buddha (*Vism.* 202). These two accounts of conduct do not include the exercise of mindfulness and clear comprehension or the development of contentment in regard to clothing and food, mentioned in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*'s account of conduct. The *Sekha Sutta* does, however, include mindfulness in a listing of seven qualities, a quality closely related to the exercise of mindfulness and clear comprehension in regard to bodily activities. It also introduces moderation with food as an aspect of conduct, which could be understood to draw out in more detail the theme of contentment in regard to food, mentioned in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* together with contentment in regard to clothing.

Moderation with food is treated in the *Sekha Sutta* after moral restraint and guarding of the sense-doors, and thus forms the first of the additional qualities mentioned in its account of *caraṇa*. One who observes such moderation takes food not for personal enjoyment, but only for keeping the body alive and healthy as a means for living the holy life.

Another aspect of conduct mentioned in the *Sekha Sutta* is the practice of wakefulness, which requires a continuous effort at purifying the mind from unwholesome states. Such an effort is undertaken during sitting or walking meditation at day, in the early parts of the night or in the early morning, while during the middle part of the night one lies down mindfully to take a rest.

While moderation with food and the practice wakefulness occur also in other accounts of the gradual path (e.g. *M.* III, 2), an aspect of conduct that is peculiar

to the exposition in the *Sekha Sutta* is the possession of seven qualities. These are confidence in the Buddha;2 a sense of shame in regard to misconduct; fear of wrongdoing; being learned in the sense of familiarity with the teachings; energetically applying oneself to overcoming unwholesome states; being endowed with mindfulness, and having the type of wisdom that comes from insight into the impermanent nature of phenomena. After listing these seven qualities, the *Sekha Sutta* concludes its account of *caraṇa* with the attainment of the four *jhānas*, thereby leading up to the same culmination point as the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*.

In addition to listing the above eight knowledges and aspects of conduct, in an alternative explanation of the Buddha's endowment with knowledge and conduct the *Visuddhimagga* suggests that his *vijjā* should be understood to stand for his possession of omniscient knowledge, and his *caraṇa* to correspond to his great compassion (*Vism.* 202). This interpretation reflects later conceptions, since in the early discourses omniscience is not attributed to the Buddha (see OMNISCIENCE and TEVIJJA-VACCHAGOTTA SUTTA).

The Buddha's possession of knowledge and conduct was an inspiration for others and would motivate them to approach him (*Sn.* 164). In his former lives the Buddha already had a keen interest in knowledge and conduct, which according to the *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* was the cause for his possessing legs that were as well proportioned as those of an antelope, this being one of the marks of a superior being, *mahāpurisalakkhaṇa* (*D.* III, 156; see also MAHĀPURISA). Here the expression *vijjā-caraṇa* appears to have a less specific meaning, with "knowledge" representing wisdom in general and "conduct" having the sense of ethics and proper behaviour, since at least the highest of the eight knowledges or three higher knowledges was not part of the Buddha's knowledge in former times. The same more general sense would also apply to a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta*, according to which Brahmins of old gave considerable importance to knowledge and conduct (*Sn.* 289), and to a verse by Brahma Sanaṅkumāra, which highlights that one who is endowed with knowledge and conduct is supreme among gods and men (*S.* I, 153).

When considering the *dvanda* compound *vijjā-caraṇa*, it may at first sight seem surprising that the sequence of the two terms that make up this expression does not match the sequence of the respective qualities in the gradual path. This may well be due to the law of waxing syllables (see also VĀCĀ), according to which a term with fewer syllables will precede a term with more syllables. Hence *vijjā*, having two syllables, precedes *caraṇa*, which has three, though in actual practice *caraṇa* is developed first and forms the foundation for *vijjā*.

Another aspect of the *dvanda* compound *vijjā-caraṇa* is that it presents these two qualities of knowledge and conduct as complementary aspects of equal importance. Dissociation of conduct from knowledge could in fact easily lead to excessive asceticism and self-mortification, while dissociation of knowledge from conduct could end up in futile theorizing and speculation. According to the picture painted of ancient India in the early discourses, both extremes were prevalent at the time of the Buddha.

Examples of excessive concern with minute aspects of external conduct can be seen in the standard descriptions of practices undertaken by some recluses and wanderers, who attempted to gain purification through bathing in sacred rivers, or else through totally abstaining from washing, while others would partake only of certain types of food or even completely abstaining from any nourishment (see e.g. *D.* I, 166). The importance of ascertaining the externals of conduct in the ancient India setting becomes also apparent in the *Brahmāyu Sutta*, where a close examination of the Buddha's conduct in daily life was considered essential in order to assess his spiritual accomplishment (*M.* II, 137).

Examples of knowledge dissociated from conduct could be some of the speculative theories put forward by the Buddha's contemporaries, especially views whose assertions directly contradict the very possibility of living a life of spiritual development, even though such views were propounded by recluses and wanderers presumably engaged in some form of spiritual endeavour (see e.g. *M.* I, 515).

In contrast to these two extremes of giving excessive emphasis to conduct or to knowledge alone, a balanced development of knowledge and conduct would constitute the proper middle path approach.

The difficulty of finding the right means in this respect could be seen even in later developments within the Buddhist traditions, where a closer inspection may well discern the tendency to give more emphasis to conduct, at the expense of knowledge, or else to value knowledge over conduct. A simile in the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* illustrates the required balance with the example of washing one's hands. Just as each hand is needed to wash the other, so morality and wisdom require each other (*D.* I, 124). Though the terminology used in this instance differs, as the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* speaks of *paññā* and *sīla*, the implications of these two terms are close enough to *vijjā* and *caraṇa* to allow for extending the simile of the two hands washing each other to the interrelation between knowledge and conduct.

A detailed discussion of *vijjā-caraṇa* and its relationship to liberation can be found in the discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* II, 163). In this discourse, Sāriputta made it clear to his interlocutor that neither knowledge, nor conduct, nor both, nor their absence will suffice for making an end [of *dukkha*]. In the first three instances grasping is still present, while the fourth proposal can be rejected outright since without knowledge and conduct it is certainly impossible to reach liberation. Sāriputta concluded that one who is endowed with conduct and who sees and knows in accordance with reality, *caraṇasampanno yathābhūtaṃ jānāti passati*, will make an end [of *dukkha*]. The point made by this discourse appears to be that even though knowledge and conduct are the means to reach liberation, any grasping at them needs to be avoided.

This presentation brings to mind a verse in the *Māgandiya Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, which highlights that neither *ñāṇa*, "knowledge", nor *sīlabbata*, "moral observances", will suffice for purification (*Sn.* 839; see also *Sn.* 1078). Yet, as the same verse points out, purity is certainly not to be obtained in the absence of knowledge and moral observances. Hence what is required is to approach these without grasping, *anuggaha*, and without dependencies, *anissāya*. What this discourse and the above exposition by Sāriputta highlight is that knowledge and conduct lead to final liberation as long as they are undertaken without grasping. The potential of these two as the means for progress towards freedom from *dukkha* can also be seen in an injunction given in the *Dhammapada*, according to which:

"Endowed with knowledge and conduct, being mindful,
Leave this immense *dukkha* behind!"
Sampannavijjācaraṇā patissatā,
pahassatha dukkhaṃ idaṃ anappakaṃ (*Dhp.* 144).

Anālayo

References

1 See also I.B. Horner: *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings*, vol. 2, London 1970: XI-XII.

2 As a quality possessed by the Buddha himself, this would probably refer to his self-confidence. See also VESĀRAJJA.

VIJÑAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI See **VASUBANDHU, VIÑÑĀNA**

VIKĀLABHOJANA. Meals taken at the wrong or the improper time of the day and the night, prohibited to Buddhist monks and nuns by the *Pācittiya* rule number xxxvii worded as follows, "Whatever monk should take hard or soft food at the wrong time, it is an offence of expiation" (*Vin*, iv, 85).The word *vikāla* in this context is explained in the *Suttavibhaṅga* (*ibid* 86) as follows; "*vikāla* signifies (the period from) the noon up to the sunrise(the following day)".Accordingly, monks and nuns are expected to avoid taking any solid food within the stipulated time. However, as the Buddha, by another rule (*ibid*.i.245 *f*), has allowed them the use of the juice of all fruits except the juice of cereals, juice of all leaves except that of vegetables (*ḍāka*), juice of all flowers except that of liquorice and also sugarcane juice, it is clear that only solid food fall into the prohibited category. Milk and milk products like curds and butter-milk allowed to them (*ibid*.243) are generally regarded as falling into the prohibited category.

The *Vinaya* commentary (*VinA*.iv.832) takes *vikālabhojana* as a meal taken once the meal time of monks has passed. The final limit of this meal time is mid-day, which itself falls into the improper time. From that moment a monk cannot take hard or soft food. One should employ a time –pillar (*kālatthambo*) to determine the time limit or else eat within the

stipulated period. The interpretation of the word *vikāla*, given in this context, is not absolute. It could differ according to the context. In the *Suttavibhanga* itself *(ibid.* iv. 274), in another context, the word is interpreted to mean the period from sunset to sunrise.

The same rule of abstaining from solid food at the wrong time is also included among the six rules (*cha dhammā*) enjoined on the female probationary trainees (*sikkhamānā*) who have to observe them for two years before being eligible to apply for higher ordination. Similarly the ten rules of training enjoined on the novitiate of both sexes *(ibid.* 1.83) and the eight rules of training to be observed on the sabbath days by lay followers (*A.*1.212) also include the rule of abstaining from solid food at the wrong time.

While the *Pacittiya* rule shown above refers only to the abstaining from solid food at the wrong time (*vikālabhojana*), a precept included among rules of moral discipline *(sīla)*, said by the Buddha (*D.*1.64) to have been observed by his disciple monks, dealing with the same limitation of taking meals, gives a much broader implication to the subject. These rules of moral discipline were in practice even prior to the introduction of *Pāṭimokkha* rules with a penalty attached to each one of them. Thus the Buddha tells King Ajatasattu that his monks "take but one meal a day, not eating at night, refraining from meals at the wrong time". The same is said of the Buddha by the general public according to the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*ibid.*5).One could therefore see in the *Pācittiya* rule a slight modification in the wording done probably in the codification of the *pāṭimokkha* rules.The commentator Buddhaghosa also has given the term *ekabhattika*, 'taker of but one meal', a somewhat liberal interpretation. Here he speaks of two meals, differentiated according to the time each one of them is taken, as one taken in the morning (*pātarāsabhatta)* and the other taken in the evening (*sāyamāsabhatta)*.The former he says, is restricted to the forenoon and the latter going up from mid-day to end with sunrise next day.Therefore,one eating even ten times within the forenoon is 'a taker of one meal' (*ekabhattiko DA.*i.77). It is doubtful whether this was what the Buddha meant by being a 'taker of one meal', for, by permitting a monk to eat even ten times in the forenoon hours, one cannot expect him to achieve the limitation in taking food the Master wished for .

The Buddha, in fact, has often spoken about the value of restricting the quantity of food taken. The knowledge of the limit of food taken (*bhojanamhimattaññutā*) is one of the positive qualities he expected his disciples to cultivate. They are often advised to be content with food enough to sustain the belly (*kucchiparihārakena)*. Not only the limits of the food taken but also the reasons for taking food should be known. It is not for physical perfection and adornment that food has to be taken, but to maintain one's physical fitness, free from pain, so that one can further the religious pursuit of *brahmacariya*1. Whether such ideals can be realized with the commentarial interpretation of *ekabhattika* has to be given thought to. There are also instances where the Buddha recommends meals taken in one sitting (*ekāsana-bhojana* eg.*M.*1.124), probably used to convey the same idea of taking just one meal a day.

A realistic picture of the scenario of the behaviour of some monks regarding their taking meals, the hazards some of them had to face in their alms rounds in the nights, and their distress at the instructions of the Buddha to restrict themselves to forenoon meals, is found in some discourses of the *Majjhima Nikāya*.A monk named Udāyi speaks in one of them (*M.*1.447 *ff.*)of the introduction of the prohibition of taking meals at the wrong time by the Buddha. It was done, according to him, not all at once but by at least two stages. At that time the monks used to eat in the evening, in the morning and at the wrong time during the day (*divā ca vikāle)*.Then the Buddha instructed them to give up taking meals at the wrong time during the day. They were depressed and sorry at this, for they would now be deprived of sumptuous meals given by the believing householders. Yet they continued to eat in the mornings and evenings when the Buddha, once again, instructed them to stop taking meals at the wrong time in the night (*rattiṃ vikālabhojanaṃ)* as well. They were now even more depressed, for it is in the night that people prepare more delicious dishes. Actually they do very little cooking during the day and do most of it during the night. The gourmands were naturally highly disturbed.

The dissatisfactions and even some of the rude reactions of some monks to the Buddha's instruction to adopt his attitudes to taking food and his eating habits are clearly seen in the *Kīṭāgiri* (*ibid.*473 *ff.*) the *Bhaddāli* (*ibid.*437 *ff.*) and the *Kakacūpama* (*ibid.*122 *ff.*) *suttas*.In fact it was after adopting these eating

habits by himself and seeing their benefits that the Buddha decided to pass on to his disciples the benefits experienced by himself. "I, monks, do not eat a meal at night (*ratti-bhojana*). Not eating a meal at night, I, monks, am aware of good health, and of being without illness and of buoyancy and strength and living in comfort"2, said the Buddha. But some of the monks argued back that they eat in the evening as well as in the morning and also during the day at the wrong time and experience the same benefits. "Why should we give up things of the present (*sandhiṭṭhikaṃ*) and run after the things of the future (*kālikaṃ*)", they reasoned and wanted to continue with their eating habits. Bhaddāli's reactions were similar at the Buddha's instruction to follow his custom of taking meals in only one sitting (*ekāsana-bhojana*).

But the monk Udāyi, who, in his own words, was one "who looks to the Lord with regard and respect and modesty and fear of blame"3, was full of praise to the Buddha for removing many unpleasant and unwholesome things from their lives and bringing into them many pleasant and wholesome things. He recalls how some of them, who went on alms rounds in the thick darkness of the night, fell into a pool of dirty water near the village or walked into a thorny hedge or blundered on to a sleeping cow. Sometimes they met with men who may or may not have been after some nefarious activity or, met with women who would solicit them with sinful activity. Udāyi reveals how he himself had one night to face a far graver experience. As he stood for alms, one night, at the door of a house, his presence was revealed in a flash of lightning to a woman of the house who was outside washing a bowl. Terrified at the sight, she screamed out that a demon was after her. The monk tried to identify himself as a monk seeking alms. But this time he had to bear with an outflow of imprecations from her tongue "....It were better for you, monk", She lashed, "to cut out your belly with a butcher's sharp knife than to walk for alms food for the sake of the belly in the dense darkness of the night"4. Naturally he was now happy being relieved of all those hazards of nightly alms rounds.

But the Buddha's reasoning on such matters is based on deeper considerations. Some people, he points out in the *Laṭukikopama Sutta*, critically look at some of his prohibitions as his being too much concerned over trifling things. But there are people for whom these so-called trifling things are, in reality, strong, stout and tough bonds. Like a quail bound with a weak, rotting creeper, cannot break free from it, they also cannot free themselves from such bonds which they call trifling. The reference here undoubtedly is to the pleasures of the tongue which they find difficult to break away from (*ibid*, I.449). In the *Kīṭāgiri Sutta* he points out that not all experiences, pleasant, unpleasant or neutral, similarly lead to the increase of wholesome states or the waning of unwholesome states. In the same manner not all these experiences lead to the increase of unwholesome states or the waning of wholesome states. Therefore one has to be discriminative and encourage the experiences leading to positive results and discourage those leading to negative results. That is why, understanding and knowing them quite well, the Buddha instructs his disciples to restrain certain pleasant experiences which would lead to negative results.

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4. *ibid*.121

VIMĀNAVATTHU-PETHAVATTHU See **PETAVATTHU-VIMĀNAVATTHU**

VĪMAṂSĀ, "examination" or "investigation", is a quality that is characteristic of the early Buddhist approach to reality. A case in point is the *Bahudhātuka Sutta*, according to which the Buddha emphatically advised his disciples to become wise ones and "investigators", *paṇḍitā bhavissāma vīmaṃsakā 'ti, evaṃ hi vo, bhikkhave, sikkhitabbaṃ* (*M*. III, 61). Judging from the subsequent exposition given in this discourse, to become a wise one requires investigating the different elements that constitute the world of experience; the six sense-spheres; the dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*) of experienced reality; as well as what is possible and what is impossible.

A particularly intriguing type of *vīmaṃsā* is described in the *Vīmaṃsaka Sutta*, according to which

the Buddha requested his own disciples to thoroughly investigate and examine him in order to ascertain if his claim to being a fully awakened teacher was justified (*M.* I, 317; see also V*MAMSAKA SUTTA). The investigation undertaken in this discourse proceeds from observation of the Buddha's conduct to directly inquiring from the Buddha about the presence of unwholesome states in his mind.

How to undertake the type of *vīmaṃsā* that intends to ascertain the presence of unwholesome mental states beneath an externally peaceful appearance is described in the *Kakacūpama Sutta*. According to this discourse, the slave girl Kālī wanted to find out if her mistress Vedehikā was indeed as gentle and peaceful as everyone else believed. Kālī decided that she would "investigate" her mistress, *vīmaṃseyyaṃ* (*M.* I, 125), by getting up late on purpose. After she had repeatedly gotten up late, Vedehikā got so angry that she hit the slave girl Kālī on the head with a rolling pin, hurting her to the extent of drawing blood. In this way Kālī had successfully completed her investigation, concluding that her mistress Vedehikā's gentle and peaceful appearance was only superficial.

The depiction given in the *Vīmaṃsaka Sutta* and the *Kakacūpama Sutta* shows that a central component of *vīmaṃsā* is direct observation. Another component of *vīmaṃsā* is, however, also a more theoretical type of inquiry, such as when investigating through reasoning the propositions made by a particular doctrine (*S.* III, 7). The *Parivīmaṃsana Sutta* depicts a step-by-step form of investigation through reasoning (*S.* II, 81). This step-by-step form of investigation takes up each of the links of dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*, and ascertains the conditional relationship between them. Though this appears to be predominantly a theoretical form of investigation, its import can be seen in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, according to which the same type of investigation was undertaken by the previous Buddha Vipassī. Having undertaken this investigation, Vipassī dwelt contemplating the rise and fall of the five aggregates and reached full awakening (*D.* II, 35). This indicates that though *vīmaṃsā* may start off on a more theoretical footing, it eventually has to issue in actual practice in order to lead to the final goal.

The preparatory role of a more theoretical type of reflection and consideration can also be seen in the case of the present Buddha, where *vīmaṃsā* was a central means for stirring him to go forth (*Sn.* 405). The contents of this *vīmaṃsā* are detailed in the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta*, which records his reflections on the contrast between the ignoble quest after what is subject to old age and death and the noble quest for *Nibbāna* (*M.* I, 161).

The theme of investigating for the sake of progressing towards awakening comes to the fore also with the awakening factor of investigation-of-phenomena, *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga*. The definition of this awakening factor in the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* speaks of undertaking *parivīmaṃsa* (*M.* III, 85), terminology that shows *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga* and *vīmaṃsa* to be so closely related to each other that they form near synonyms. Hence for the implications of 'investigation' in early Buddhism the awakening factor of *dhammavicaya* is of considerable import.

An element of theoretical inquiry and investigation inherent in this awakening factor can be seen from the circumstance that its development requires examining with wisdom 'that *Dhamma*', *taṃ dhammaṃ paññāya pavicinati pavicarati parivīmaṃsaṃ āpajjati* (*M.* III, 85; see also VICIKICCHĀ). The use of the singular form indicates that the investigation here is concerned with *Dhamma* in the sense of the "teaching" proclaimed by the Buddha.

The relevance of theoretical inquiry to *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga* is also the theme of a passage in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, according to which this particular awakening factor should be developed based on having heard, remembered and reflected on the *Dhamma*, *dhammaṃ sutvā ... taṃ dhammaṃ anussarati anuvitakketi* (*S.* V, 67). To provide this all-important input for investigation is in fact a central purpose of the discourses delivered by the Buddha.

That investigation should, however, not be confined to theoretical examination can then be seen in another and complementary definition of *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga*, which speaks of wise attention directed to wholesome and unwholesome *dhammas*, blameable and blameless *dhammas*, inferior and superior *dhammas*, dark and bright *dhammas* (*S.* V, 104). Here direct observation of phenomena in general is the central import of the description given. The same field of investigation for *vīmaṃsā* appears to be intended in a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta*, according to which one who investigates even and uneven is reckoned a sage, *vīmaṃsamāno visamaṃ samañca*.

taṃ vāpi dhīrā muniṃ vedayanti (*Sn.* 215). Another discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* describes how the development of *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga* involves investigating *dhammas* internally as well as externally, *ajjhattaṃ dhammesu ... bahiddhā dhammesu* (*S.* V, 111). Here, too, "phenomena" in general are being investigated.

The interrelation between these two aspects of investigation - theoretical inquiry and direct meditative examination - also underlies a set of three types of wisdom described in the *Saṅgīti Sutta*. These comprise the type of wisdom that arises from reflecting, *cintāmayā paññā*, from hearing or learning, *sutamayā paññā*, and from practicing, *bhāvanāmayā paññā* (*D.* III, 219). Hence to cover the whole range of wisdom one needs to proceed from an investigation of a more theoretical type to a practical investigation during actual contemplation.

That mere theoretical investigation on its own will not suffice for developing liberating wisdom can be seen from the exposition given in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, according to which theoretical investigation can become a basis for mistaken views, described as being "hammered out by reason" and as "following up one's own line of inquiry", *takkapariyāhataṃ vīmaṃsānucaritaṃ sayaṃ paṭibhānaṃ* (*D.* I, 16). Such one-sided investigation can result in confusion instead of wisdom.

In fact, according to the *Vibhaṅga* commentary *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga* stands in particular for insight knowledge, *vipassanañāṇa* (*VibhA.* 312). The *Peṭakopadesa* then explains that to understand in accordance with reality when being concentrated is the task of the awakening factor of investigation-of-phenomena, *yaṃ samāhito yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, ayaṃ dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgo* (*Peṭ.* 187). The definition given in the *Peṭakopadesa* draws attention to another aspect that is of considerable relevance for investigation, namely the presence of concentration (see also SAMĀDHI). A mind that is not concentrated will not be fit for properly executing the task of investigation.

The relationship of investigation to concentration is also a theme that underlies the fourth "road to spiritual power", *iddhipāda*. This is the *vīmaṃsāsamādhipadhānasaṅkhārasamannāgata iddhipāda*, the "road to spiritual power that possesses concentration due to investigation and volitional effort". To implement this *iddhipāda* requires a type of *vīmaṃsā* that is well balanced, being neither in excess nor in deficiency (*S.* V, 264), in the sense of being neither lax nor restless, neither overcome by sloth-and-torpor nor exited by the attraction of sensual pleasures (*S.* V, 280). Based on such balanced investigation, concentration arises, *vīmaṃsaṃ nissāya labhati samādhiṃ labhati cittassa ekaggataṃ, ayaṃ vuccati vīmaṃsāsamādhi* (*S.* V, 269). Developed in this way, this *iddhipāda* can become the means to supernormal powers as well as to the destruction of the influxes.

The last of these benefits, namely the destruction of the influxes, is the central purpose of investigation in early Buddhism, which leads from a theoretical type of inquiry to an examination of all aspects of experience during meditative contemplation, and culminates in liberation.

"One who vigilant, mindful and clearly comprehending, Concentrated, joyful and with clarity, In due time properly investigates the Dhamma With unified mind, will destroy the darkness [of delusion]".

Yo jāgaro ca satimā sampajāno,
samāhito mudito vippasanno ca,
kālena so sammā dhammaṃ parivīmaṃsamāno,
ekodibhūto vihane tamaṃ so (*It.* 42).

Anālayo

VĪMAṂSAKA SUTTA, the "discourse on the inquirer", is the forty-seventh discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* I, 317-320). A parallel to this discourse can be found in the *Madhyama Āgama* (*T.* I, 731a-732a),[1] which corresponds closely to the Pāli version.

The theme of the *Vīmaṃsaka Sutta* and its Chinese parallel is an open invitation by the Buddha to a prospective disciple to investigate in a detailed manner his teacher. The first step in this investigation is to find out through observation if the mental states of the Buddha are really of an entirely pure nature. Other topics for investigation are if the Buddha has succumbed to the dangers inherent in becoming a famous teacher; if his outward behaviour is an ex-pression of true aloofness from defilements or only a façade; and whether he shows any parti-ality towards some disciples. Once observation in regard to these various manners has been conducted successfully, the

prospec-tive disci-ple is encour-aged to approach the Buddha and directly ask if any un-wholesome states were found in him.

Based on a comprehensive inquiry undertaken in this manner, which combines observation and direct questioning of the teacher, one may place confidence or faith in the Buddha and accept him as a teacher. Such faith or confi-dence, the *Vīmaṃsaka Sutta* concludes, is rooted in reason and of such firm-ness that no one could possibly shake it (*M.* I, 320: *ākāravatī saddhā*).

The type of attitude that this discourse depicts is noteworthy indeed. Ex-aminations of early Buddhism often present the *Kālāma Sutta* as the example par excellence for the early Buddhist advocacy of a principle of free inquiry in relation to spiritual and moral issues, expressing a non-authoritar-ian and prag-matic attitude (*A.* I, 188; see also KĀLĀMA SUTTA). But com-pared with the *Kālāma Sutta*, the *Vīmaṃsaka Sutta* may lay even greater claim to being a re-markable instance of the advocacy of free inquiry and of a non-authoritarian attitude. The room given in this discourse to inquiry stands in stark contrast to the Indian concept of a teacher as a guru invested with an unquestionable au-thority, where no in-quiry into his (or her) abilities or conduct should be un-dertaken at all. In-stead, according to the *Vīmaṃsaka Sutta* the Buddha made himself available to the most search-ing type of scrutiny. This discourse shows that common standards of ethical pu-rity were applicable to the Buddha just as much as they were applicable to anyone else, that there were no double moral standards, as the deeds of the Buddha should be measured and examined in or-der to ascertain their concor-dance with general standards of proper conduct.

The Buddha could afford such an open attitude, since through his at-tainment of final liberation he had overcome the mental roots for any immoral behav-iour, so that there was no deed of his that required covering up in order to avoid that others might come to know of it (*D.* III, 217). As a teacher, the Bud-dha exemplified his teachings through his deeds and what he taught was in com-plete conformity with his behaviour, *yathāvādī tathāgato tathākārī, yathā-kārī tathāgato tathāvādī* (*It.* 122).

Anālayo

References

[1] *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

VIMATIVINODANI ṬĪKĀ: Vimativinodani (Dispeller of Doubts) is the third *ṭīkā* written for the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Vinaya* commentary of Buddhaghosa (the first and second *Vinaya ṭīkās* being *Vajirabuddhi* and the *Sāratthadīpanī*). It is written by Coliyakassapa Mahathera. The name Coliyakassapa reveals that he was of South Indian origin. But the name of his teacher etc. is not known. This is due to non availability of the relevant information usually found at the end of a book. His name is seen among those who invited Vācissara Mahāsāmi to write the *ṭīkā* on the *Vinayavinicchaya*. Vācissara Mahāsāmi was a pupil of Sangharāja Sāriputta. Therefore it is clear Ven. Coliyakassapa was posterior to Sangharāja Sāriputta. But the gap was short between them.

It is possible to gather some information about Ven. Coliyakassapa from the colophon of his *Mohavicchedani* the commentary on *Abhidhamma matikā*. It is clear that he was a Brahmin by birth. He was living in the city Nāgānana in Colādhinātha in the centre of the Cola country, when he was writing the *Mohāvicchedani*. Ven. Coliyakassapa appears to have been an expert of *Vinaya* as well as of *Abhidharma*. Further he was an *aṭṭhakathācāri* in addition to being a *ṭīkācāri*.

In the same way Sāriputta Sangharāja criticized certain views expressed in the *Vajirabuddhi ṭīkā* in his *Sāratthadīpanī*, Ven. Coliyakassapa in his *Vimativinodani* has criticized some views found in the *Sāratthadīpanī* of Sāriputta Sangharāja.

The *Vimativinodani* is supposed to contain fifty *bhānavaras* and nearly half the size of the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The *Vimativinodani* has been held in great esteem in Burma, though hardly known in Sinhala. It is among the standard authorities of *Vinaya* quoted in the Kalyani inscriptions of the Burmese king Dhammaceti (1460-1491 A.C.). It was one of the authorities used as guide lines, when king Dhammaceti carried out his reforms in the 15th century in Burma. During the debate on "Pārupana" (correct way of wearing the robe) in Burma The *Vimativinodani* was cited at an authority.

The *Vimativinodanī* is not yet available in the Roman script. It has been edited (by Ven. Beretudāwe Dharmārāmatissa), printed and published in Sinhala script in 1935.

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VIMOKKHA, "deliverance", (Skt. *vimokṣa*), is a term that at times occurs on a par with *vimutti*, "liberation". In a more specific sense, however, *vimokkha* stands for the eight types of deliverances, and it is this more specific sense that will be the theme of the present article, while other occurrences of the term *vimokkha* will be covered under the heading of VIMUTTI.

The eight types of *vimokkha* are eight levels of "deliverance" that involve progressive degrees of mastery in the realm of concentration meditation in particular, with only the last one bearing a direct relation to the development of insight. Though the final goal of deliverance or liberation requires going beyond any attainment in the sphere of tranquillity, early Buddhism nevertheless recognizes and treats in considerable detail levels of *vimokkha* that fall short of being the final goal. Thus the eight deliverances form part of listings of the essentials of the Buddha's teaching provided in the *Saṅgīti Sutta* and the *Dasuttara Sutta* (*D*. III, 262 and *D*. III, 288), the latter specifying that these deliverances should be realized, *sachikātabbā*.

The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga Sutta* compares the Buddha's ability to teach these eight deliverances to the ability of the trainer of an elephant, a horse, or an ox, who only teach their animals how to proceed in one of the four directions, whereas the Buddha's disciples learn how to proceed towards altogether eight directions, viz. the eight *vimokkhas* (*M*. III, 222). In fact, a listing of various practices that lead to overcoming defilements includes the eight deliverances (*A*. IV, 349); and according to the *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* many disciples of the Buddha had reached direct knowledge through attaining these eight deliverances (*M*. II, 12).

Hence one who develops the eight deliverances even for a short fraction of time can be reckoned to be doing the teacher's bidding and eats the country's alms food not in vain (*A*. I, 40). The ability to attain them is the distinctive mark of an *arahant* liberated both ways, *ubhatobhāga-vimutto*, who is able to attain the eight deliverances in forward and backward order (*D*. II, 71; see in more detail VIMUTTI).

These eight deliverances comprise (e.g. *D*. II, 112 or *A*. IV, 306):

(1) to see material forms while being possessed of material form, *rūpī rūpāni passati*;
(2) to see forms externally while being percipient of no materiality internally, *ajjhattaṃ arūpasaññī bahiddhā rūpāni passati*;
(3) to be resolved upon the beautiful, *'subhan't'eva adhimutto hoti*;
(4) to attain the sphere of boundless space;
(5) to attain the sphere of boundless consciousness;
(6) to attain the sphere of nothingness;
(7) to attain the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception;
(8) to attain the cessation of perceptions and feelings.

According to an explanation given in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the first deliverance involves developing the perception of a colour like blue, yellow, red, or white. This colour, or more precisely the 'sign' of this colour, the *nimitta*, is at first to be given attention internally on oneself, *ajjhatta paccatta*. Once this has been well developed the same colour sign is to be given attention externally, *bahiddhā*, leading to a perception of materiality in terms of the respective colour internally as well as externally (*Ps*. II, 38). The *Atthasālinī* further specifies that to perceive a colour internally here refers to developing a *jhāna* based on taking a colour of some part of one's own body as the object (*DhsA*. 190). Thus to develop perception of the colour blue the hair, bile or the pupil of the eye should be used; for yellow the fat, the skin or the yellow spot of the eyes; for red the flesh, the blood, the tongue, the palms of the hand and feet or the red of the eyes; and for white the bones, the teeth, the nails, or the white of the eye. Next, according to the *Atthasālinī's* explanation, the *jhānic* vision of these colours should be developed externally by way of a *kasiṇa* meditation object. The second of the eight deliverances would then represent the case of someone who does not develop the internal vision of colours described under the first *vimokkha*, but directly proceeds to develop the vision of these colours with the help of an external device.

The interpretation offered in the *Atthasālinī* is not altogether convincing. It is not easy to imagine how someone might use the white colour of his or her own bones as a meditation object, unless the meditator had just gone through a type of accident that renders the bones visible, but then such a condition would make it difficult to develop the vision of the white bones into a deeper level of concentration. The same would to a lesser extent also apply to looking at one's own flesh or blood in order to develop a perception of redness. For a monk or a nun to be able to look directly at the hair of their own head, *kesa*, would also not be an easy task, as due to regular shaving their hair would not be long enough to be seen directly. It is also not clear how such hair or even bile could be perceived as blue; how the dark skin of an Indian could be perceived as yellow or else, in the case of the palms, as red, or how one would be able to see colours in the pupil of one's own eye. All these visions would only be possible if one were to resort to an external aid such as a mirror, in which case, however, the use of another external object of the respective colour would be more straightforward. Morever, by resorting to a mirror the distinction drawn in the *Atthasālinī* between internal and external visions would be lost. Thus the *Atthasālinī's* explanation of the first and second *vimokkha* seems contrived, being perhaps modelled on the eight spheres of transcendence, *abhibhāyatana*, several of which do involve external visions of forms whose colour is blue, yellow, red or white (e.g. *D.* III, 260; see also ABHIBHĀYATANA).

An alternative explanation of the first two *vimokkhas* can be found in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* (*T.* XXVII, 437c29 and *T.* XXV, 215a14).2 These works agree with the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and the *Atthasālinī* that the first *vimokkha* takes parts of one's body as its object, such as hair, bones, flesh, etc. They differ in as much as these objects are not to be seen directly, but rather to be contemplated in a recollective manner from the perspective of the unattractiveness and impure nature of these different parts of one's own body.

Once the first *vimokkha* has been developed in this way, the same mode of contemplation is then to be undertaken in relation to the bodies of others, which, when carried out successfully, constitutes the second *vimokkha*. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* indicates that to progress in this way from the first to the second *vimokkha* is to proceed from having reached some degree of freedom from conceit and attachment in relation to one's own appearance to developing a similar degree of freedom from attraction and lust towards the bodies of others (*T.* XXV, 215a16).

The undertaking of such recollective contemplation of the anatomical parts of the body is described in detail in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.* I, 57), according to which one should review, *paccavekkhati*, the whole body from the soles of the feet to the top of the head in terms of the various types of impurity found inside such as hair, flesh, bone etc. Similar to the progression from the first to the second *vimokkha*, the *satipaṭṭhāna* instructions also proceed from contemplating one's own body, *ajjhatta*, to contemplation of the bodies of others, *bahiddhā*. In both cases, one need not actually see these different parts, which in the case of bones etc. would require supernormal powers or surgery, but to mentally review the constitution of the physical body to the extent to which one is familiar with it. In order to facilitate such familiarity, the *Visuddhimagga* offers a minute description of the various anatomical parts to be reviewed in this manner (*Vism.* 248-265).

A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* specifies that to review the anatomical constitution of the body in the way described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* leads to the perception of unattractiveness, *asubha-saññā* (*A.* V, 109). The *Mahāvibhāṣā* then explains that, once the perception of unattractiveness, *asubha-saññā* has been developed in this way, to counterbalance excessive disgust and negativity the third *vimokkha* comes into its place, which develops perception of what is beautiful, *subha* (*T.* XXVII 437c28).

Though on reading the bare instructions given in the discourses one would perhaps not come to the conclusion that the first two *vimokkhas* require contemplation of *asubha*, the idea that they refer to some form of *kasiṇa* meditation would also not naturally come to a reader who is not familiar with the explanations given in the *Atthasālinī*. When compared with the latter, the suggestions given in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* appear more straightforward and practically feasible; and they also yield a meaningful dynamics of development for the first three *vimokkhas*.

To be resolved upon the beautiful, the third of the eight deliverances, requires according to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* the development of the four

brahmavihāras as a liberation of the mind in the form of a boundless radiation. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* explains that due to such development beings appear as non-repulsive, *appaṭikula*, hence one has reached the liberation of being resolved upon the beautiful (*Ps.* II. 39). The *Atthasālinī*, however, understands the third deliverance to refer to *jhāna* attainment through a colour device that is thoroughly purified, *suvisuddha* (*DhsA.* 191). This gloss is noteworthy as it shows the degree to which the explanations in the *Atthasālinī* are influenced by the idea of *kasiṇa* meditation, so much so that the *Atthasālinī* would even venture to go against the otherwise highly respected exposition given in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*.

A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* relates only *mettā* to the *subha vimokkha* (*S.* V, 119), whereas the other three *brahmavihāras* lead to the subsequent types of *vimokkha*, namely those related to the first three immaterial spheres. The *Pāṭika Sutta* clarifies that at the time of having attained *subha vimokkha*, one will not perceive phenomena as 'ugly', but rather as 'beautiful' (*D.* III, 34). The commentary then explains that this passage refers to an attainment that is based on a colour device, *vaṇṇa-kasiṇa* (*DA.* III, 830), thereby again opting for an explanation that involves *kasiṇa* meditation, against the indications provided by the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* discourse.

From the perspective of the explanation of the first two *vimokkhas* given in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, however, the practice of *mettā* would be fitting the series well, since the development of loving kindness would indeed effectively counterbalance any negativity that might have arisen through excessive contemplation of the repulsive nature of one's own body or that of others. The contrast provided in the *Pāṭika Sutta* between perceiving phenomena as ugly or as beautiful could also be related to this topic, in the sense of highlighting that with the third *vimokkha* the perceptions of *asubha* that had been developed earlier are now definitely left behind.

Whatever may be the final word on the implications of the first three deliverances, the remaining set is quite straightforward. Deliverances four to seven involve the attainment of the four immaterial spheres. In practical terms, based on the mental stability of the fourth *jhāna* any perception related to materiality or diversity is to be overcome in order to attain the sphere of boundless space (See also ĀKĀSĀNAÑCĀYATANA). Next the experience of space is attended to from the perspective of the consciousness that experiences the sphere of boundless space, which then leads to attaining the sphere of boundless consciousness (See also VIÑÑĀṆAÑCĀYATANA). Giving attention to the cessation aspect of the experience of boundless consciousness leads to attaining the sphere of nothingness (see also AKIÑCAÑÑĀYATANA). Further practice leads to subduing perceptions until a state is reached which can neither be reckoned as percipient nor as non-percipient, this being entry into the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (see also NEVASAÑÑĀNĀSAÑÑĀYATANA).

With the final of the eight deliverances, the sense of true liberation from a Buddhist perspective comes into fore, as the cessation of perception and feeling requires the development of insight up to the level of non-return or arahant-hood (*Vism.* 702; see also *A.* III, 194 and SAÑÑĀVEDAYITANIRODHA).

Anālayo

References

1 Similar descriptions can be found in the Chinese *Āgamas* (e.g. in the *Dīrgha Āgama*, *T.* I, 52b13, or in the *Madhyama Āgama*, *T.* I, 582a17), and in the *Mahāvyutpatti* § 70 / 1511-1518.

2 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

VIMUTTĀYATANA is a "sphere of liberation", an expression that stands representative for what forms an occasion for the break-through to liberating insight. There are altogether five such occasions, which are:

(1) when hearing the *Dhamma*
(2) when teaching the *Dhamma* to others
(3) when reciting the *Dhamma*
(4) when reflecting about the *Dhamma*
(5) during meditation1

On each of these five occasions, what happens according to the canonical description is that one comes to have a direct grasp of the teachings in spirit and letter, due to which delight and joy arise, which in turn lead to tranquility and concentration, *tassa attha-*

paṭisaṃvedino dhamma-paṭisaṃvedino pāmojjaṃ jāyati, pamuditassa pīti jāyati, pītimanassa kāyo passambhati, passaddhakāyo sukhaṃ vedeti, sukhino cittaṃ samādhiyati (*D*. III, 241; *D*. III, 279; *A*. III, 21). Judging from this description, it seems that, due to the direct grasp of the teachings arrived at by way of any of these five *vimuttāyatanas*, three qualities are brought into being that are also part of the listings of the factors of awakening, namely joy, *pīti*, tranquility, *passaddhi*, and concentration, *samādhi*. In the description of the consecutive development of the seven factors of awakening given in the *Ānāpānasati Sutta*, these three are preceded by mindfulness and investigation-of-*dhammas* (*M*. III, 85). If the parallelism between the awakening factors and the present description holds, then the process that leads up to and corresponds to the direct grasp of the teachings through any of these five *vimuttāyatana* would involve the development of mindfulness and of investigation-of-*dhammas*.

The basic dynamics of development that ensues based on any of the five spheres of liberation is the same, thus what differentiates them into five is the way this development is triggered. The *Peṭakopadesa* clarifies that in the case of the first *vimuttāyatana* the trigger is [the understanding that arises from] hearing the teachings, in the case of second and third *vimuttāyatana* the decisive factor is consolidation [of one's understanding of the teachings] by way of speech (teaching or reciting), the fourth involves careful mental consideration when one reflects about the *Dhamma*; and the fifth, actual meditation, leads to penetrating [the teachings] well with right view.2

Descriptions of these five spheres of liberation in the *Dīrgha Āgama* preserved in Chinese agree closely with the Pāli version, except for the sequence of presentation, as here recitation comes as the second and teaching others as the third.3 The *Dīrgha Āgama* presentation also differs in so far as it has an additional introductory statement, according to which these five spheres of liberation lead to liberation if one is energetic without remiss, delights in seclusion, and has developed mindfulness as well as a mind that is one-pointed (to *T*. I, 51c3 and *T*. I, 53c15). This stipulation makes it clear that to reach liberation requires more than just hearing the *Dhamma*, or else reciting it or reflecting about it. The point to be kept in mind here is that the five *vimuttāyatana* refer to the occasions when mature practice may culminate in a break-through to liberating insight, they are not descriptions of the course of training that leads up to such a break-through. Previous training in virtue, concentration and wisdom would be required in order for the mind to reach that level of maturity where the occasions afforded by any of the five *vimuttāyatana* can indeed issue in liberation.

In agreement with the Pāli account, the *Dīrgha Āgama* presentations indicate that, through grasping the teachings on any of these five occasions, joy, tranquility and concentration arise. The *Dīrgha Āgama* descriptions continue after the stage of concentration by describing that with a mind concentrated in this way one sees things as they truly are (*T*. I, 51c9 and *T*. I, 53c20). This stipulation echoes a recurrent description in the Pāli discourses, according to which concentration leads to a vision of things as they truly are, which then forms the basis for attaining liberation (see also YATHĀBHŪTAÑĀṆADASSANA).

How seeing things as they truly are then leads on to actual liberation can be gathered from the descriptions of the five spheres of liberation given in the *Saṅgītiparyāya* and the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. According to their account, disenchantment and dispassion arise based on such a vision of things as they truly are, and it is through such disenchantment and dispassion that liberation takes place.4 The *Saṅgītiparyāya* further explains that the vision of things as they truly are is concerned with the four noble truths, a vision that then leads to disenchantment in regard to the five aggregates of clinging. Through the ensuing dispassion, the three roots of evil – greed, hatred and delusion – will be overcome and liberation will be attained (*T*. XXVI, 425b1).

Anālayo

References

1 More literally: "having well grasped some sign of concentration, having well given attention to it, having well held it [in one's mind], having well penetrated it with wisdom", *aññataraṃ samādhinimittaṃ suggahitaṃ hoti sumanasikataṃ supadhāritaṃ suppaṭividdhaṃ paññāya*. According to the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* in Wogihara *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā by Yaśomitra*, Tokyo 1971: 55,1, here the *samādhinimitta* stands

for the vision of a corpse in decay, *vinīlakaṃ vā vipūyakaṃ vā vyādhmātakaṃ vā vipaṭumakaṃ vā vilohitakaṃ vā vikhāditakaṃ vā vikṣiptakaṃ vā asthi vā asthisaṃkalikā vā.* Though a similar understanding of the implication of the expression *samādhinimitta* can be found at *D.* III, 226 and *A.* II, 17, the original intention of the description of the fifth sphere of liberation would probably not have been restricted to contemplating a corpse, but may well be understood to comprise other types of *samādhinimitta* that can be apprehended during meditation practice.

2 *'Sotānugatā dhammā'ti paṭhamaṃ vimuttāyatanaṃ, 'vacasā paricitā'ti dutiyaṃ tatiyañca vimuttāyatanaṃ, 'manasānupekkhitā'ti catutthaṃ vimuttāyatanaṃ, 'diṭṭhiyā suppaṭividdhā'ti pañcamaṃ vimuttāyatanaṃ* (*Pet.* 233).

3 The same sequential difference recurs in the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, *T.* (=Taishō ed.) XXVI, 424a17, and in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara op. cit. 54,14.

4 *T.* XXVI, 424a11 and Wogihara op. cit. 54,5: *tasyārthapratisaṃvedino dharmapratisaṃvedinaś cotpadyate prāmodyaṃ, pramuditasya prītir jāyate, prītimanasaḥ kāyaḥ praśrabhyate, praśrabdhakāyaḥ sukhaṃ vedayate, sukhitasya cittaṃ samādhīyate, samāhitacitto yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti yathābhūtaṃ paśyati, yathābhūtaṃ prajānan yathābhūtaṃ paśyan nirvidyate, nirviṇṇo virajyate, virakto vimucyate.* Pāsādika: "Zu den Zitaten in Yaśomitra's Abhidharmakośavyākhyā", *Ānanda: Papers on Buddhism and Indology.* Colombo 1990: 26 highlights the importance of this additional passage, as it clarifies how the five spheres lead to liberation.

VIMUTTI, "liberation", (Skt. *vimukti*) covers both final liberation through the destruction of all unwholesomeness as well as types of liberation that fall short of being the ultimate goal in early Buddhism. The discourses express the idea of a gradation of types of liberation by distinguishing *vimokkha*, a term often used as a close equivalent to *vimutti*, into three types: worldly, *sāmisa*, unworldly, *nirāmisa*, and more unworldly than unworldly, *nirāmisā nirāmisatara* (*S.* IV, 237). Here the worldly type stands for experiences of liberation or deliverance related to the four *jhānas*. Its unworldly counterpart covers attainment of the immaterial spheres, while the type of *vimokkha* that is more unworldly than unworldly is retrospective knowledge of the successful deliverance of the mind from lust, anger and delusion.[1]

Liberation of the Mind

Instances of the first of these three levels of liberation would be the divine abodes (See also BRAHMAVIHĀRA), whose boundless radiation into all directions constitutes a "liberation of the mind", *cetovimutti*. The standard description of such a liberation of the mind indicates that the *brahmavihāras* liberate from hostility and ill-will, as they are described to be *avera* and *avyāpajjha* (e.g. *M.* I, 38). This is envisaged for each of the four *brahmavihāras*, in the sense that each of the four transcends, in its own particular way, the limitations imposed by these two unwholesome mental qualities.[2]

Of the four *brahmavihāras* it is in particular liberation of the mind through *mettā* that is most prominently the escape, *nissaraṇa*, from ill-will, *vyāpāda*, liberating the mind from its influence to such an extent that it is impossible to say of someone who has developed *mettā* as a *cetovimutti* that ill-will still invades the mind and remains (*D.* III, 248; see also *A.* I, 201, which contrasts *mettā* as a *cetovimutti* to *dosa*). Liberation of the mind through compassion, *karuṇā*, performs the same function in regard to vexation, *vihesā*; liberation of the mind through sympathetic joy, *muditā*, in regard to discontent (*arati*); and liberation of the mind through equanimity, *upekkhā*, in regard to lust (*rāga*). Due to such different nuances in the effect and implicitly also in the actual experience of liberation of the mind through any of the four *brahmavihāras*, each can be reckoned as a type of *cetovimutti* in its own right, hence we get *mettā cetovimutti*, *karuṇā cetovimutti*, *muditā cetovimutti* and *upekkhā cetovimutti* (*D.* III, 248).

The experience of these types of *cetovimutti* is moreover a liberation from any confines, as the mind radiates each *brahmavihāra* into all possible directions, above and below, until the experience becomes truly great and unbounded, *mahāggata* and *appamāṇa*, and it seems in particular for this reason that the expression *appamāṇā cetovimutti* is used for them, "boundless liberation of the mind" (*M.* III, 146). An imagery provided in some discourses to illustrate this all-pervasive nature of *appamāṇā cetovimutti* describes a

trumpeter able to make himself heard in all four directions (*M.* II, 207). Such liberation of the mind through *brahmavihāra* is unlimited not only in a spatial sense, but also from a karmic perspective, as any limiting action cannot persist and remain, *yaṃ pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ, na taṃ tatrāvasissati, na taṃ tatrāvatiṭṭhati.* The commentaries explain that the karmic fruit to be expected of the development of *cetovimutti* through *brahmavihāra* will temporarily overrule the negative karmic influence of another and more 'limited' deed belonging to the sensuous field (*MA.* III, 449).[3]

The fruitfulness of *mettā* as a *cetovimutti* in particular is of such superior degree that it could be compared to the radiance of the moon that outshines the light of any other star, or to the rising sun that dispels all darkness, or to the rise of the morning star at dawn (*It.* 19). *Mettā cetovimutti* can even become a means of progress for reaching non-return (*A.* V, 300).4 and its practice helps to weaken the fetters (*A.* IV, 150 and *It.* 21). In fact, all *brahmavihāras* can become tools for progress to the highest liberation, *uttarivimuttiṃ*, once they are combined with the development of the factors of awakening (*S.* V, 119). In regard to *mettā cetovimutti* in particular, other and somewhat more mundane benefits of its undertaking are that one will sleep well and wake up well; one will not be disturbed by evil dreams and be protected from hostile actions by others; one will find it easy to concentrate; one will have a pleasant countenance and be liked by men and other beings; one will pass away without confusion and be reborn in a non-sensual heavenly world (*A.* V, 342; see also *A.* IV, 150). The same type of *cetovimutti* will also be of protective assistance when having to face non-human beings (*S.* II, 264), whereas liberation of the mind through sympathetic joy appears to be particularly related to communal harmony (*A.* I, 243). The type of deliverance that comes about through developing *mettā* takes place through [perceiving things and beings as] beautiful, *subha vimokkha* (*S.* V, 119).5 and under the heading of "being resolved on beauty" has been included in a listing of altogether eight types of deliverance (e.g. *A.* IV, 306; See also VIMOKKHA).

Thus, even though the type of liberation of the mind to be attained through developing *appamāṇā cetovimutti* falls short of being the final goal, the 'liberating' effects of this type of *cetovimutti* are remarkable. These cover mental freedom in a spatial as well as emotional sense, and lead to temporary freedom from the effects of some type of unwholesome karmic retribution as well as to freedom from such unpleasant experiences as sleepless nights, bad dreams and hostile attitudes by others. In view of this range of liberating effects, it becomes quite understandable why the development and effects of *appamāṇā cetovimutti* have been given so much attention in the early discourses.

A related type of liberation of the mind appears to be *mahaggatā cetovimutti*, liberation of the mind that has become great, which designates the ability to pervade a certain area with one's meditation object, be this the area around the root of a tree, the area of a whole village, or even the area of the whole earth (*M.* III, 146). The fact that *mahaggatā cetovimutti* is distinguished from *appamāṇācetovimutti* suggests that its meditative pervasion would involve some other meditation object, which according to the commentarial explanation is the development of *jhāna* based on a *kasiṇa* object (*MA.* IV, 200).

Yet another type of *cetovimutti* is the *adukkhamasukhā cetovimutti*, the neither-painful-nor-pleasant liberation of the mind, which stands for the mental freedom attained through the fourth *jhāna* (*M.* I, 296). In this case the condition of being a mental liberation is no longer related to any spatial pervasion, but to the fact that through attaining the fourth *jhāna* the mind has become liberated by attaining immovability, *aniñjita* (*M.* I, 455), and therewith total aloofness from the pleasure/pain dichotomy, whose transcendence is the very precondition for entry into fourth *jhāna* attainment, *sukhassa ca pahānā, dukkhassa ca pahānā, pubb' eva somanassa-domanassānaṃ atthagamā* (e.g. *D.* I, 75).

Based on the mental strength of the fourth *jhāna*, the immaterial attainments can be developed, which correspond to four types of deliverances, *vimokkha*, in the eightfold standard listing (e.g. *A.* IV, 306. See also VIMOKKHA). Out of these four, the attainment of the sphere of nothingness is also reckoned as a type of liberation of the mind on its own, namely as the *ākiñcaññā cetovimutti* (*M.* I, 297). According to the standard description in the discourses, to attain this type of mental liberation requires giving attention to nothingness, *n'atthi kiñci* (e.g. *M.* I, 41). The *Āneñjasappāya Sutta* depicts three additional modes that lead to the sphere of nothingness, the first of which

involves the reflection that the cessation of all perceptions is peaceful; the second requires insight into selflessness; and the third is based on contemplating that one does not belong to anything nor own anything (*M.* II, 263).

The first of these three, which views the cessation of all perceptions as peaceful, bears some relation to another type of liberation. As the counterpart to any perception, *saññā*, is the sign, *nimitta* (See also NIMITTA), this mode of viewing the cessation of perceptions as peaceful in order to attain the sphere of nothingness suggests a certain affinity of this type of attainment with another mental liberation, the *animittā cetovimutti*, mental liberation through signlessness. Such *animittā cetovimutti* is the escape from all signs (*D.* III, 249). Its attainment requires not giving attention to any sign and directing awareness to the signless element (*M.* I, 297). The *animitta vimokkha*, further qualified to be also *suññata vimokkha*, occurs in two *Dhammapada* verses that clearly intend the attainment of final liberation (*Dhp.* 92-93). Concentration on signlessness is in fact one out of different paths to the deathless (*S.* IV, 360). Yet, meditative experiences of signlessness can also be related to lesser levels of development.6 This can be seen from a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which describes how a monk might pride himself on having attained concentration of the mind that is signless, but then through over socializing comes under the influence of lust and eventually disrobes (*A.* III, 397). Hence the signless liberation of the mind covers types of liberation that are only temporary.

This is in fact the distinguishing mark of the types of liberation of the mind discussed so far, in that they do not in themselves imply the attainment of a liberation that is perpetual, but may only be of a temporary type, *sāmāyika*. That is, by having attained a liberation of the mind one has not necessarily gone beyond the reach of Māra (*M.* I, 156). To be able to reach even a temporary liberation of the mind does require devotion to practice in seclusion (*M.* III, 110 and *Sn.* 54), and is therefore a token of progress on the path (see also *A.* III, 349 and *A.* V, 139). Yet, such success is temporary only, as such liberation of the mind can be lost again. This was the case with Godhika, who according to a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* lost his liberation of the mind again and again (*S.* I, 120). The commentary explains that this happened due to physical illness (*SA.* I, 183). Other reasons for loss of temporary liberation of the mind are delight in excessive activity, talk, sleep and socialization; or else lack of properly examining the mind that had experienced a liberation (*A.* III, 173).

The attainment of such temporary liberation of the mind can even become an obstruction to reaching the final goal, if due to attaining a peaceful liberation of the mind, *santā cetovimutti*, one loses inspiration for progressing towards the cessation of personality and the destruction of ignorance (*A.* II, 165). Such a predicament would be like taking hold of a branch that is smeared with resin. Hence such liberations of the mind should be developed and made use of without allowing the sticky resin of attachment to prevent letting go of them when the time has come to progress to final liberation. The strength of temporary liberations of the mind is based on the stability of concentration, in fact a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* defines noble liberation, *ariyā vimutti*, to be a manifestation of the faculty of concentration, *samādhindriya* (*S.* V, 223).

Final Liberation

Once the same term is additionally qualified as foremost, *ariyā paramā vimutti*, however, it does stand for supreme liberation, *adhivimutti* (*D.* I, 174). The same is the case for the term *ariya vimokkha*, which occurs in another discourse as a designation for final liberation through penetrative insight into not-self and the relinquishment of all clinging (*M.* II, 265). A *cetovimutti* that requires such penetrative insight into not-self is the *suññatā cetovimutti*, the liberation of the mind through emptiness. This is to be attained through the insight that "this is empty of a self and what pertains to a self", *suññam idam attena vā attaniyena vā* (*M.* I, 297).

Notably, the same insight into selflessness constitutes the second of the three modes that lead to the sphere of nothingness according to the *Āneñjasappāya Sutta* (*M.* II, 263). Moreover, according to the *Mahāsuññata Sutta*, the Buddha would dwell in the attainment of internal emptiness by not giving attention to any signs, *sabbanimittānaṃ amanasikārā ajjhattaṃ suññataṃ upasampajja viharituṃ* (*M.* III, 111). This points to some degree of relatedness between *suññatā cetovimutti*, liberation of the mind through emptiness, and the liberations of the mind through nothingness and through signlessness.

In fact, the boundless liberation of the mind and the liberations of the mind through nothingness and signlessness - *appamāṇā cetovimutti, ākiñcaññā cetovimutti* and *animittā cetovimutti* - could be used as expressions to designate final and unshakeable liberation of the mind, *akuppā cetovimutti* (*M.* I, 298). With final liberation one goes beyond the bounds or limits, *pamāṇa*, set by the three root defilements of lust, anger and delusion; and at the same time goes beyond their 'somethingness', *kiñcana*, and their tendency to 'make signs', *nimitta-karaṇa*. Hence, when considered from this perspective, final liberation can indeed be qualified as a type of *cetovimutti* that is *appamāṇā, ākiñcaññā* and *animittā*. Yet, of the different liberations of the mind considered so far, only *suññatā cetovimutti* seems to stand unequivocally for what early Buddhism considers to be true and permanent liberation, namely liberation from the notion of a self and its resultant defilements.

Liberated Beings

Progress towards such true and permanent liberation proceeds through stages and may involve the development of other types of liberations to differing degrees. This variety of approaches is reflected in diverse types of liberated beings described in the discourses. One of these is the *saddhāvimutta*, the one who is liberated through faith or confidence. A *saddhāvimutta* has not developed the ability to attain the immaterial attainments and only some of his or her influxes have been eradicated (*M.* I, 478). That is, a *saddhāvimutta* could be a stream-enterer, a once-returner, or a non-returner (*A.* I, 120). By having attained stream-entry at the very least, a *saddhāvimutta* is liberated from the prospect of any lower rebirth and is liberated from the uncertainty of doubt and perplexity through being endowed with unwavering confidence in the Buddha, his teaching and the community, *aveccapasāda* (*S.* V, 357).

The notion of a *saddhāvimutta* introduces a different nuance into the types of liberations discussed so far, which were the outcome of developing concentration and/or wisdom. Though concentration and wisdom are certainly also required for becoming a *saddhāvimutta*, the distinctive characteristic of this type of noble disciple is the prominence of the faculty of faith or confidence (*A.* I, 118).

A higher level of liberation is reached by the *paññāvimutta*, the one who is liberated through wisdom. This refers to an *arahant* who has not developed the ability to attain the immaterial attainments (*M.* I, 477), though he or she would nevertheless be well aware of their impermanent and ultimately unsatisfactory nature (*D.* II, 70). This awareness would explain why a *paññāvimutta* may not make any further effort for developing the immaterial attainments, once final liberation has been won, since clear understanding of the impermanent and unsatisfactory nature of such attainments might make any effort to attain them appear futile.

A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* distinguishes different types of *paññāvimutta* according to their ability in the realm of concentration. According to this discourse, the lowest type of *paññāvimutta* is the one who attains the first *jhāna*, (*A.* IV, 452).7 This indicates that, at least from the perspective of this discourse, a *paññāvimutta* would not be completely bereft of *jhāna* attainment

The nature of a *paññāvimutta* was apparently not always easily appreciated by the Buddha's contemporaries. The *Susīma Sutta* reports the puzzlement in this respect of the wanderer Susīma, who had become a monk in order to spy out the Buddha's teaching. When other monks declared to have won final knowledge, Susīma was perplexed by the fact that they were unable to avail themselves of supernatural powers, nor did they have the divine ear, telepathic knowledge of the mind of others, recollection of past lives, the divine eye or the ability to attain the immaterial attainments (*S.* II, 123). His perplexity suggests that the early Buddhist conception of a *paññāvimutta arahant* was unusual in the ancient Indian setting, where the attainment of the final goal was usually associated with the ability of displaying supernormal abilities. In reply to Susīma's puzzlement, the Buddha clarified that insight, in the sense of knowledge of the stability of the *Dhamma*, *dhammaṭṭhitiñāṇa*, is the precursor of the experience of *Nibbāna* (*S.* II, 124). This reply highlights that the attainment of *Nibbāna* does not require the development of any supernatural powers, but penetrative insight into the true nature of things, leading to liberation through higher knowledge, *aññāvimutti* (*A.* I, 231).

Such penetrative insight is the distinctive mark of one freed by wisdom, for whom all ignorance has been

overcome, *paññāvimuttassa na santi mohā* (*Sn.* 847). From a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* one could get the impression that the *paññāvimutta* may have been the most prominent type of *arahant*. At least on this occasion, sixty out of a congregation of five-hundred *arahants* were endowed with the triple knowledge, sixty had the six higher knowledges, sixty were freed both ways, while three-hundred-and-twenty were freed by wisdom (*S.* I, 191). This presentation also highlights that a *paññāvimutta* has not developed the first two of the three higher knowledges (*tevijjā*), whose exercise requires the same mental strength of the mind that forms the basis for reaching the immaterial attainments, namely the fourth *jhāna*.

Another type of *arahant* mentioned in this discourse is the one who is freed both ways, *ubhatobhāgavimutta*. Such an *arahant* is able to attain the immaterial attainments (*M.* I, 477), and therefore is perfected also in this respect (*A.* IV, 316). The *Mahānidāna Sutta* defines the same type of *arahant* in a slightly different manner by indicating that he or she has mastery over the eight deliverances (*D.* II, 71). The complement to this can then be found in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which describes an *arahant* bereft of the ability to attain the eight deliverances (*A.* II, 87). The discourse compares such an arahant to a coloured lotus, whereas an *arahant* who attains the eight *vimokkhas* is like a white lotus. This suggests that the theme of this presentation is indeed the difference between the *paññāvimutta* and the *ubhatobhāgavimutta*, a difference elsewhere said to be related to differences in their respective faculties, *indriyavemattatā* (*M.* I, 437).

This alternative definition that involves the eight liberations is noteworthy in so far as it moves closer to the notion of a dry-insight *arahant* that is found in the commentarial literature, an *arahant* who has reached final liberation without being able to attain any *jhāna*.8 On the definition that involves the immaterial attainments a *paññāvimutta* would only be bereft of stages of concentration meditation based on the fourth *jhāna*. The limit set by the definition that involves the eight *vimokkhas* is lower, as the first three out of the set of eight *vimokkhas* involve forms of meditation that are related to the lower *jhānas*, or perhaps even to stages of meditation that precede *jhāna* attainment (see VIMOKKHA). Though this definition does not explicitly present an *arahant* without *jhāna* abilities, as it could be argued that he or she has to develop *jhāna* with a meditation practice different from those related to the first three *vimokkhas*, this definition does nevertheless seem closer to the commentarial conception of a *sukkhavipassaka arahant* than the one that involves the attainment of the immaterial spheres.

Though the accomplishment of a *paññāvimutta arahant* in the realm of concentration may remain a matter for debate, with the attainment of *arahant*-ship his or her *cetovimutti* has become *akuppā cetovimutti*, and it is when liberation of the mind is qualified as unshakeable that it indeed stands for the final goal of early Buddhism (see also CETOVIMUTTI), being a type of liberation that is no longer temporary, *asamaya*.

During the course of the history of Buddhism, the final nature of this attainment eventually became a matter for discussion among different Buddhist schools, some of which developed the concept of an *arahant* who is liable to fall away again from his or her level of attainment, the *parihānadharma arhant* (*AbhKbh.* VI:56; see also *KvuA.* 37). This, however, is a later development, and in the early discourses it is clear that once someone has reached the unshakeable liberation of the mind and liberation by wisdom, *akuppā cetovimutti paññāvimutti*, and has thereby destroyed the influxes, no falling back from this level of liberation is possible.

The Path to Liberation

The liberation of an *arahant* is right liberation, *sammā vimutti*, the fruit of a successful undertaking of the noble eightfold path and the very opposite of wrong types of liberation, *micchā vimutti*. Being endowed with such right liberation is the last in a list of ten qualities of an *arahant*, which comprises the factors of the eightfold noble path and right knowledge, *sammā ñāṇa* (*M.* III, 76). Here it is noteworthy that in the Pāli discourses *sammā vimutti* is invariably preceded by *sammā ñāṇa*, whereas in the Chinese *Āgamas* the opposite sequence prevails, as discourses in the *Dīrgha Āgama* (e.g. *T.* I, 57b17),9 in the *Madhyama Āgama* (e.g. *T.* I, 736b19) and in the *Saṃyukta Āgama* (e.g. *T.* II, 122c7) have right knowledge as the last in their listing, preceded by right liberation, a sequence also found in Sanskrit fragments of the *Saṅgīti Sūtra* and the *Daśottara Sūtra*.10 According to an explanation given in the *Madhyama Āgama* and in the *Saṃyukta Āgama*, right

knowledge stands for the retrospective knowledge of having achieved right liberation (T. I, 736b19 and T. II, 198c11). This explanation squares with the Pāli commentaries, which explain right knowledge to represent reviewing knowledge, *paccavekkhaṇañāṇaṃ 'sammāñāṇaṃ' ti vuccati* (MA. I, 189).[11]

On this explanation, it would indeed seem more suitable to list right knowledge after right liberation. This is in fact the case in another type of listing in the Pāli discourses where the aggregate of liberation, *vimuttikkhandha*, is followed by the aggregate of knowledge and vision of liberation, *vimuttiñāṇadassanakkhandha* (e.g. S. V, 162). Yet, the same type of listing precedes the *vimuttikkhandha* with the aggregate of wisdom, *paññākkhandha*, so that perhaps the reference in the Pāli discourses to right knowledge as what precedes right liberation should be understood to stand representative for the type of knowledge or wisdom that issues in liberation.

Whatever may be the final word on the proper sequence of listing right knowledge and right liberation, the type of knowledge and wisdom that will lead to unshakeable liberation needs to be in accordance with reality (see also YATHĀBHŪTAÑĀṆADASSANA) and has to generate disenchantment and dispassion. For knowledge to issue in liberation it needs to be based on right concentration and on a good foundation in ethical conduct, mindfulness and sense-restraint. All these factors are required for liberation just as the foliage, branches and bark of a tree are required for the heartwood to come to maturity (A. IV, 336). Yet, as the *Mahāsāropama Sutta* and the *Cūḷasāropama Sutta* clarify, none of these should be mistaken for being the final goal, which would be like mistaking foliage, branch or bark for the heartwood (M. I, 197 and M. I, 205). That is, the means should not be confused with the goal.

A complementary perspective on the requirements for liberation is given in the *Mahāvedalla Sutta*, which presents right view, ethical conduct, learning, [suitable] conversation, tranquillity and insight as the factors that lead to liberation of the mind and liberation by wisdom (M. I, 294). Perhaps the most important requirement for bringing about liberation are the seven factors of awakening, *bojjhaṅga*, whose liberating potential comes to the fore once they are developed based on seclusion, dispassion and cessation, in this way leading to letting go (M. III, 88).

According to a listing of altogether nine factors of exertion for purification in the *Dasuttara Sutta*, *pārisuddhipadhāniyaṅga*, the purification to be attained through final liberation requires progress through the seven stages of purification (See VISUDDHI and RATHAVINĪTA SUTTA), as well as purification through wisdom, *paññāvisuddhi* (D. III, 288). The *Sāmugiya Sutta* explains that purity of liberation, *vimuttipārisuddhi*, comes about when one touches right liberation after having developed dispassion and after having liberated the mind, *rajanīyesu dhammesu cittaṃ virājetvā, vimocanīyesu dhammesu cittaṃ vimocetvā sammāvimuttiṃ phusati* (A. II, 196).

This explanation is significant since it shows that dispassion, though at times acting as a synonym for final liberation (see also VIRĀGA), in contexts such as the present clearly stands for something that precedes actual liberation. Hence dispassion can also be developed without reaching liberation. In fact, a listing of recipients of offerings in the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sutta* quite explicitly speaks of an outsider who has reached dispassion towards sensual things, *bāhiraka kāmesu vītarāga* (M. III, 255), a presentation that would evidently not imply that he had reached final liberation.

This provides the necessary background to a statement in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which links dispassion, in the sense of the fading away of lust, to liberation of the mind, and fading away of ignorance to liberation by wisdom, *rāgavirāgā cetovimutti, avijjāvirāgā paññāvimutti* (A. I, 61). This presentation has at times been understood to represent two different paths that lead to two different types of liberation.[12] In the light of the above passages, however, the implications of this passage can be clarified. Dispassion, or the fading away of lust, *rāgavirāga*, is indeed a precondition for liberation of the mind, *cetovimutti*, which as shown above comprises various levels of liberation to be reached through the development of deeper stages of concentration. Such development, as the standard description of the first *jhāna* explicitly indicates, requires the leaving behind of all matters related to sensuality, *vivicc' eva kāmehi* (e.g. D. I, 73).

Yet, such liberation of the mind through dispassion, which the above *Aṅguttara Nikāya* passage quite explicitly introduces as the outcome of the development of *samatha*, tranquillity, falls short of

being the final goal, as it is only a temporary type of liberation. Final liberation additionally requires the development of insight, *vipassanā* which leads to the development of wisdom, *paññā bhāvīyati*, and to the removal of ignorance, *avijjāsā pahīyati* (*A.* I, 61). Hence instead of intending two different paths to two different goals, what this passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* describes are two complementary paths to the final goal, one of which is incapable of leading to final liberation on its own.

The central point remains the removal of ignorance, and it is this removal which issues in being completely liberated through final knowledge, *sammadaññāvimutta* (*M.* III, 30), with which an inner state of deliverance has been reached, *ajjhatta vimokkha*, wherein all clinging is destroyed and all influxes are removed (*S.* II, 54). Such liberation implies that delight and lust have been completely destroyed, *nandirāgakkhayā cittaṃ vimuttaṃ suvimuttaṃ* (*S.* III, 51), as well as craving, *taṇhakkhayavimutti* (*A.* II, 42); being a liberation through non-clinging, *anupādā vimutta* (*S.* II, 18), whereby the round [of faring on in *saṃsāra*] has been transcended, *taṇhāsaṅkhayavimuttassa ... vaṭṭaṃ n'atthi paññāpanāya* (*S.* IV, 391). In this way liberation from being reckoned in terms of any of the five aggregates has been reached, *saṅkhāvimutta* (*M.* I, 487), and one has been liberated through the highest deliverance from perception, *saññāvimokhe parame vimutto* (*Sn.* 1071).

Such highest deliverance from perception is none other than the experience of *Nibbāna*, which is the counterpart to liberation, *vimuttiyā nibbānaṃ paṭibhāgo* (*M.* I, 304), and the resort of liberation, *vimuttiyā nibbānaṃ paṭisaraṇaṃ* (*S.* V, 218), wherefore *Nibbāna* is the very purpose of liberation, *vimutti nibbānatthā* (*S.* III, 189). Perhaps one of the most telling descriptions of the liberating attainment of *Nibbāna* as the highest deliverance from perception is given by *bhikkhunī* Paṭācārā, who explains that just like the *Nibbāna* of her lamp, which she had just put out, so was the liberation of her mind, *padīpasseva nibbānaṃ, vimokkho ahu cetaso* (*Thig.* 116; see also NIBBĀNA).

To attain such *vimutti* is to arrive at the very essence of all things, *vimuttisārā sabbe dhammā* (*A.* V, 107). Such attainment is the very purpose all the teachings and instructions given by the Buddha, and just as the ocean has a single taste, namely the taste of salt, so too the teachings of the Buddha have a single taste, namely the taste of liberation (*Ud.* 56). With such liberation the holy life has been lived and what had to be done has been done, as the prospective of future birth has been destroyed and there will be no more coming to any state of being, *khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthatāya* (e.g. *D.* I, 84).

Having won liberation, the noble disciple has pierced this huge mass of ignorance just like a skilled warrior will pierce huge objects with his arrow (*A.* II, 202). The liberation attained in this manner is like the white awning of a chariot, *setapacchāda* (*S.* IV, 291); or else like the final rubbing and grooming a horse trainer gives a horse that has been thoroughly trained and is worthy of being put to service by the king (*M.* I, 446). One who has reached liberation of the mind and liberation by wisdom has lifted up the cross-bar; has filled the moat; uprooted the pillar; withdrawn the bolts; lowered the banner; dropped the burden and is unfettered (*A.* III, 84). Here the cross-bar stands for ignorance, the moat for faring on in *saṃsāra*, the pillar for craving, the bolts for the five lower fetters, and the banner and the burden both represent the conceit 'I am'.

Just as a head-anointed king endowed with treasures, a strong army and wise counsellors is at home anywhere in his realm, similarly those who have reached liberation will be freed in mind wherever they may dwell (*A.* III, 152). Dwelling freed in mind in this way, they will be aloof from the world like a lotus that has risen above water (*A.* V, 152). Undefiled like a lotus that has risen above water, freed like the wind that cannot be caught in a net, a liberated one is a leader of others, having gone beyond any need to be led by others.

Vātaṃ va jālamhi asajjamānaṃ,
padumaṃ va toyena alippamānaṃ,
netāraṃ aññesaṃ anaññaneyyaṃ (*Sn.* 213).

Anālayo

References

1 The use of the qualifications *sāmisa* and *nirāmisa* in this passage is probably best understood relatively, as the same discourse applies the qualification *nirāmisa* to the *jhānas* when treating different types of joy, happiness or equanimity, *pīti, sukha*

and *upekkhā*. Thus the *jhānas* of the form sphere are considered as a *sāmisa* type of *vimokkha* only in comparison to more sublime types of deliverances.

2 The *Saṅghabhedavastu* qualifies the radiation of the four *brahmavihāras* not only as *avairena* and *avyābādhena*, but also as *asapatnena*, "without adversary", Gnoli: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. II, Rome 1978: 206.

3 Lily de Silva: "Cetovimutti, Paññāvimutti and Ubhatobhāgavimutti", *Pali Buddhist Review*, 3/3, 1978: 124 comments that "perhaps what is meant by this simile is that, just as petty small noises get drowned by the all-pervading sound of a conch-shell, petty emotions such as attachment and aversion associated with sense data find no foothold in a well developed mind suffused with infinite benevolence".

4 The presentation in *A.* V, 300 is rather succinct, but a slightly more detailed description of how to combine *mettā cetovimutti* with the development of insight required for progress on the path to liberation can be found at *M.* I, 351, see also *M.* I, 38 and *A.* I, 196.

5 The same discourse relates the liberations of the mind developed through the other three *brahmavihāras* to the first three immaterial attainments.

6 A survey of passages related to *animitta* can be found in Peter Harvey: "'Signless' Meditations in Pāli Buddhism", *Journal of the International Association for Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9 no. 1, 1986: 25-52.

7 The same discourse does, however, also list a type of *paññavimutta* who is able to attain the immaterial attainments, which would conflict with the definition of the *paññavimutta arahant* given elsewhere.

8 This has been pointed out by Bhikkhu Bodhi: "The Susīma Sutta and the Wisdom-Liberated Arahant", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, vol. 29, 2007 (forthcoming).

9 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

10 Fragment K 484m2 Rb in Stache-Rosen: *Dogmatische Begriffsreihen im Älteren Buddhismus II*, Berlin 1968: 35; fragment 679 folio 23 R4 in Schlingloff: *Dogmatische Begriffsreihen im Älteren Buddhismus I*, Berlin 1962: 12.

11 Such retrospective knowledge of having reached liberation might also be the implication of the instruction in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* to know when the mind is liberated, *'vimuttaṃ cittan'ti pajānāti* (*M.* I, 59), though according to the commentarial explanation the reference to the liberated mind in this context includes also temporary types of liberation (*MA.* I, 280).

12 E.g. Gombrich: "Retracing an Ancient Debate", in *How Buddhism Began*, London 1996: 114.

VIMUTTIMAGGA, the "Path to Liberation", is the title of what could perhaps best be reckoned as a practice compendium' or 'path manual' that in many aspects is similar to the *Visuddhimagga* (see also VISUDDHIMAGGA). The present article will at first introduce the extant versions of the "Path to Liberation" and take up the question of its relationship to the Abhayagiri monastery. This will be followed by a survey of the twelve chapters of the "Path to Liberation", with particular emphasis on differences between this work and the *Visuddhimagga*.

A complete version of the "Path to Liberation" has been preserved in Chinese translation under the title *Jie-tuo dao lun* (ā‰+Ĭ SĬ ÖŠ, corresponding perhaps to *Vimuktimārga-Śāstra* or *Vimuktimārga-nirdeśa*), found in the Taishō edition as entry number 1648 at *T.* XXXII 399c-461c (Nanjio no. 1293). The compilation of this work is attributed to an *arhat* by the name of *Upatiṣya*, and its translation into Chinese to Seng-qie-po-lo (çP=OFZ…n) from Fu-nan (in the area of modern Cambodia / Thailand). Seng-qie-po-lo, whose name could be reconstructed as Saṃghapāla, Saṃghavarman or Saṃghabhara, was active in the early sixth century.

In addition to this Chinese translation, an extract from the same work has been preserved in the Tibetan canon under the title *Rnam par grol ba'i lam las sbyangs pa'i yon tan bstan pa zhes bya ba* (Derge edition no. 306, Peking edition no. 972), corresponding to *Vimuktimārga-dhutaguṇa-nirdeśa* in Sanskrit. The translation of this extract, which describes the ascetic practices, is attributed to Vidyākaraprabha, who was active in the ninth century. The Tibetan text has been edited by Sasaki 1958 and Bapat 1964. Bapat 1944 (also Bapat 1964: XV) notes that in some editions of the Tibetan canon the *Vimuktimārga-dhutaguṇa-nirdeśa* contains a spurious passage with some *sūtra*

quotations from otherwise unrelated works, probably the result of a copyist's error who may have inadvertently taken over this passage from the *Sūtrasamuccaya*.

Extracts from the *Vimuktimārga* can also be found in the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-viniścaya*, a compendium of tenets of various school that has similarly been preserved in Tibetan (for a survey of this text see Skilling 1987: 7). A Pāli version of the *Vimuttimagga*, 'found' in the Asgiriya monastery in Sri Lanka and published in Sinhalese script in 1963, has turned out to be inauthentic (see Bapat 1972, Bechert 1989 and Endo 1983).

The original language and the geographical provenance of the text of the *Vimuktimārga/Vimuttimagga*, upon which the Chinese translation was based, have so far not been determined with certainty. Nagai 1919: 70 assumed that it originated from Ceylon or Cambodia. Bapat 1937b: LIV, however, highlighted the absence of any reference to Ceylonese names or places; the use of transcriptions of medical terminology that points to Sanskrit originals; and the existence of the above-mentioned extract on the ascetic practice preserved in Tibetan translation. These together prompted him to assume an Indian origin for the work. Yet, the absence of references to Ceylonese names or places might be due to the nature of the work, which unlike the *Visuddhimagga* does not contain stories (see Kheminda in Ehara 1995: XXXVIII). Furthermore, the use of Sanskrit medical terminology does not appear to have been uncommon in Ceylon (ibid. and Crosby 1999: 510); and in later times other works of Ceylonese provenance have also been rendered into Tibetan (see the survey in Skilling 1993). Hence the points mentioned by Bapat do not seem conclusive and the question of the provenance of the "Path to Liberation" remains unresolved.

What can be said with certainty is that in many respects the "Path to Liberation" shows close similarities to the *Visuddhimagga*. Of particular relevance to the relationship between these two works is an instance where Buddhaghosa refers to the opinion of "some", according to whom character types are the outcome of previous habits, the elements and humours, *tisso cariyā pubbāciṇṇanidānā dhātudosanidānā cā ti ekacce vadanti* (*Vism.* 102). Dhammapāla in his commentary on the *Visuddhimagga* explains that the reference to 'some' intends Upatissa, and that this position is adopted in the *Vimuttimagga*, *'ekacce' ti Upatissatheraṃ sandhāy āha, tena hi Vimuttimagge tathā vuttaṃ* (*VismA.* I, 123; references to this work are throughout to the Burmese edition). His identification is correct, as these three factors as conditions for character types are indeed listed in the *Vimuttimagga* (*T.* XXXII 410a12; a correspondence first noted by Nyanatiloka 1931: VIII). On the basis of the testimony of Dhammapāla, Buddhaghosa would have been aware of at least this aspect of the *Vimuttimagga*. Thus Nagai (1919: 80) could be correct when, right at the inception of scholarly studies of the *Vimuttimagga*, he suggested that "the Visuddhi-magga, which hitherto has been considered to be entirely [Buddhaghosa's] own work, is in reality a revised version of Upatissa's Vimutti-magga".

The Path to Liberation and the Abhayagiri Monastery

The above instance is not the only point where the *Vimuttimagga* differs from the *Visuddhimagga*, and it is noteworthy that several such instances are associated by Dhammapāla with the Abhayagiri monastery. Bapat (1936: 38-40) notes four such cases:

(1) According to Buddhaghosa, the ascetic practices should be reckoned as wholesome (except in the case of an *arahant*, when their undertaking is to be qualified as "undetermined", *avyākata*). Buddhaghosa considers 'those' who hold that the ascetic practice cannot be classified in this manner as lacking an understanding of the nature of the ascetic practices, *yesam pi kusalattikavinimuttaṃ dhutaṅgaṃ, tesaṃ atthato dhutaṅgam eva n'atthi* (*Vism.* 80). Dhammapāla explains that the reference to 'those' intends the followers of the Abhayagiri monastery, *'yesan' ti Abhayagirivāsike sandhāy' āha* (*VismA.* I, 104). Now the Chinese translation of the *Vimuttimagga* does consider it inappropriate to reckon the ascetic practices as either wholesome, or unwholesome, or undetermined (*T.* XXXII 406b19). Though the position taken in the Chinese *Vimuttimagga* would thus fit Buddhaghosa's criticism, the Tibetan version disagrees in this respect, as it classifies the ascetic practices as "wholesome", *dge ba*, corresponding to *kuśala* (Bapat 1964: 76). Thus the Tibetan version would agree with the position taken by Buddhaghosa, since he also maintains that the ascetic practices are "wholesome", only adding the category "undetermined" in order to cover the case of an *arahant*.

(2) In the context of a discussion of the first *jhāna*, Buddhaghosa dismisses an alternative reckoning of the stages of access, full absorption and reviewing that is "held by some", *evam eke vaṇṇayanti* (*Vism.* 148), whom Dhammapāla identifies as the followers of the Abhayagiri monastery, *'eke 'ti Abhayagirivāsino* (*VismA.* I, 172). A view corresponding to Buddhaghosa's description is indeed advocated in the *Vimuttimagga* (*T.* XXXII 417a8).

(3) When treating the aggregate of form, Buddhaghosa rejects the opinion of "some" that torpor should also be included under form, *ekaccānaṃ matena 'middharūpan'ti evaṃ aññāni pi rūpāni āharitvā* (*Vism.* 450). Dhammapāla explains that this view was held among the inhabitants of the Abhayagiri monastery, *'ekaccānan' ti Abhayagirivāsīnaṃ* (*VismA.* II 104). The *Vimuttimagga* does include torpor in its listing of the aggregate of form (*T.* XXXII 445c25). The same position recurs also in the *Vimuktimārga* extract in the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-viniścaya* (Skilling 1994: 189).

(4) In regard to the progress from stream-entry to once-return and from once-return to non-return, Buddhaghosa refers to "those" who believe that the attainment of fruition issues in the next stage of awakening if insight has been established, *ye pana vadanti: sotāpanno 'phalasamāpattiṃ samāpajjissāmī 'ti vipassanaṃ paṭṭhapetvā sakadāgāmī hoti, sakadāgāmī ca anāgāmī 'ti.* Buddhaghosa counters that in this case a non-returner would become an *arahant*, [then] an *arahant* a *Paccekabuddha*, and [then] a *Paccekabuddha* a Buddha, *evaṃ sati anāgāmī arahā bhavissati, arahāpaccekabuddho, paccekabuddho ca buddho* (*Vism.* 700). Dhammapāla explains that Buddhaghosa's reference to "those" intends the inhabitants of the Abhayagiri monastery, *'ye panā'ti Abhayagirivāsino sandhāyāha* (*VismA.* II 519). Bapat 1936: 40 (or 1937b: XLII) suggests that the view criticized by Buddhaghosa is "exactly the same" as a position taken in the *Vimuttimagga*. Yet, the relevant passage in the *Vimuttimagga* only explains that non-returners who attain fruition will not become *arahants* straightaway because their insight lacks the required strength (*T.* XXXII 461a16). This presentation could either imply that fruition attainment needs to be conjoined with insight in order to lead to full liberation, or else that fruition attainment by its very nature excludes the possibility of developing insight that is sufficiently strong to lead to the final goal. Moreover, the actual view quoted by Buddhaghosa concerns the progression from stream-entry to non-return, whereas the *Vimuttimagga* passage only addresses progress from non-return to full liberation.

In sum, of the altogether four instances taken up above, in the first case the Tibetan version disagrees with the Chinese text, while the last case seems uncertain. This leaves two unambiguous cases where views upheld in the *Vimuttimagga* are criticized by Buddhaghosa and are associated by Dhammapāla with the Abhayagiri monastery (above cases 2 and 3). An additional passage of relevance would be Buddhaghosa's criticism of attempts to relate the nature of the sense-organs to an excess of a particular element (*Vism.* 444). Dhammapāla does not identify the source of the version of this view that is found in the *Vimuttimagga* (*T.* XXXII, 445c29; see below), only indicating that an alternative position on the same matter, also criticised in the *Visuddhimagga*, was upheld by the Mahāsāṅghikas (*VismA.* II 91). Yet, judging from Gunawardana 1979: 29 it seems as if the position taken in the *Vimuttimagga* has been identified as an Abhayagiri tenet in a Sinhalese sub-commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*, written in the thirteenth century.

These instances certainly point to a considerable degree of affinity between the *Vimuttimagga* and views attributed to the Abhayagiri monastery. Yet, that the *Vimuttimagga* "contains some minor points accepted by the Abhayagiri Monastery does not necessarily imply that it had any special connexion with that centre" (Ñāṇamoli 1991: XLI). Points that mitigate against coming to a firm conclusion about the school affiliation of the *Vimuttimagga* would be (see in more detail Crosby 1999 and Norman 1991):

- the indications given in the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* or the Sinhalese sub-commentary are not confirmed by another external source;
- Dhammapāla does not relate Upatissa or the *Vimuttimagga* to the Abhayagiri monastery, but mentions them separately in different contexts;
- several views proposed in the *Vimuttimagga* and criticized by Buddhaghosa are not associated by Dhammapāla with the Abhayagiri monastery (see the survey in Bapat 1937b: XXXVII-XLII);
- not all of the positions that Dhammapāla attributes to the Abhayagiri monastery are found in the *Vimuttimagga*. This is the case for an affirmation of the momentary concurrence of

telepathic knowledge and its object (*Vism.* 432: *tattha keci 'khaṇapaccuppannaṃ cittaṃ cetopariyañāṇassa ārammaṇaṃ hoti'ti vadanti*; *VismA.* II, 66: *'keci' ti Abhayagirivāsino*); where neither the view nor the accompanying simile about throwing a handful of flowers into the air occurs in the corresponding section of the *Vimuttimagga* (*T.* XXXII, 443b).

Thus what can be safely concluded, at the present state of our knowledge, would only be that the *Vimuttimagga* shows a partial overlap with positions that according to the testimony of commentaries on the *Visuddhimagga* were held by the inhabitants of the Abhayagiri monastery.

Survey of the Vimuttimagga

In what follows, a survey of the twelve chapters of the *Vimuttimagga* will be given (see also ABHIDHARMA LITERATURE p. 78), with particular emphasis on differences between this work and the *Visuddhimagga*. In order to provide a background to several such differences, the perspective taken in other works, especially in the Pāli discourses, will also be taken into account. For a more detailed comparison of the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga* the reader is invited to consult the study by Bapat 1937b, to which the following lines are much indebted.

The first chapter of the *Vimuttimagga* introduces the threefold training (*T.* XXXII, 399c15), based on a verse found in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D.* II, 123; also *A.* II, 2 or *A.* IV, 106). These three trainings, according to the *Vimuttimagga*, lead to three purifications: purification of virtue, purification of the mind and purification of view (*T.* XXXII, 400b6).

Chapter two turns to the topic of virtue, explaining its basic meaning and analysing virtue into various types. The *Vimuttimagga* indicates that the significance of *sīla* is comparable to the 'head' of a human being, without which it is impossible to live, or to the 'cooling' effect of sandalwood on someone who has fever, as observing virtue allays any feverishness or fear that could arise due to breach of the precepts (*T.* XXXII, 401a17). Buddhaghosa refers to this explanation in his treatment of *sīla* as a proposition advanced by 'others', *aññe pana ... vaṇṇayanti* (*Vism.* 8; Dhammapāla does not identify the 'others').

The *Vimuttimagga* distinguishes between three types of *sīla*: wholesome, unwholesome and undetermined (*T.* XXXII, 401a26). The *Visuddhimagga* does not include this threefold presentation in its analysis of virtue (*Vism.* 10), referring to it only in a by-the-way manner as a threefold distinction found in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* which Buddhaghosa considers to be not relevant to the present discussion (*Vism.* 14 in reference to *Paṭis.* I, 44, where this is the only mode of reckoning types of *sīla*).

The notion of unwholesome types of *sīla* occurs not only in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, but also in the discourses, where a treatment of *akusala sīla* can be found in the *Samaṇamaṇḍikā Sutta* (*M.* II, 25). Moreover, the observance of behaving like a cow or like a dog - the *gosīla* and *kukkurasīla* - lead according to the *Kukkuravatika Sutta* to a lower rebirth (*M.* I, 388), instances that would be illustrative instance of *akusala sīla* (the *Vimuttimagga* in fact refers to these two as instances of *sīla* under the influence of delusion, *T.* XXXII, 402a19).

The theme of the scope of *akusala* recurs again in chapter three on the ascetic practices where, as already mentioned above, the *Vimuttimagga*'s suggestion that ascetic practices could be unwholesome meets with Buddhaghosa's criticism. In his discussion, Buddhaghosa takes up a potential counterargument based on a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which describes how someone might undertake ascetic practices out of evil wishes (*A.* III, 219). The position taken in the *Vimuttimagga* would in fact do justice to this reference, whereas Buddhaghosa's counterargument is mainly based on his etymology of the term *dhutaṅga*, whereby he comes to the conclusion that one who undertakes ascetic practices must necessarily be engaging in wholesome activity (*Vism.* 80). In view of the canonical support for instances of *sīla* and *dhutaṅga* that can be reckoned as *akusala*, the position taken by Buddhaghosa almost gives the impression as if his presentation intentionally sets a contrast to the way the same theme was handled in the *Vimuttimagga*.

Regarding the different types of ascetic practices, whereas the *Visuddhimagga* mentions "taking food in a [single] bowl", *pattapiṇḍika* (*Vism.* 70), the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Vimuttimagga* speak instead of "knowing moderation with food",

corresponding to *bhojane mattaññutā* (*T.* XXXII 405b5 and Bapat 1964: 8). While a listing of ascetic practices in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions *paṭṭapiṇḍika* (*A.* III, 220; see also *Miln.* 359), neither *paṭṭapiṇḍika* nor *bhojane mattaññutā* are found in another such listing in the *Puggalapaññatti* (*Pug.* 69). The same is also the case for a register of the ascetic practices in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Mhvyut.* 86, §1128-1139). Thus, though there seem to be some fluctuations in listings of the ascetic practices, the presentation in the *Visuddhimagga* corresponds better to the above *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourse than the *Vimuttimagga*'s reference to moderation with food (for a survey of works that also reckon moderation with food as an ascetic practice see Dantinne 1991: 61).

Chapter four of the *Vimuttimagga* explains the meaning of concentration and distinguishes between its different manifestations. To the four benefits of concentration listed in the *Vimuttimagga* (*T.* XXXII, 407a14), the *Visuddhimagga* adds the attainment of cessation as a fifth benefit (*Vism.* 372). This additional benefit does, however, not involve a substantial difference, since the listings of benefits in both works begin by mentioning a pleasant abiding in the present moment, of which the attainment of cessation would be a particular instance.

Another difference, somewhat in line with the above-noted positions taken by the two works in regard to virtue and the ascetic practices, is that the *Vimuttimagga* distinguishes between wrong and right types of concentration (*T.* XXXII, 407b13). Such a distinction is not found in the *Visuddhimagga*, whose analysis appears to be based on the premise that concentration is by nature wholesome, since Buddhaghosa defines concentration as "one-pointedness of a wholesome state of mind", *kusalacittekaggatā samādhi* (*Vism.* 84). The discourses often refer to wrong types of concentration, *micchā samādhi* (e.g. *D.* II, 353; *M.* I, 44; *S.* II, 168; *A.* V, 212), as does the *Visuddhimagga* itself in the context of a listing of what will be left behind with the different stages of awakening (*Vism.* 683).

In its fifth chapter, the *Vimuttimagga* describes how one should approach a teacher, the 'good friend'. Chapter six then surveys the different character dispositions that a pupil may have. The *Vimuttimagga* lists altogether fourteen types of character dispositions, to which it adds the possibility of character types under the influence of craving, views and conceit (*T.* XXXII, 409b26). Buddhaghosa lists only six character dispositions and rejects the count of fourteen, of which he evidently was aware (as noted above, his dismissal of the attribution of character types to previous habits is identified by Dhammapāla as a reference to the *Vimuttimagga*). Buddhaghosa comments that this fourteen-fold way of reckoning is simply the result of combining some of the basic six types with each other (*Vism.* 101). Regarding the reference to craving, views and conceit, he explains that since craving and conceit are part of greed, while views are a manifestation of delusion, these are also included in his six-fold reckoning (*Vism.* 102).

The type of combining through which the *Vimuttimagga* arrives at fourteen types of disposition reckons those whose character is under the influence of both lust and hate, or lust and delusion, or hate and delusion etc., as types in their own right. The same pattern occurs also in the *Peṭakopadesa*, which speaks of *rāgadosacarito, rāgamohacarito, dosamohacarito* (*Peṭ.* 140; noted by Bapat 1937a: 744). The present case is not the only such instance, as elsewhere the exposition in the *Vimuttimagga* tends to show agreement with the *Peṭakopadesa* (see Bapat 1937a and Hayashi 2003-2005).

Chapter seven of the *Vimuttimagga* gives a survey of meditation subjects. This survey includes the ten *kasiṇas* listed also in the *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* (*T.* XXXII, 411a10 and *M.* II, 14). The corresponding listing in the *Visuddhimagga* differs in so far as, instead of boundless space and boundless consciousness, it mentions light and limited space, *ālokakasiṇa* and *paricchinākāsakasiṇa* (*Vism.* 110). Another minor difference is that the *Vimuttimagga* counts thirty-eight subjects, to which it adds another two, whereas the *Visuddhimagga* from the outset speaks of forty subjects.

The *Vimuttimagga* advocates that, just as in the case of the *kasiṇas*, the meditative sign of the *brahmavihāras* can be spatially extended (*T.* XXXII, 411b11). Though Buddhaghosa holds that the *brahmavihāras* should not be extended (*Vism.* 112), when examining the actual undertaking of the *brahmavihāras* he describes how they can be extended either in access or in absorption so as to cover living beings in various spatial directions (*Vism.* 320). Thus in practical terms the *Visuddhimagga* and the

Vimuttimagga appear to be intending the same type of practice. In the discourses, a recurrent simile that illustrates the development of the *brahmavihāras* describes a trumpeter who makes himself heard in all directions (e.g. *M.* II, 207); a practice that leads to liberation of the mind qualified as "immeasurable", *appamāṇa cetovimutti* (*M.* I, 297). These descriptions show that, from the perspective of the Pāli discourses, *brahmavihāra* practice does involve a form of meditative extension or spatial pervasion.

As part of its survey of meditation subjects, the *Vimuttimagga* indicates that the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception is not suitable for the development of insight (*T.* XXXII, 411b15). It explains that once perception is no longer of a distinct nature, it is not possible to attain the path of insight; adding that the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception cannot be analysed due to its subtlety and hence will not lead to the destruction of the influxes (*T.* XXXII, 422a25). The *Visuddhimagga* at first sight appears to take a different position, as at the conclusion of a listing that contains the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception Buddhaghosa proposes that all the attainments mentioned are suitable for insight (*Vism.* 114). As in the above case of the *brahmavihāras*, however, a later section in the *Visuddhimagga* indicates that Buddhaghosa's position is not as different from the *Vimuttimagga* as one might at first have thought. When describing the actual undertaking of the immaterial attainments, Buddhaghosa notes that it is not possible to attain liberating insight based on the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception alone, since even Sāriputta could not develop direct insight into its constituent states, this particular attainment being of a particularly subtle nature (*Vism.* 338, referring to *M.* III, 28).

In the discourses, the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception is in fact often absent from insight related contemplation of states of deep concentration (e.g. *M.* I, 352 or *M.* I, 436), and a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* explicitly indicates that penetration to liberating knowledge is only possible as far as there is an attainment of perception, *yavatā saññāsamāpatti, tavatā aññāpaṭivedho* (*A.* IV 426).

Chapter eight of the *Vimuttimagga* turns to the actual undertaking of meditation practice. This topic seems to lie at the very heart of the *Vimuttimagga*, as could be concluded from the circumstance that chapter eight covers altogether five fascicles out of the twelve fascicles taken up by the work as a whole (*T.* XXXII 412b-441a). With the example of the earth *kasiṇa*, the first of the meditation subjects in its listing, the *Vimuttimagga* describes how the four *jhānas* and the four immaterial attainments can be developed, after which it takes up the remaining subjects of meditation.

Regarding the *jhānas*, the *Vimuttimagga* reckons the first *jhāna* to have five factors, the second *jhāna* to have two factors (on this case see also Bapat 1937b: 51 note 3), the third *jhāna* to have five factors, and the fourth *jhāna* to have three factors (*T.* XXXII, 416b4, 418c20, 419c20, 420b23). Buddhaghosa agrees on the first *jhāna*, but reckons the second *jhāna* as having three factors, the third *jhāna* as having two factors, and the fourth *jhāna* as having two factors (*Vism.* 146, 155, 159, 165). These variations do not concern the actual nature of the four *jhānas*, but only involve differing perspectives on which factors should be reckoned explicitly.

Another difference involves the analysis of equanimity, given by both works in the context of their treatment of the third *jhāna*. While the *Vimuttimagga* distinguishes between eight types of equanimity (*T.* XXXII, 419a23), the *Visuddhimagga* lists altogether ten, adding "equanimity about formations", *saṅkhārupekkhā*, and "equanimity as balance", *tatramajjhattupekkhā* (*Vism.* 160, see also UPEKKHĀ). Since the same *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism.* 161) considers "equanimity as balance" to be an umbrella term for several other types of equanimity (found in both works), and since it explains that "equanimity about formations" corresponds to equanimity of insight (also found in both works), the listing given by Buddhaghosa does not involve a major difference from the presentation in the *Vimuttimagga*.

When examining recollection of the Buddha, the *Vimuttimagga* indicates that such recollection leads to access concentration, but then records an alternative opinion according to which such recollection may lead to the attainment of all four *jhānas* (*T.* XXXII, 428a27). The *Visuddhimagga* only envisages the attainment of access concentration (*Vism.* 212). Kheminda (in Ehara 1995: XLV) comments that the alternative opinion mentioned in the *Vimuttimagga* seems to agree with a

description of the potential of recollecting the Buddha given in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* III, 285).

The development of mindfulness of breathing leads, according to the *Vimuttimagga*, to a *nimitta* similar to the touch of silk or cotton (*T.* XXXII, 430a29). Buddhaghosa quotes this comparison as a proposition made by "some", *ekacce āhu*, contrasting it to the position in the commentaries, which he prefers (*Vism.* 285). Dhammapāla explains that the reference here is to "some teachers", *'ekacce 'ti eke ācariyā* (*VismA.* I, 335).

The *Vimuttimagga* recommends four aspects for approaching the practice of mindfulness of breathing (*T.* XXXII, 430b17), whereas the *Visuddhimagga* lists altogether eight aspects (*Vism.* 278), of which the additional four are related to the development of insight based on mindfulness of breathing (*Vism.* 287). This is to some extent unexpected, since this part of the *Visuddhimagga* is dedicated to explaining the development of concentration, the practice of insight being a topic treated only in a later part of the work.

The third of the sixteen steps of mindfulness of breathing requires experiencing the whole body, *sabbakāyapaṭisaṃvedī* (*M.* III, 82). In relation to this step, the *Vimuttimagga* seems to describe a pervasion of the whole body and mind with joy and happiness, explaining that by means of such pervasion with joy and happiness one experiences the whole body (*T.* XXXII, 430c12). The *Visuddhimagga* instead recommends directing attention to the beginning, middle and final stages of each breath (*Vism.* 273).

A minor difference between the two works can also be found in relation to the injunction to liberate the mind as the twelfth step in the sixteen-step scheme of mindfulness of breathing. While the *Vimuttimagga* takes this injunction to simply intend liberating the mind from any defilement that may have arisen in the course of practice (*T.* XXXII, 431a20), the *Visuddhimagga* understands 'liberating' to refer to the mental factors left behind with each *jhāna* attainment, or to the development of insight subsequent to *jhāna* attainment (*Vism.* 289).

For undertaking mindfulness of death, the *Vimuttimagga* presents eight ways of approach (*T.* XXXII, 432a8). The *Visuddhimagga* also lists altogether eight ways, differing in so far as it treats the 'appearance of death like an executioner' and the 'inevitability of death' together as its first way (*Vism.* 230). In the *Vimuttimagga* these constitute two distinct approaches, listed as its first and second respectively. The *Visuddhimagga* arrives at the same count of eight through the additional reflection of how death will bring to ruin all success gained in life, a point not made in the *Vimuttimagga*.

When treating contemplation of the body, the *Vimuttimagga* briefly lists the different anatomical parts (*T.* XXXII, 432c23), while the *Visuddhimagga* offers a detailed treatment of each of these parts (*Vism.* 248-265). The *Vimuttimagga* instead takes up in some detail the stages of development of a foetus in the womb, followed by listing various worms that live in the body (*T.* XXXII, 433b5 and 433b20; on the last see also Bapat 1934).

For undertaking recollection of peace, the *Vimuttimagga* recommends directing awareness to the factors overcome with the attainment of a particular *jhāna* or immaterial attainment, or to the defilements weakened or destroyed with the attainment of a particular level of awakening (*T.* XXXII, 434c11). In the *Visuddhimagga*, recollection of peace takes instead the qualities of *Nibbāna* as its object, *nibbānassa guṇā anussaritabbā* (*Vism.* 293).

Regarding the potential of the *brahmavihāras*, the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga* agree that loving kindness, compassion and sympathetic joy lead only to the third *jhāna*, whereas equanimity can produce the fourth *jhāna* (*T.* XXXII, 438a12 and *Vism.* 322). The *Vimuttimagga* records an alternative opinion, according to which each of the four *brahmavihāras* can lead to the fourth *jhāna* (*T.* XXXII, 438a17). Both works refer to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* that seems to suggest this possibility (*A.* IV, 300).

For the purpose of recollecting the four elements, the *Vimuttimagga* lists ten ways of approach, whereas the *Visuddhimagga* presents thirteen ways (*T.* XXXII, 439a6 and *Vism.* 364). Notable differences in the respective treatments are that the *Vimuttimagga* compares the human body made up of the four elements to a puppet (*T.* XXXII, 440a21, a point not made in *Vism.*); whereas Buddhaghosa draws attention to the difference between internal and external manifestations of the four elements and to their lack of self-awareness (*Vism.* 368 and 369, not mentioned

in the *Vimuttimagga*). The difference in emphasis noted above in relation to contemplating the anatomical constitution of the body recurs in regard to the present recollection, as the *Vimuttimagga* merely lists the parts of the body that correspond to the four elements (*T.* XXXII, 438c27), whereas the *Visuddhimagga* offers a detailed description of each part (*Vism.* 353-363).

Recollection of the repulsive nature of food can, according to the *Vimuttimagga*, be undertaken from altogether five perspectives, whereas the *Visuddhimagga* speaks of ten (*T.* XXXII, 440b25 and *Vism.* 342). Though differing in their enumeration, the two works nevertheless agree on the main themes of such recollection being the effort required to get food, the repulsive nature of food once it is chewed, once it its being digested, and once it leaves the body as excrement, as well as the potential of food to cause diseases.

With its ninth chapter the *Vimuttimagga* turns to the five higher knowledges: supernormal powers, knowledge of the mind of others, the divine ear, recollection of past lives, and the divine eye. The treatment of these five higher knowledges in the *Visuddhimagga* is similar. A minor difference in regard to knowledge of the minds of others is that the *Vimuttimagga* describes altogether six states of mind that manifest a distinct colour, which then can be perceived by one who exercises this higher knowledge. These six comprise a joyful, a sad and an equanimous state of mind, as well as a mind under the influence of greed, hatred or delusion (*T.* XXXII, 443b14). The *Visuddhimagga* takes up only the joyful, sad and equanimous states of mind, differing also from the *Vimuttimagga* on which colours correspond to these three (*Vism.* 409).

The two works also show some variations in regard to the prerequisites for developing the five higher knowledges. Thus in the case of supernormal powers, for example, the *Vimuttimagga* simply stipulates ability to attain the four *jhānas*, whereas the *Vimuttimagga* speaks of ability to attain the four *jhānas* and the four immaterial attainments in various orders and combinations (*T.* XXXII, 441c15 and *Vism.* 374).

Chapter ten of the *Vimuttimagga* defines wisdom and analyses its different aspects and manifestations as a basis for turning to the 'five methods' for developing wisdom in its eleventh chapter. These five methods are: the aggregates, the senses, the elements, dependent arising, and the four noble truths.

The *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga* differ in their respective listings of derived forms of matter, given in the context of examining the aggregate of form. As already mentioned above, the *Vimuttimagga* includes torpor in its listing, an inclusion strongly objected to by Buddhaghosa (*T.* XXXII, 445c25 and *Vism.* 450). When evaluating this point, it needs to be kept in mind that the listing of derived matter in both works includes such items as verbal intimation; the lightness, malleability and wieldiness of matter; its growth, continuity, ageing and death; as well as its impermanent nature. Thus to consider torpor as another quality to be accommodated under the heading of 'derived matter' would be in keeping with a general tendency of including items that are not necessarily self-evident as manifestations of material form.

The position taken in the *Vimuttimagga* regarding torpor would also be in keeping with a suggestion made in the *Milindapañha*, which mentions several conditions that accompany the physical body, *kāyānugatā dhammā*, and are outside of the control of an *arahant* – one of which is *middha* (*Mil.* 253). The *Peṭakopadesa* explicitly remarks that bodily fatigue of an *arahant* should not be reckoned a hindrance, *atthi pana arahato kāyakilesamiddhañca okkamati na ca taṃ nīvaraṇaṃ* (*Peṭ.* 161; Bapat 1937a: 745). A discourse of relevance to the same theme would be the *Mahāsaccaka Sutta*, according to which the Buddha would at times take a nap in the afternoon, which should not be mistaken as an expression of delusion (*M.* I, 249). Thus the *Vimuttimagga*'s inclusion of torpor under derived matter, though dismissed by Buddhaghosa, would reflect a concern with allocating this particular quality in a way that reflects its ambivalent nature as a 'hindrance', taking a lead in this respect from the *Peṭakopadesa* and the *Milindapañ ha*.

In regard to the other aggregates, the analyses given in the two works also show some minor variations. Thus, for example, the *Vimuttimagga* analyses feelings in various ways until it arrives at a count of three times thirty-six and thus altogether one-hundred-and-eight feelings (*T.* XXXII, 447b24), a reckoning with a precedent in the *Bahuvedanīya Sutta* (*M.* I, 398). The *Visuddhimagga* only distinguishes between three and

five types of feelings (*Vism* 461). Conversely, in the case of consciousness the *Vimuttimagga* counts just seven types (*T.* XXXII, 448a26, arrived at by reckoning mind and mind-consciousness-element separately), whereas the *Visuddhimagga* lists eighty-nine types of consciousness (*Vism.* 457). In a later section of the *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa applies the eighty-nine-fold reckoning also to feeling (*Vism.* 566, arrived at by associating feeling with each of the eighty-nine types of consciousness).

In its treatment of the sense organs, the *Vimuttimagga* considers the distinct nature of each organ to be due to an excess of a particular element. Thus it relates the eye to an excess in the element of fire, the ear to space, the nose to air, the tongue to water and the body to earth (*T.* XXXII, 445c29, 446a5, 446a8, 446a12, 446a15). As already mentioned above, Buddhaghosa rejects this opinion since no discourse can be quoted in support (*Vism.* 444).

Regarding the way the sense organs relate to their objects, the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga* agree that the eye and the ear do not come in direct contact with their objects, unlike the nose, tongue and body (*T.* XXXII, 449a13 and *Vism.* 445). The *Vimuttimagga* records an alternative position in this respect, which points out that hearing can be obstructed by a close-by object (that intervenes between the ear and the source of the sound), and that the eyes are not able to see the back of a wall, hence for these two senses to function some direct contact with the object would also be required.

After expounding the eighteen elements, the *Vimuttimagga* presents the twelve links of dependent arising in forward and reverse order, followed by a series of illustrative similes (*T.* XXIII, 450a17). Notably, the *Vimuttimagga* also applies the entire series of twelve links to a single mind moment (*T.* XXXII, 450c12), a perspective not found in the *Visuddhimagga*, which instead analyses the twelve links with the help of the twenty-four conditions listed in the *Paṭṭhāna* (*Vism.* 532). An application of dependent arising to a single mind moment can already be found in the *Vibhaṅga* (*Vibh.* 144).

The *Vimuttimagga* completes its survey of the 'five methods' by turning to the four noble truths, whose actual discernment becomes the theme of its last chapter. When expounding this topic, the *Vimuttimagga* treats the distinguishing of name and form as an implementation of the first truth, which thereby fulfils purification of view (*T.* XXXII, 454a2). Insight into dependent arising then fulfils the second truth and accomplishes purification by overcoming doubt (*T.* XXXII, 454a14). The *Vimuttimagga* continues by describing the insight knowledges as an implementation of the fourth truth, covering:

- comprehension of the three characteristics (*T.* XXXII, 454b1);
- insight into rise and fall (*T.* XXXII, 454c3);
- dissolution (*T.* XXXII, 455c16);
- fear (*T.* XXXII, 456c11);
- desire for deliverance (*T.* XXXII, 456c20);
- knowledge of conformity (*T.* XXXII, 457a5);
- change of lineage (*T.* XXXII, 457a18);
- knowledge of the path (*T.* XXXII, 457a25);
- knowledge of the fruit (*T.* XXXII, 458a1).

The treatment of the insight knowledges in the *Vimuttimagga* thus combines several stages that the *Visuddhimagga* treats separately (see in more detail VIPASSANAÑĀṆA). A similar combination of several stages can be found in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (*Ps.* I, 59 and *Ps.* I, 60).

Regarding the abilities of noble ones to enter fruition experience, the *Vimuttimagga* records alternative opinions, according to which either all noble ones have this ability, or else only non-returners and *arahants*. A third opinion appears to imply that noble ones who are accomplished in concentration are able to enter fruition experience (*T.* XXXII, 460c23). The *Visuddhimagga* accepts only the first of these alternatives, according to which all noble ones can enter the attainment of fruition, rejecting the suggestion made by 'some', *keci*, that such attainment might not be available to stream-enterers and once-returners (*Vism.* 699).

Another difference is that, instead of adopting the scheme of the four noble truths to treat the progress of insight until awakening, the *Visuddhimagga* takes the seven purifications from the *Rathavinīta Sutta* as its point of reference (*M.* I, 147). As already noted by Nagao 1919: 75, the title of the *Visuddhimagga* reflects this shift of emphasis from the four noble truths towards the seven purifications. Yet, whereas the four noble truths are a central aspect of the early Buddhist

teachings – in this respect the *Vimuttimagga* follows the illustrious example of Sāriputta in the *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* (*M.* I, 184) – the seven purifications occur only in the *Rathavinīta Sutta* and in the *Dasuttara Sutta* (*D.* III, 288).

The circumstance that the *Vimuttimagga* refers to the first four purifications could easily have been the starting point for a revision that completes the scheme of purifications. Yet, if this is indeed what Buddhaghosa did, it remains somewhat puzzling that he would employ the scheme of seven purifications for that purpose, which in its original context in the *Rathavinīta Sutta* functions as a scheme of stages that fall short of arrival at the final goal. The same is the case in the *Dasuttara Sutta*, where the seven are part of a scheme of altogether nine purifications, with the additional stages of "purification of wisdom" and "purification of liberation". As a result of having recourse to the seven-fold scheme only, instead of availing himself of the complete scheme of nine purifications, Buddhaghosa treats awakening under the heading of "purification by knowledge and vision" (*Vism.* 672), even though "purification of liberation" as the ninth purification would certainly have been more appropriate in this respect (see in more detail RATHAVIN•TA SUTTA).

The present instance thus exemplifies what appears to be a general tendency discernible when comparing the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga*. On the highly probable supposition that Buddhaghosa knew a version of the *Vimuttimagga*, a comparison of the two works time and again gives the impression as if he deliberately departed from the model set by his predecessor, even though on a number of occasions this involves him in having to depart from the canonical sources.

Apart from such differences, however, in general terms the two works show a remarkable degree of similarity. From an overall perspective, the *Vimuttimagga* appears somewhat more practical, whereas the *Visuddhimagga* has a tendency to be more scholarly. Often the *Vimuttimagga* is also more open-minded, in the sense that its author rests content with mentioning different opinions side by side, whereas Buddhaghosa has a more pronounced tendency towards refuting what in his view is not correct and establishing a single right opinion. The *Vimuttimagga* thus takes us back to a less dogmatic strand of Theravada thought and offers us glimpses at alternative opinions that, had this work not been preserved in Chinese (and partial Tibetan) translation, would have been lost together with the commentarial traditions that have not found a place in Buddhaghosa's compilation of the Pāli commentaries.

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Anālayo

VINAYA (1) This Encyclopaedia article on Buddhist *Vinaya* is not meant to be a complete history of Vinaya literature of any school of Buddhism, neither Theravāda nor Mahāyāna. Our main interest in this article shall be twofold. We shall first deal with the genesis of the body of literature that has, through a considerable period of time, come to be finally established as the main body of the *Vinaya*. We look upon this process as a purposeful creation and as being organic in its evolution. We work via literary evidence found embedded in Canonical Pali texts themselves *[tantim ārūḷhā]* like the record of the first Buddhist Council or *Pañca-satī Saṅgīti* [*Vin*. II. 287].

Our second interest in this article is to emphasize that the roots of the *Vinaya* are to be primarily traced in the *Dhamma* whose one and only concern is the fulfilment of the life of *brahmacariya* for the final attainment of Nirvāna. The two statements *dhammaṃ deseti* and *brahma-cariyaṃ pakāseti* in the Buddhist texts always go inseparably, hand in hand. The *Vinaya* must necessarily uphold the ideals of the *dhamma* and essentially contribute to their fulfilment. It has to be soon discovered that one of the primary aims of establishing the *Vinaya*, in the wake of the *Dhamma*, was for that purpose.

Dhamma and Vinaya, their Corroborative Continuance

Any study about Buddhism must necessarily commence with a sense of historical genesis. When and where and for whose sake did such a system of thinking which goes under the name of Buddhism originate? What prompted its genesis and in whose hands did it see its development? Over the years, what has been the pattern of its development etc. These are relevant questions to face and to be answered with diligence and detachment. This early message which Śākyamuni, the Buddha Gautama, is believed to have delivered to the world in the sixth century B.C. is what goes today under the name *dhamma* [Sanskrit *dharma*]. It essentially carries within it the concept of *brahma-cariya* referred to as the totally pure and totally complete religious life[*kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahma-cariyaṃ pakāseti* – *D*. I. 62]. This life of *brahma-cariya* leads man out of the painful cyclical continuance in *saṃsara* in which he is caught up, into his final liberation in Nirvana. It is on hearing this *dhamma* [*taṃ dhammaṃ sutvā*] that the religiously more mature people [*saddhā-paṭilābhena samannāgato*], both men and women, give up their household life and take to a totally new and different life of renunciation or *pabajjā*.[1]

As the years rolled on [and this period is believed to be nearly from twelve to twenty years], the extension and expansion of this monastic institution called the Saṅgha also began to witness signs of decay and decadence. This necessitated the establishment of a codified legal disciplinary system called the *Vinaya*. The *Vinaya*, primarily is the legal machinery in Buddhism whereby the discipline of the monastic community, i.e. of the men and women who have chosen to renounce their life in the world, is established and maintained. Within it, are contained two areas of literary activity called

I. the *Vibhaṅga* of the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhuṇis [i.e. *Parājikā* and *Pācittiya* Pāli as separate books] or legal enactments pertaining to the moral life, i.e. behaviour in word and deed, of its membership. They are based on the moral injunctions or *sikkhāpada*, originally laid down by the Buddha himself for the guidance of the lives of monks and nuns.

II. the *Khandhakas* which deal with instructions regarding admission of members into the order. i.e. *pabajjā* and their higher ordination or *upasampadā*, relationship of pupils to teachers, observance of the Rains Retreat or *vassā vāsa* etc.

The structural organisation of these two groups for males and females differ in certain areas, including the number of disciplinary rules to be observed by each group, namely 220 rules for monks as against 304 for nuns. Differences also occur in the procedure for conferment of Bhikkhuṇis igher ordination of females from a *sāmanerī* to *upasampannā* and the execution of legal proceedings, where the nuns had to operate first by themselves and finally under the authority of the monks.

These two sets of rules are severally called the *Pātimokkhas*, i.e. *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha* and the Bhikkhuni *Pātimokkha*. With subject-matter comments and grammatical notes added to the two *Pātimokkhas*, they assume within themselves a commentarial form and acquire the new names *Bhikkhu- Vibhaṅga* and *Bhikkhuni- Vibhaṅga*.

Completing the entire legal machinery of the *Pātimokkha*, seven statutes are further added which are common to both groups of monks and nuns, for the settlement of ecclesiastical disputes or *adhikaraṇa*. These seven are specifically called *satta adhikaraṇa-samatha-dhammā*. They are never referred to as *sikkhāpada* 2 Nor are they totalled up with them. They stand apart [220 + 07 under Bhikkhus and 304 + 07 under Bhikkhuṇis]. These have built-in authority to prosecute and punish miscreants against offences of breach by those who violate or challenge this legal set-up as well as guidelines for settlement of disputes within the Saṅgha.

The second and the other complementary group under the early Buddhist Vinaya, as against the Vibhaṅgas referred to above, is the *Khandhakas* [i.e. the *Mahāvagga Pāli* and *Cullavagga Pāli*] or instructions relating to admission of new members to the order, their inter personal relationships like teacher and pupil within the corporate body called the Saṅgha, monastic rituals like the observance of the Rains Retreat [*vassā-vāsa*] and the care and maintenance of their harmoniously owned joint- property like buildings, furniture etc. It would be reasonable to assume that even in the earliest phase of the Sāsana, i.e. about the time of the First Buddhist Council, these two groups, the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhaka*, which went under the name of *ubhato vinaya*.[*Vin.* II. 287] had to stand together side by side, even though the latter could not have been in a very advanced state of development.

The *Dhamma*, as against the *Vinaya*, constitutes the basic teachings of Buddhism which deal essentially with the predicament of the human in the world [*Kiccham vata' 'yam loko āpanno jāvati ca jiyati ca mīyati ca uppajjati ca. S.* II. 10]. It sums up the phenomenon of life as a ceaseless process of individual continuance [*mīyati ca cavati uppajjati ca*] as well as [*sandhāvati saṃsarati*], of being born, of going through growth and decay, of being subject to disease and death in the process and continuing to be born again and again until man himself brings about the cessation of the process. This entire process is what is referred to in Buddhism as *saṃsāra*. Opposed to this, is the one and only goal of Buddhism, i.e. the cessation [*nir + vṛti* or *nirodha*] of this dukkha-generating birth and death process of life which the Buddha discovered.

The Buddha himself has declared that this was what he was indicating to mankind, earlier and later, as the mission of his life. This, he proclaimed to his disciples all the time, saying: *pubbe c'āham bhikkhave etarahi ca dukkhañ ca paññāpemi dukkhassa ca nirodhaṃ* [in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* at *M.* 1.140]. There is absolutely no ambiguity or vagueness about the direction of this spiritual movement of Buddhism. There is nothing about Buddhas or Bodhisattvas in Heavenly worlds who will work, via the services of his *bodhisattvas*, for the salvation of mankind. Thus the Buddhist religious goal of Nirvāna always carries the unmistakable title End of Suffering or *dukkhassa anta* and *dukkha-nirodha*, worked out by each one for himself.

Pursuit of Nirvāna and the life of Brahma-cariya

The Buddhist suttas repeatedly carry the statement that the good householder [*saddho kulaputto*] who is endowed with adequate trusting-capacity realises, on hearing the words of the Buddha, that it is not easy to live the perfect religious life while living the life of a householder [*Na idaṃ sukaraṃ agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā ekanta-paripuṇṇaṃ ekanta-parisuddhaṃ saṅkhalikhitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ carituṃ* DN. I. 63]. All these statements which come to us from suttas like the *Sāmaññaphala* clearly reveal that the Buddhist goal of final release in Nirvāna is invariably tied up with total renunciation, early or late, of the life of the householder [*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti*]. Meet the Buddha in conversation with Mahānāma Sakka in the *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha Sutta* [*M.* I.91] where he tells Mahānāma that when greed, hatred and delusion are totally eliminated in the living process of the human, he would no longer continue to stay in the household [*na tvaṃ agāraṃ ajjhāvaseyyāsi na kāme paribhuñjeyyāsi* loc. cit.]. Thus it necessarily follows that all basic and fundamental teachings of Buddhism must undertake, as a priority, the grooming of the disciple towards his monastic career. The Buddha is seen seriously accepting this position when he calls upon his disciples to be acceptably good bhhikkhus [*suvacā bhavissāmā'ti evaṃ hi vo bhikkhave sikkhitabbaṃ* at *M.* I. 126], respecting the *dhamma* and accepting the *dhamma* as the norm in order to be good bhikkhus or good disciples of the Buddha [*dhammaṃ sakkaronto dhammaṃ garukaronto dhammaṃ apacāyamānā* loc. cit.]. Even though not with historical precision, it is believed that the early years of the Buddha's monastic organisation [up to about twelve years from its foundation] saw this harmonious growth of the spiritual culture of its membership.

But with the extension and expansion through time and space, and the increase in numbers of those who joined the monastic community, the personal discipline of the Buddhist Saṅgha began to show signs of decadence and decline. The *Bhaddāli Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* specifies five deteriorating conditions within the Saṅgha which necessitates the laying down of the codified system of legalised discipline [*Yato ca kho Bhaddāli idh'ekacce āsavaṭṭhāniyā dhammā saṅghe pātubhavanti atha satthā sāvakānaṃ sikkhāpadaṃ paññāpeti tesaṃ yeva āsavaṭṭhāniyānaṃ dhammānaṃ paṭighātāya M.* I. 445]. Among these conditions are the increase in personal gains [*lābhaggamahatta*], the wide-spread extension of renown and reputation [*yasagga-mahatta*] and the increasing strength in numbers [*vepulla-mahatta*] which necessitated the formulation of a codified system of discipline or *sikkhā-padāni* for the correction of this slackness and the regulation of monastic indiscipline within the community.

The over-all message of Buddhism that renunciation or *nekkhamma* was the basic start of all spiritual aspirations in Buddhism is unhesitatingly stated in the *Dhammacakka-ppavattana Sutta*, in its detailing out of the Eightfold Path. This was not reached by those who were too readily running in the direction of *pabajjā* or monastic life.

Even in the early days of Buddhism, meet a monk by the name of Sudinna who, on going home to his mother, was blamed for leaving his household life and becoming a monk, without even leaving behind an offspring to inherit their ancestral property. The awareness of the message of Buddhism as a Buddhist disciple by this monk was apparently so meagre and his ignorance so overwhelming that he agreed with what his mother said, and while being a monk, had sexual intercourse with his former wife and gave her a child during that encounter.

Even at a time prior to the establishment of the legalised codified *Vinaya* as an instrument of prosecution and punishment [*apaññatte sikkhāpade*], it is important to note here how this erring monk Sudinna felt, after committing what he himself felt to be an offensive breach of monastic propriety. Remorse overtook him. He admits that he has committed an evil deed: *atthi me pāpaṃ kammaṃ kataṃ*. He laments that he had not been able to live the perfect holy life: *nāsakkhim yāvajīvaṃ paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ caritun'ti* [*Vin.* III. 19]. What is fundamental to the perfection of the spiritual life in Buddhism is this sense of personal awareness of the wrong-doing and the violation of the prescribed detachment as prescribed in the *dhamma* for the perfection of the life of *brahmacariya*. Long before the establishment of a legalised *Vinaya*, it is this norm of detachment propounded in the *dhamma* that Sudinna's fellow celibates place before him to pin point his incongruous behaviour of yielding to sexual seduction [*tattha nāma tvaṃ āvuso bhagavatā virāgāya*

dhamme desite sarāgāya cetessasi visamyogāya dhamme desite saṃyogāya cetessasi anupādānāya dhamme desite saupādānāya cetesasi. loc.cit.]

The Vinaya and its why and the wherefore

The Buddha having indicated the unfavourable conditions which were seen emerging among the membership of the monastic community, and having stressed the need to lay down a codified system of legalised discipline, containing within it unquestionable authority for prosecution and punishment, by the members of the monastic community themselves, pointed out ten beneficial results [*dasa attha-vase*] which would come about as a result of this proposed legalised maintenance of discipline.

1. *Sangha-suṭṭhutāya:*
2. *Sangha -phāsutāya:* concern themselves with the comfort and convenience of those who have taken upon themselves the monastic life, to be free from irritations and annoyance that would come from miscreant fellow-members.
3. *dummankūnaṃ puggalānam niggahāya:* for the arrest and elimination of miscreants within the Sangha.
4. *Pesalānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ phāsu- vihārāya:* for the ease and comfort of well-disciplined monks.
5. *Diṭṭhadhammikānaṃ asavānam samvaraya:*
6. *Samparāyikānaṃ asavānam paṭighatāya:* take up the prevention and elimination of defiling traits of character of *āsavas* which damage the religio-spiritual life, both of this life [*Diṭṭhadhammikānaṃ*] and of the life beyond death [*samparāyikānaṃ*].
7. *appasannānaṃ pasādāya:*
8. *pasannānaṃ vā bhiyyo-bhāvāya:* endeavour for the generation of faith in those not already converted and for the promotion and enhancement of faith of those already converted.
9. *Saddhammaṭṭhitiyā*
10. *vinayānuggahāya:* promote the stability and continuance of the good Dhamma and the furtherance of the good Discipline... [*Vin.* III. 21]

Dhamma _ its long-range vision

We have already indicated the vital role which the *dhamma* which the Buddha was delivering to the world was expected to play in regulating and reforming the life of the human towards elevating him on the path of his spiritual ascent [*dhammaṃ sakkaronti ... suvacā bhavissāma' ti evaṃ hi vo bhikhave sikkhitabbaṃ M.* I. 126]. But it soon began to be clear that owing to the time space expansion of the monastic community and the lack of competent authority and powerful leadership within, situations of serious breakdown of the monastic discipline were becoming events of too frequent occurrence. Thus the powerful machinery of the *Vinaya*, to serve the ten useful services indicated above [*dasa atthavase*], came to be established.

From the earliest Buddhist teachings we discover *sikkhā* to be a co-ordinated three-tiered process of growth and development the primary grounding of which is moral goodness or *sīla*. *Sila* is the primary man-to-man relationship of respectful friendship. It begins with the over all respect for all forms of life on earth of man and animal equally well [as well as even of extra-terrestrial]. Respect for man's possessions, the basis of his sustenance comes second. This is immediately followed by respect for gender difference, spontaneously recognised as the biological basis of life continuity of man and animal. Underlying all these is honesty at every stage in one's life. Winding up the injunctions of the *Pañca- sīla* comes the fifth precept which insists that man shall always safeguard and not lose his sanity of judgment while being engaged in work [not be *visaññi assa*] by the intake of alcohol and drugs [*yaṃ pivitvā*].[2]

All these items are contained within the primary *sīla* group called the *pañca- sīla*. These *sīlas* are, in the Buddhist world, no more than self-opted patterns of good moral behaviour of the lay householder, not enforced by any external authority, applicable to all mankind, irrespective of caste creed differences of any land anywhere. At any rate, Buddhism holds any breaches of these at social level as being reprehensible [*dussīlo iti vuccati A.* III. 205, *Dhp.* v. 247]. In a non-Buddhist world of the Universal Monarch or *Rājā Cakkavatti* who is held out to be an emblem of moral goodness [*dhammiko dhamma-rājā*] this moral goodness appears to have been expected to be legally enforced: [*pāṇo na hantabbo adinnaṃ na ādātabbaṃ* etc. *D.* II. 173, III. 62]. It is extremely interesting to note that Buddhism does not tie up its concept of

moral goodness of a people with their political ideology and their forms of government. This freedom is granted to the rulers with the words "carry on your governments as you have done before = *Yathā-bhuttañ ca bhuñjatha* [ibid]."

It is to be noted by every serious student of Theravāda Buddhism that in the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha Gotama all lay aspirants to the goal of Nirvāna in Buddhism have to initially go through two successive stages of religio-cultural development of *sīla*. *Sīla* is the very first category in the three-tiered system of *sikkhā [tisso sikkhā]* which consists of *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*. The two grades of *sīla* at the primary stage are No. 1. the self-opted *pañca-sīla* for continuous life-long [*yāvajīva*] observance which is calculated to bring about global harmony everywhere, and eliminate evil forms of behaviour among mankind and No. 2 of *aṭṭhaṅga-uposatha-sīla* which is to be periodically observed on the four *uposatha* days of the month.

This, we note, is being more and more appreciated in the world today, both in the east and the west. Respect for all life of man and animal, including bird and beast is rapidly gaining ground among a vast majority of more humane people. The saner religions of the world are now accepting the swing in this direction. Strict discipline over the consumption of alcohol and drugs, while being publicly engaged in work *[majja-pamādaṭṭhāna]* is being enforced everywhere in the world at state level, implementing it with adequate prosecution and punishment. Honesty in all areas of social activity is rapidly gaining ground as an indispensable social ingredient, accompanied by prompt and expeditious prosecution and adequate deterrent punishment. Woman as the female, being primarily accepted as the progenitor of the species, even as today's surrogate mothers at times, has come to deserve unstinted respect and recognition in the cultured societies of the world.

Moving over from a basically relevant social area of No. 1. *pañca-sīla* to a specifically Buddhist religio-spiritual territory of human culture, we come to the second area in No. 2. *aṭṭhaṅga uposatha sīla*. The *pañca-sīla*, as a life-long practice of all good humans can contribute to the happiness and well-being of mankind, any where and everywhere, without any sharp caste creed differences. The *sīla* items 1 and 2 of the *pañca-sīla*, in particular, viz. the respect for individual life and respect for justifiably acquired personal property of every one, have in Buddhism, ante-dated today's Fundamental Human Rights by more than twenty-five centuries. On the other hand, the *aṭṭhaṅga-uposatha-sīla* is a periodic observance to be undertaken by Buddhist lay house-holders on the four specific days of the *uposatha* in the lunar calendar, to be observed during a complete period of day and night [*imañ ca divasaṃ imañ ca rattiṃ*], i.e. twenty-four hours. This is unmistakably indicated in the Buddhist texts as follows.

Cātuddasī pannarasī yāva pakkhassa aṭṭhamī
pāṭihāriya-pakkhañ ca aṭṭhaṅga-susamāhitaṃ
uposathaṃ upavaseyya yo pi'ssa mādiso naro.
A.I. 144

On the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month
and on the two eighth days of each half month
and on an extra-observance day,
whoever wishes to be like me,
let him observe the well-arranged
eight-fold *uposatha sīla*.

The scope and stature of the higher-grade *sīla* of the *aṭṭhaṅga-uposatha* in the Theravāda tradition has to be understood, without any confusion or vague uncertainty, both by the givers, i.e. the monks as well as the lay takers of these precepts. In the first instance, the precepts of the *pañca-sīla* in Buddhism are presented to mankind in an exceedingly broad-based manner to be acceptable to all humans on earth without sectarian undertones of any clan or tribal nature. Today, their global acceptability is being appreciated more and more. The world-wide or more or less global interest today to legally prevent humans from being engaged in physical activity while they are disabled and incapacitated physically and mentally under the influence of alcohol, is an issue of international importance in terms of world culture. So is the attitude towards theft or deprivation of others of their justifiably acquired possessions for the simple reason that property and possessions are the basis of human subsistence.

On the other hand, the *aṭṭhaṅga-uposatha-sīla* must necessarily be noted as indicating the most logical commencement of the religio-spiritual cultural ascent of the Buddhist lay householder. The unquestionable traditional version of the — *aṭṭhaṅga-sīla* observance is that it is only on specified days of the moon as

indicated by the very word *uposatha* and is never meant to be life-long. Make no mistake about it. While continuing to live his or her regular household life, a layman or lay woman picks out any single one of the four days indicated in the lunar calendar as *uposatha*, i.e. the full- moon, new-moon and the two quarters of the waning and waxing moons [*cātuddasī pannarasī yāava pakkhassa aṭṭharnī uposathaṃ upavasevya* at *A.* I. 144], and that for observance during a full twenty-four hour day [*imañ ca divasaṃ imañ ca rattiṃ*].

This includes the keeping of four additional precepts of abstinence [*veramaṇi sikkhāpadam*], i.e. three additional to the *pañca- sīla*, together with the third precept of *kāmesu micchā-cārā* or chastity being elevated to one of complete celibacy on that specific day. Together with this, the other three precepts of the *aṭṭhaṅga -uposatha*, which are additional to the *pañca-sīla*, mark self-opted abstinences on those specific days, indicating the direction of the path on which the Buddhist disciple is expected to proceed in his quest of the goal of Nirvāna. They eloquently pronounce the spirit of *nekkhamma* or renunciation, while being householders, in the periodic suspension of gratification of sex [*abrahmacariyā veramaṇī*], unrestricted and irregular intake of food [*rattūparato virato vikālabhojana*] and enjoyment of music etc. [*nacca-gīta-vādita*] and personal beautification [*maṇḍanavibhūsanaṭṭhānā veramaṇī*. It includes as the eighth, the avoidance of luxurious and extra-comfortable seats and beds [*uccā-sayana mahā-sayanā veramaṇī*].

This change, even though temporarily restricted time-wise to one single day of twenty-four hours, has to be acquired with acceptable regularity, if the Buddhist wish for Nirvāna has to be a genuine and - honest aspiration. Here we take *nekkhamma-saṅkappa* or the re-structured thought pattern of renunciation, contained as the very first item within the category *sammā-saṅkappa* of the Noble Eightfold Path, at its very early, second stage as indicating the correct direction of development in the liberation process leading to Nirvāna. This is the indispensably needed attitude of delay gratification. Underlying this, has to be a genuine spirit of discipline, of an awareness of the need to renounce or let go, at least in gradual stages, one's involvement with sensuality or sensory gratification, starting with sublimation of sexual desires through *kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī* for strict observance of chastity, and upgrading it during the *aṭṭhaṅga -uposata* to total celibacy in *abrahma-cariyā veramaṇī*.

More and more philosophers of the western world are now seen to be putting forward this idea of 'delay gratification' for the purpose of religio-cultural growth of man on earth [nay this may even be referred to as the much-needed socio-cultural growth of the human, both man and woman in the world today]. This is self-improvement of the human for its own sake. This, more than any form of prayer and supplication, or grace from any source outside, contributes towards the elevation of the human self in a transcendental way, i.e. with less and less materialistic interests and investment. This is the original spirit of the *dhamma* which Śākyamuni, the Buddha Gotama, gave to the world for transcendence from the mundane to a plane above it, free from all the psycho-physical trouble and turmoil within it. There can be no cheating about it, with humans being made to struggle and crave for super human bliss in the heavenly worlds above beyond earth and equally grandiose affluence as humans on return to earth. This cannot, at least be so within the claimed-to-be original Theravāda Buddhist tradition, neither for those who claim to be exponents of it nor for those who accept it with acclamation and approval.

Thus it becomes adequately clear that the monolithic religious life of *pabbajjā* in Buddhism begins with this unquestionable act of renunciation or *nekkhamma*, of totally leaving behind all encumbrances, physical and mental, of household living, in search of homelessness [*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti*]. This is and has to be found within the unblemished Theravāda tradition, as the one and only life style possible for a pursuant of Nirvāna or the liberation from *samsāric* ills. The honesty entailed in this quest of Nirvāna by the Buddhist requires a firmness of conviction with regard to self-awareness and self-discipline. These, we believe, are remarkably contained within the first two stages of the Eightfold Path, namely i. *sammā-diṭṭhi* or corrected vision and ii. *sammāsaṅkappa* or re-structured patterns of Buddhist thinking, which come in succession, one after another.

Has a Buddhist acquired the awareness why he or she needs to aspire for Nirvāna and what preliminary steps he or she needs to take in the direction of its achievement. This is why one who has taken to a monastic life through renunciation, man or woman,

immediately reminds himself or herself, on the emergence of any thoughts of abandoning it, that it virtually amounts to suicide. Read the story of Bhikkhunī Sīhā at *Therīgāthā* verse 80 for her firm conviction [*varaṃ me idha ubbandhaṃ yañ ca hinaṃ punācare* = It is better for me to hang my self here than return to lay life]. A very similar story is told about Bhikkhu Sappaddāsa at *Theragāthā* v 407.

In the passage from lay life to one of *pabbajjā*, the pattern of growth of the monastic religious culture in Buddhism is clearly indicated in the *dhamma*, i.e. in the suttas themselves. Note that it is pre-Vinaya, i.e. prior to the codified monastic legal system, in origin. A sutta by the name of Fruits of Recluse-ship or *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* [D. I. 62-86] details out in three sections as minor, medium and large, all items of abstinences or *sīla* which bring about propriety of monastic behaviour, each item being referred to as serving this need: *idaṃ pi'ssa hoti sīlasmiṃ*.

The early Buddhist monastic community was founded by the great Master Samana Gotama, in the sixth century B.C. soon after his enlightenment as the Buddha. This body of mendicants went under the name of Bhikkhu Sangha because of their regular habit of begging from the lay community for their subsistence of food and clothing. They were necessarily dependent on others [*parapaṭibaddha*]. These mendicants increased in numbers, and forming themselves into groups, seem to have spread out with ease and considerable success over the neighbouring regions [*tāsu tāsu disāsu tesu tesu janapadesu*]. Their very physical appearance, expressing a remarkable degree of abstemiousness and renunciation, with their clean shaven heads and simple wearing apparel of a monochrome dyed-robe *kāsāya-vattha* which is not yellow by any means], made up of hand-picked pieces of abandoned cloth of diverse sorts and colours, from charnel grounds [*paṃsu-kūla-cīvara*], naturally made them the centre of a great deal of public charity.

On his wanderings, whenever and wherever the Buddha as the founder of this new group arrived in a new locality, people of all ranks in ceaseless numbers seem to have flocked to see him with a very keen desire to acquaint themselves with what he had to say. In no uncertain terms, he was gaining in popularity. This also led to the tremendous patronage the community of disciples received. As for the disciples, this gain and increase in popularity with people [*lābhagga* and *yasagga*] increasingly contributed to slackness in monastic behaviour and breakdown of monastic discipline. The *Bhaddāli sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* precisely refer to this situation as the arrival into the midst of the community signs of decadence and decay [*āsavaṭṭhaniyā dhammā saṅghe pātu bhavanti. M.* I. 445].

Sīla as items of self-opted personal discipline for spiritual growth, contained within the very first item in the three-tiered *sikkhā*, without any accompanying machinery for prosecution and punishment of miscreants had to be given new legal validity by being re-drafted within a legal framework. Items of *sīla* had to be re-selected on the basis their organic relevance for the furtherance of the spiritual growth of the monastic life of the Buddhist disciple as well as for his harmonious blending with the lay society and the state. New sets of rules, graded according to the severity of their resulting breaches like killing, stealing and sexual improprieties in terms of religious and social considerations had to be introduced. This was vital in the implementation of the areas of prosecution and punishment which is the primary domain of the *Vinaya*.

The Codified Law of the Saṅgha

The first indications of the evolution of a system of codified law for the Saṅgha come to us with the promulgation of *sikkhāpada* which was provoked by laxities in discipline in the monastic community which contravened the spirit of *sīla*. The *sikkhāpada* thus laid down from time to time by the Master himself [*Yannūna'haṃ yāni mayā bhikkhūnaṃ paññattāni sikkhāpadāni* ... *Vin.* 1. 102] soon grew to be a comprehensive code of discipline for the monks and was put into effective functioning through the fortnightly recital which was called the *Uddesa* or *Pātimokkhuddesa*. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* specifies the total number of *sikkhāpada* which were thus regularly recited at this very early stage to be over a hundred and fifty [*Sādhikaṃ idaṃ bhante diyaḍḍha-sikkhāpada -sataṃ anvaddhamāsaṃ uddesaṃ āgacchati. A.* 1. 230]. This is evidently an early reckoning, for the extant code of the *Pātimokkha* for the Bhikkhus, has a total of 220 and for the Bhikkhunis 304 sikkhāpada. Seven different groups of *sikkhāpada* contribute to this total of 220.

The distribution of the *sikkhāpada* of the Bhikkhus is as follows:

1. Pārājikā	4
2. Saṅghādisesa	13
3. Aniyata	2
4. Nissaggiya Pācittiya	30
5. Pācittiya	92
6. Pāṭidesaniya	4
7. Sekhiya	75
Total	220

As one closely and carefully examines the different groups of *sikkhāpadas*, seven in number, one cannot fail to be impressed by the original usefulness the Buddha would have had in mind in proposing that the monks should meet every fortnight, and in collective assembly, recite this body of *sikkhāpadas* called the *Pātimokkha*.

The distribution of the *sikkhāpada* of the Bhikkhuṇis is as follows.

1. Pārājikā	8
2. Saṅghādisesa	17
3. Nissaggiya Pācittiya	30
4. Pācittiya	166
5. Pāṭidesaniya	8
6. Skhiya	75
Total	304

The *Adhikaraṇasamatha dhammā* which are modes of settling disputes within the ecclesiastical body of the Saṅgha are seven in number and are identically the same for both groups. These being differently labeled as *dhammā* for obvious reasons, cannot be grouped together along with these s *sikkhāpada*. Hence it is definitely an error to reckon the total for each group as 227 and 311.

Pārājikā

Under the codified law in Buddhism which goes under the name of *Pātimokkha* [of the Bhikkhus] the first group of *Parājikā* rules constitute the four most serious monastic offences which imply immediate expulsion from the community of monastic living on the discovery of commission of any of those offences [*Pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso*].

As the equivalent of the very first item of *pāṇātipātā* under the *sīla* division, the *Pātimokkha* listing of *Parājikās* has altered the order and has *manussa-viggaha* or man-slaughter placed as item no. 3 of the group. Heading the list of rules under *Pārājikās*, there comes as No. 1 the offence of sexual indulgence or *methuna-dhamma*. In the higher grade Buddhist religious living of a *pabbajita* or renunciant, in consonance with the spirit of its teachings, *nekkhamma* had to take precedence over all other ethical considerations. Hence this priority given to abstinence from sexual indulgence in the *Pātimokkha* listing, as against even destruction of life, had to be understandably so.

This placing of sexual indulgence precept of *methuna-dhamma* as No.1. in the list of *Pārājikās*, pushing the one on respect for life to the position No. 3 is to be noted as a vital change of emphasis in Buddhist monastic philosophy. It is also to be noted that in the operation of the religio-legal disciplinary system of Buddhist monastic *Vinaya*, the Buddha would have thought it discreet to have the unstinted support of the State legal machinery in the operation of his Buddhist monastic disciplinary set up. The Buddha, at one time, seems to have even consulted an ex-Minister of Legal Affairs who, by then had become a Buddhist disciple, on such matters [*Vin*. III. 45].

At this stage, we would venture to examine whether the offence of sexual gratification, or any of the *Pārājikās* at that, [i.e. involving expulsion out of the community] had to be legally proved, with the admission of the offender, to be punishable within the Buddhist monastic community with its own specific aspirations. The state law would and should go, as far as possible within its own perimeter, with legally established evidence, to prosecute and punish monastic offenders, in its own relevant areas of offences like man-slaughter. It is our opinion that in areas relevant to *Pārājikā* No. 1. items of sexual improprieties like rape and incest, and adulterous behaviour on the part of members of the Buddhist monastic community should come within the purview of state law as well for prosecution and punishment, without any provision of immunity.

A generous plea by King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha to immunise Buddhist monks from being arrested for legal offences had to face resistance from the public at large and the situation had to he handled

differently by preventing criminals who were already convicted and branded by the state from finding an escape by stealthily entering the Buddhist monastic order. These offences in themselves, if committed by monks while being within the order, are challenges to the very spirit of monastic spiritual culture and had to be severely dealt with.

It is of utmost interest to us here to note that in a Canonical Vinaya text [*Vin.* I. 76] it is recorded that King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha had ordered that those who seek ordination as monks under Samaṇa Gotama to work out their salvation are not to be legally arrested for any legal offences [*Anu-ññātaṃ raññā Māgadhena Seniyena Bimbisārena ye samaṇesu Sakya-puttiyesu pabajanti na te labbhā kiñci kātuṃ. Svākkhāto dhammo. Carantu brahma-cariyaṃ sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāya.*]

This immunity, referred to as *abhayūvara* which the king granted to the Buddhist monks reflects both the very deep respect in which he held the Buddha and his dispensation as well as his magnanimity which stands out unique. But this led to inexcusable abuses. People at large began to complain about this immunity which disrupted law and order in the land. And the Buddha took prompt action to legislate against it. He insisted that gazetted criminals and branded robbers and the like be not ordained and admitted into the Order as monks. Thus in Buddhism, the religion does not dangerously turn out to be an imperium in emperio, i.e. an empire within an empire.

A point of further interest not to be missed here is the Buddha's clear differentiation in *Pārājikā* No. 3 of the concept of killing, keeping the destruction of human life in a class by itself, as distinct from that of animals. This is particularly in view of prosecution and punishment, alongside state law. Here again, we believe, is the need to be in conformity with the State law in determining the category of killing involved, differentiating between human and animal. But make no mistake. In the area of moral and spiritual development, while the Buddhist aspirant is on the Path, the attitude towards all grades of life, human and animal, had to be watched and developed, keeping within the frames of *avyāpāda-saṅkappa and avihimsā-saṅkappa* of the Eightfold Path, with unquestionable honesty and seriousness. This is what necessitates the intimation to the newly upgraded *upasampanna* monk, without any delay during that ceremony, the four *akaraṇīyāni* which insist that he cannot destroy the life even of a bed bug, or steal even a blade of grass etc. In Buddhist religio-spiritual culture, one works towards the achievement of the maximum in development and not the minimum as one's target.

These transgressions against the Codified Law or *Pātimokkha*, both of monks [Bhikkhus – 220] and nuns [Bhikhuṇis - 304], referred to as *āpatti* fall into seven categories of decreasing gravity.4 Next to the most serious offences of *Parājikā* which entail expulsion from the order of monks and nuns are the *Saṅghādisesa* which are viewed as direct challenges to Buddhist monastic living [i.e. are violations of proper monastic behaviour]. The *Vinaya* requires that their commission be reported and confessed forthwith to fellow members of the Order. The complete recital of these lists of offences at the fortnightly gatherings or *pātimokkha + uddesa* was originally intended to serve this purpose of crime detection via honest personal confession [*yassa siyā āpatti so āvikareyya*] and correction without any further damaging delay. But this seems to have gone out of vogue quite soon due to various reasons put forward by various persons and groups and in its place a personal choice to discipline oneself in terms of the overall broad category of three-fold culture or *tisso sikkhā* seems to have had its approval. *Tasmā t'iha tvaṃ bhikkhu tīsu sikkhāsu sikkhassu* [*A.* I. 230].

Saṅghādisesa

Talking of the other groups of offences in their descending order of gravity, next to the *Parājikās* come the thirteen *Saṅghādisesas*. A good many of these are acts of aberrant sex behaviour, involving improperly obtained intimacies with women. They share the same forbidden proneness to sexuality as associated with *Pārājikā* No. 1 of *methūna dhamma*. These are both personally damaging to the spiritual culture of the avowed religious aspirations as well as being disruptive of the institutional reputation of the monastic community. The attitude towards these transgressions is evidently stern and strict. The commission of these *Saṅghādisesa* offences puts the miscreants immediately under six days of penitential deprivation [*chā' rattam mānattaṃ*]. They shall temporarily lose their seniority within the community, like in sitting in the alms-hall, or in being served by junior monks.

In case prompt confession is not made of the offence committed, the miscreant incurs another compulsory

penalty called *parivāsa* [*akāmā parivatthabbaṃ*] for every day of concealment which has to be gone through first, prior to the winding-up penalty of the six-day *mānotta*. *Saṅghādisesa* being the very first of the monastic offences in the *Suttavibhanga* tradition for which punishments are specifically indicated, the spirit behind these seem to indicate that the offenders have to repeatedly put themselves through acts of self-humiliation in the presence of the Saṅgha, i.e. the Monastic community, in order to make good the loss of reputation which the Sangha has come to suffer [*Saṅgha mānānatthāya*] on account of the questionable behavior of erring monks.

Aniyata or indeterminate

Two *sikkhāpadas* come under this category where a monk of indiscreet behaviour is suspected of enjoying questionable intimacies with a female which, if correctly established can be in any one of three categories, namely *Pārājikā*, *Saṅghādisesa* or *Pācittiya*. But due to lack of definite evidence after adequate inquiry, but on the evidence of hearsay report of a trustworthy lay devotee, the offender may circumstantially placed, as deemed fit, in any one of the three above stated monastic offences. It is a situation of 'the benefit of the doubt' being given to the offender.

Nissaggiya Pācittiya

Yet another group of offences which attract our attention among others in the *Vinaya* on account of their socio-economic vigilance over the behavior of the monastic community in relation to the lay society is the *Nissaggiya Pācittiya* [i.e offences which require having to surrender incorrectly acquired and kept personal possessions like robes and bowls to the collective pool of the Sangha community]. Wearing apparel [*cīvara*] for monks and nuns was not easy to get at in India at the time. It was by putting together discarded bits of cloth of diverse colours and texture in which dead bodies had been wrapped, collected from cemeteries and charnel houses [*pāmsu-kūla-cīvara*] that Buddhist monks made their robes for wearing and wrapping themselves. That is why these patchy multi coloured robes had to be dyed with earth pigments and herbal dyes and made monochrome [*kāsāyāni* meaning dyed]. The monks needed three pieces of wearing apparel [*ti-cīvara*]. One to wear like a sarong to cover the lower half of the body [*antara-vāsaka*], another wrapper [*pārupana*] to cover the upper half and a third double lined thicker robe [*saṅghāṭi*]for use in colder weather [See Civara - Encyclopaedia of Buddhism].

The bowls in which the monks ate their begged food were equally difficult to get at. The clay ones out of these were equally fragile and had to be handled with utmost care. Therefore the individual ownership of such items had to be kept at a minimum low, reducing the burden on the supplier lay community at its lowest. The stories narrated in connection with many *Nissaggiya Pācittiya* rules reveal this aggressive monopolistic collectivist tendency on the part of many ill- disciplined groups of monks like the Chabbaggiyā.[5]

Pācittiya

Sikkhāpadas of the *Pācittiya* groups, both of the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhuṇis, stand in the ratio of 92 out of 220 for the Bhikkhus and 132 out of 304 for the Bhikkhuṇis. In both groups, the *Pācittiyas* have the largest number of *sikkhāpadas* in any single group. On the whole, the *Pācittiyas* are regulatory instructions, correcting the behavior, in word and deed, of monks and nuns among themselves, or relation to the lay community or personnel of other religious groups. Single incidents, relating to questionable behavior of individuals are taken up for scrutiny and examination, tested for their acceptability or otherwise and made into general rules of long term acceptability to, sometimes of both groups, monks and nuns.

Sometimes, *Pācittiyas* also appear as splintered *sikkhāpadas*. i.e. taking the place of a sub- graded *Pārājikā* or *Saṅghādisesa*, as it does happen in the case of the *Aniyatas*.

Pāṭidesaniya

The Bhikkhus have four *Pāṭidesaniya* rules of their own which also deal with food but are wider in their scope.6 Nos. 1 and 2 determine the relations of Bhikkhus with Bhikkhuṇis at meals, and hence have no relevance to the Bhikkhuṇīs themselves. Nos. 3 and 4 refer to certain situations in which a monk who is not ill should not help himself to food. No. 4 deals with it specifically in relation to forest residences. Therefore this rule would not apply to the Bhikkhuṇīs. No. 3 embodies an undoubtedly significant consideration. It prescribes against possible exploitation of pious lay patrons by inconsiderate

monks, who while helping themselves to a meal, would fail to consider the economic stability of the people who provide them with food. Here the Buddha decrees that the Bhikkhus should formally decide among themselves not to strain those families of devoted laymen whose resources are depleted. The Bhikkhus shall not call on them and accept food unless on invitation or in cases of illness.

The eight *Pātidesanīya* rules of the Bhikkhunīs, on the other hand, are extremely simple in character and seem in fact to be a splitting up of the single rule which bars a Bhikkhunī, unless she is ill, from obtaining by request and using ghee, oil, honey, molasses, fish, meat, milk and curd.7

Sekhiyā

Sekhiyā constitute the last group of *sikkhāpadas* of the seven-fold *Pātimokkha* or *Suttavibhaṅga*. As the very name *Sekhiyā* itself suggests, it means instructions for the training or culture of the not yet perfected' or learner, Buddhist disciple, monk and nun [a + *sekha*]. Both groups have seventy five *sikkhāpadas* each. They all aim at perfecting the behavioral demeanor in word and deed of the Buddhist renunciant, i.e. one who has taken to a life of total renunciation or *pabbajjā*. They comprehensively cover such areas like their manner of dress, of donning the robes with adequate decorum in public, of sitting down in the houses of laymen, of the kind of conversation arid the manner in which they engage themselves with them etc.

In Buddhism, i.e. in the Buddhist way of religious living, the lives of both monks and nuns, i.e. bhikkūs and bhikkhuṇis, had to take to the real Buddhist way of religious orientation, which is essentially Nirvāna-oriented. This is referred to with unmistakable clarity and precision as *Nibbānaṃ adhimuttānaṃ* [at *Dhp.* V. 226] which means 'those who are intent on the attainment of Nirvāna'. No honest Buddhist travel agent, monk or layman, i.e. those who claim to guide the worldlings to their ultimate religious goal, can change the reading in his advertising sign boards and indicate Heavenly Bliss and Worldly Affluence [*dev minis saepa kelavara* in Sinhala] as among the five star hotels in the truly promised destinations of Buddhist religiousness.

All the same, the Buddhist disciple, from the time of his or her entry into the monastic order, has to possess and exhibit all the necessary propriety and decorum that is worthy of a *pabbajita* in their relations with the lay community. What is known in Buddhist *Vinaya* under the name of *Abhisamācārika sikkhā* we feel, concerns itself with this area of socio-cultural aspect of development of the Buddhist disciple.

Khandhakas

Another area of descriptive *Vinaya*, referred to under *Mahāvagga Pāli* and *Cullavagga Pāli*, detailing with monastic activities like ordination of new members at different levels [*pabbajjā* and *upasampadā*], observance of monastic functions like the Rains Retreat [*Vassāvāsa*], relationship of teachers and pupils *Ācariya* and *Upajjhāya vattas*], and the day to day activities of the monastic community as it gradually came into existence. This promoted what we would witness as the considerably early growth of the *Khandhaka Vinaya* which resulted in the delivery of the two books latterly named *Mahāvagga Pāli* and *Cullavagga Pāli*. It is our firm conviction that both these two groups, the *Vibhaṅgas* and the *Khandhakas*, in whatever state of development at the time, came to be recited by Thera Upāli, at the request of Thera Mahā Kassapa, during the recitals at the First Buddhist Council, and came to be reported as *eten 'eva upāyena ubhato vinaye pucchi*. 8

Parivārapāli

In all, these four books, namely the 2 *Vibhaṅgas* [i.e. *Pārājikā Pāli* and *Pācittiya Pāli*] together with 2 *Khandhaka* collections of *Mahāvagga Pāli* and *Cullavagga Pāli* constitute the four major texts of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. A classificatory index by the name of *Parivāra Pāli*, has come to be latterly appended as the fifth and final text to the Buddhist Pali *Vinaya* literature.

Finally it must be remembered that in Buddhism, *VINAYA* is much more than the corpus of literature contained under that name. It is Buddhist religious culture which is a sum total of intellectual, attitudinal and behavioural changes brought in the life of the human who has already embarked on a life of mendicancy through awareness, understanding and conviction, aided by both the '*Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* which the Buddha himself has meticulously laid down.

Dhammavihāri Thera

References

1 For a comprehensive study of Vinaya in Buddhism, see Buddhist Monastic Discipline by Jotiya Dhirasekera, the author of this aritcle. [He is presently Professor Dhammavihari Thera]. First edition 1982, M. D. Gunasena, Colombo and second edition 2007, Buddhist Cultural Centre, Anderson Road, Dehiwela, Sri Lanka. See specially 2007 Second Ed. Where a further note on this subject is added.

2 Evaṃ sattavāsādhikāni dve sikkhāpadasatāni mahavibhaṅgo'ti (Myanmar) Evaṃ visādhikāni dve sikkhāpadasatāni mahavibhango'ti (PTS)

3 It is amusing to note the sly manner in which the mechanics who ingeniously construct the *Ājīvaṭṭhamaka sīla* pack this item No. 5 of *Pañ ca- sīla,* namely *surāmerayo-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā- veramani* under *kāmesu micchā-cāra verarnanī .sikkhā-padaṃ,* reflecting a disastrous ignorance and misunderstanding of this basic injunction which stands to safeguard against sexual improprieties in human society.

4 For further details see Buddhist Monastic Disciplines – Jotiya Dheerasekera [Second Edition] ch. VIII

5 See for instance Nissaggiya XXX at Vin. III. 265

6 Vin. IV. 175-84

7 For further details regarding increasing numbers and different types of Bhikkhunī Pātidesaniyas, see author's Buddhist Monastic Discipline Second Edition 2007], Chapter XIV

8 Certainly it was not as *ubhato vibhange* as Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Text at Vol. 5 (2), p. 550 of 1983 would have it, no matter under whose influence or instruction. We reject it as being unacceptable. Recently we had the good fortune, after a long search, to lay hands on a 13th century Palm Leaf Manuscript of this Cullavagga Pāli at the Sri Lanka National Museum Library which preserves the still uncontaminated text as *ubhato vinaye*. For a comprehensive study of Vinaya, see Buddhist Monastic Discipline by Jotiya Dhirasekera [presently Professor Dhammavihari Thera]. First edition 1982 and second edition 2007. Buddhist Cultural Centre, Sri Lanka. See specially 2007 Second Ed. p. 24 where a further note on this subject is added.

VINAYA (2). Usually rendered into English as 'discipline' the word *Vinaya* is derived from *vi* + √*nī, nayati, neti* 'to lead'. The Pāli- English dictionary (s.v. vinaya) gives as its primary meanings 'driving out', 'abolishing', 'destruction', 'removal' etc. In illustration one could cite the statement attributed to the Buddha where he gives his own interpretation of the term *Venayika*, in fact, applied to him in a derogatory sense by certain non-Buddhists, "I, Siha", 'says the Buddha, "teach the Dhamma for the removal (*vinayāya*) of attachment (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*), for the removal of the manifold unwholesome states of the mind (*akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ*) (*Vin.*I.235). In addition to the sense 'to remove', the two verbal forms *vinayati* and *vineti* are also used in the senses of 'to lead', 'to instruct', 'to guide', 'to train', 'to educate' etc.

Another shade of meaning pointed out in the lexicon is the use of the word to convey the sense of 'rule', 'way of saying' or 'judging', 'terminology' etc.For instance it is used to convey the manner in which a certain term is used in Buddhist terminology, " This, brahamin, is one called 'threefold wise' (*tevijjo*) in Buddhist terminology (*ariyassa vinaye A.*I.163). In another instance, when a monk who is not amenable to any form of training, harsh, mild or both combined, is denied any instruction from the Tathāgata or wise fellow members of the Order, he is said to be 'destroyed' (*vadha*) in the parlance of the Noble one (*ariyassa vinaye*) *ibid.*II.113).

In a third sense the word is used to convey the meaning of 'conduct', ethics', 'morality' or 'good behaviour'. For instance in the statement "where faith is established in the ethics of the Noble One" (*ariyassa vinaye ibid.* III 353 *f.*) The word *vinaya* is interpreted by the *Jātaka* commentary (*J.*IV 242) as good behaviour or good conduct (*ācāra-vinaya*) expected from a discerning person but not from a fool. In both the second and third senses many translate the word *vinaya* as 'discipline'.

But the most popular and most widely used sense of the word *Vinaya* in Buddhist literature is its use to

denote the rules of discipline of the members of the Saṅgha, both monks and nuns, governing things disallowed (*vāritta*) as well as things allowed (*cāritta*) to them by the Master. It is the second branch of the teachings of the Buddha denoted by the twin term *dhamma-vinaya*. It was the general accepted view in ancient India that the teachings of any religious teacher should contain both these aspects, viz. the doctrinal part dealing with the philosophy and the practical part comprising the rules of conduct to be followed by those who choose to follow the teaching. So the ascetic Siddhattha, who, after leaving home life went to the two teachers Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, expressed his wish to lead the religious life in their *dhamma-vinaya* (*M*.1.163; 165). Similarly Ven. Assaji tells the wandering ascetic Sāriputta that he was very recently admitted to the *dhamma-vinaya* of the Sakyan Sage (*Vin*.1.41). Here the twin term may indicate both the teachings of the Buddha as well as his Order of disciples. The two terms are also used, sometimes, separately as the *Dhamma* and the *vinaya*. Thus in one instance (*A*.II.168) the dispensation of the Master is introduced using the two terms separately as, " This is the *Dhamma* and this is the *Vinaya*; the Dispensation of the Master" (*satthu-sāsana*). Once the teachings of the Buddha came to be taken as comprising three components— the *Tipiṭaka*— the second came to be designated the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the Basket of Monastic Discipline.

Commentarial Views

Inspite of the different shades of meaning in the use of the term *Vinaya* as shown above, Buddhist scholiasts have generally accepted it as a term of reference to the code of monastic rules of the *Saṅgha*. As it governs the life and existence of the *Saṅgha*, the *Vinaya* code has been accorded, especially in the *Theravāda* School, a primary place of importance in the *Tipiṭaka* literature. Thus the commentator Buddhaghosa, in the opening verses of the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Vinaya* commentary, says that *Vinaya* is the very life of the dispensation. " Placing reliance in the greatness of the teachers of yore, I shall expound the uncontaminated code of discipline by the survival of which is assured the mainstay of the Dispensation of the Sage of great stability, though He exists no more!" (*VinA*. I.1). This high claim for the importance of *Vinaya* by Buddhaghosa is further confirmed by the comment on *Vinaya* he attributes to the members of the first Buddhist Council (*ibid*.p.13). Queried by Mahākassapa, the members of the Council replied, "Sir, Mahākassapa, the *Vinaya* is the very life of the Dispensation of the Enlightened One; so long as the *Vinaya* enduers, the Dispensation endures; therefore let us rehearse the *Vinaya* first2". The latter, not found in the *Cullavagga* account of the First Council, is definitely an addition of the commentarial stage. Buddhaghosa could have taken it from the *Sīhala* commentary. Commenting on these commentarial assertions Prof. Jayawickrama3 points to the contrast it affords to the Buddha's own statement in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D*.II.154) which makes no distinction between the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*. By this the Buddha makes the Dhamma and the Discipline he has declared and laid down, respectively, to his disciplies, their teacher after his demise. Further he also points to a statement, attributed by Buddhaghosa to Mahākassapa himself, a little while earlier, "As long as the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* endure, so long will the sacred word, be such that its Teacher has not passed into oblivion" (*VinA*.I.4). Anyway they clearly point to certain developments in the Theravāda tradition regarding the importance of the *Vinaya*.

To elucidate the purpose of the use of the term *Vinaya* Buddhaghosa makes the following statement. " Because it contains manifold distinctive modes of practices (*naya*) and restrains both bodily and verbal acts, the *Vinaya* is called so, by those who are adepts in the purport of the Discipline" (*ibid*. 18f.)4. Analysing this statement further the commentator says that the word 'manifold' (*vividha*) refers to the divisions such as the injunctions of the fivefold *Pāṭimokkha* recital (*Vin*.1.112), the seven classes of the offences beginning with the *Pārājikā*, the *Mātikā* and the *Vibhaṅga*. Of the items underlined as distinctive (*visesa*) the commentator states that they become so on account of the application of corollaries which serve the purpose of relaxing rigid rules. As it prohibits physical and verbal transgressions, it regulates body and speech (*vinayanato kāyavācānaṃ*).

This idea of prohibiting physical and verbal transgressions regulating body and speech, brings 2*Vinaya* in line with *Sīla*, 'moral discipline', which is defined in canonical discourses as " wholesome bodily acts, wholesome verbal acts and purity in livelihood" (*M*.II.27; *BD*, s.v *Sīla*). The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*D*.1.63) gives a more detailed definition of *Sīla* forming

the basis of the religious life of a Buddhist monk or nun as follows; "When he has thus become a recluse he lives self-restrained by the rules of *Pātimokkha*. Endowed with good manners and the practices of right behaviour, he sees danger in the least of those things blameworthy. He adopts and trains himself in the precepts, being endowed with good deeds in act and word. Pure are his means of livelihood, good is his conduct, guarded are the door of his senses. Mindful and self- possessed he is contented". By this very comprehensive description of *Sīla*, in a manner, is also revealed the purpose and the function of *Vinaya* as well.

Another analysis of the concept of *Vinaya* is found in the *Sutta Nipāta* commentary (*SnA*.p.8*f*.). Commenting here on the word *vineti* in the *Uraga Sutta*, the commentator gives a twofold analysis of the term *Vinaya* as discipline or training through restraint *(saṃvara-vinaya)* and discipline through elimination (*pahāna-vinaya*). Each one of these is further sub-divided into five. Thus discipline through restraint is sub-divided as : i.restraint by moral discipline *(sīla)*; ii. restraint by awareness (*sati*); iii.restraint by wisdom *(paññā)*; iv. restraint by endurance (*khanti*); and v.retraint by energy (*viriya*). Of these restraint by moral discipline is taken to be a reference to disciplining by the rules of the *Pātimokkha* and so forth, possibly as shown above as occurring in the *Samaññaphala Sutta*. Restraint by awareness is taken to be a reference to the guarding of the sense doors, also found in the same discourse. The streams of craving that flows by the contact of the senses with their sense objects are closed by wisdom *paññā* gained through insight (*vipassanā*). Restraint by endurance *khanti* is taken to be the ability to bear up such painful bodily feelings arising through heat, cold etc. Restraint by energy *viriya* is explained as a reference to the non-entertainment of passions that arise in one's mind but getting rid of them and their elimination by effort.

Disciplining through elimination is also divided into five sub-divisions as: i *tadaṅga-pahāna* or elimination by the substitution of opposites through insight. For instance the annihilationism is eliminated by observing the arising of phenomena (*udayadassanena)* and eternalism is eliminated by observing the passing away of phenomena (*vayadassanena)*; ii. *vikkhambhana-pahāna* or elimination by repression is explained as temporary suspension of the five hindrances etc. during the absorptions (*samāpatti)*; iii. *samuccheda-pahāna* or elimination by extirpation. With the arising of the noble paths (*ariya-magga)* by the development of the noble truths (*ariya-sacca)* certain evil states are extirpated so that they cannot arise again;iv. *paṭippassaddhi-pahāna* or elimination by tranquilization attained through fruition (*phala*). Unwholesome states become extinct and stilled from the moment of fruition; v.*nissaraṇa-pahāna* or elimination by escape is the final realization of *Nibbāna* (*BD*.s.v. *Pahāna*).

This analysis of *Vinaya* in the *Sutta Nipāta* commentary is quite significant. Unlike the *Vinaya Piṭaka* commentary where only the injunction of that *Piṭaka* are taken into account, here the elucidation of the term has gone beyond the *Vinaya* injunction, to include both the *Vinaya* and the *Dhamma*. In the five constituents of 'discipline through restraint' only *sīla-saṃvara* could clearly be included within the traditional interpretation of *Vinaya Piṭaka* injunctions. The other four divisions fall more within the *Dhamma* than the *Vinaya*. All the five constituents of 'discipline through elimination' are clearly related to the instructions in the *Dhamma* with tranquility and insight meditation given a significant role to play in it. It looks a gradual path in five steps ending up with *Nibbāna*, the Summum Bonum of Buddhism. Here the full course of spiritual development has been interpreted in terms of self-disciplining or self-training. In fact the whole teaching of the Buddha could be included under the term *Vinaya*, where the unwholesome factors are gradually extricated and the wholesome factors are cultivated and made to increase *(bhāvitā bahulīkatā)*.

Views of Modern Scholarship

Pāli scholars of the older generation like Oldenberg, who edited the *Vinaya Piṭaka* for the Pāli text Soceity and Horner, who translated the same into English, have taken *Vinaya*, in the traditional *Vinaya* commentary sense, as a set of rules regulating the outward conduct of the members of the *Saṅgha*. Thus in the opinion of Oldenberg, " We may define it as a collection of rules regulating the outward conduct of the Sangha Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis". He goes on to state that *Vinaya* does not deal with purely ethical questions except so far as they affect the outward conduct, not in a general sense, but only so far as it is concerned with that of the Saṅgha. The *Dhamma* according to him, has an account of the inward process by which release is accomplished,

whereas *Vinaya* treats only of the outward conduct of the life that is still struggling towards it (*Vin*.1.XIII-XIV).In Miss Horner's opinion, while the *Dhamma* concerns the inner life of Gotama's followers, their conscience, mental training and outlook, the *Vinaya* was the discipline governing and regulating the outward life of the monks and nuns who had entered the monastic Order. " *Dhamma* may indeed be said to be all that *Vinaya* is not" 'adds Miss Horner5. One could, however compare these sentiments with those shown above as coming from the *Sutta Nipāta* Commentary.

However a more recent writer on the Budddhist *Vinaya*6 has set out a much broader view on the subject. While admitting "discipline" as the common translation of the term *Vinaya*, he prefers to go into a more analytical consideration of the etymology of the word. Taking the etymological meaning of the word, he arrives at the rendering' " that which separates" or " that which removes" as a better form. Edward Conze, according to him, has taken the word *Vinaya* to mean "that which leads away from the world".(This he has taken from the 1959 edition of Conze's work. But I find that Conze has 'to lead away' from evil 'to discipline' in the 1951 edition of the same work)[7]. Not completely rejecting Conze's view he, however, states his preference to the rendering " that which removes" as a more accurate reflection of what is involved in the Buddhist understanding of discipline.

Trying to figure out what has to be removed, he opines that it should be the "wrong states of mind, the conditions of grasping, desiring and ignorance which stem from the delusion that we have a 'self' to be satiated". The discipline of the *vinaya*, according to him, is a means of overcoming the sense of I-ness, (*ahamkāra*) as a result of a conscious effort. But once this *ahaṃkāra* is removed the perfected external behaviour and expressions need not anymore be conscious effort of disciplining one's mind. They should then become outward reflections of one's calmed inward dispositions which could best be called detachment (*virāga*). Thus the path of discipline advocated in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* leads to a condition of detachment from the fetters of existence that generates *ahaṃkāra*. This "disciplined behaviour" is none other than the characterization of the behavioural expression of a perfected being (*arahant*). It is the hallmark of one in whom all grasping has ceased. This is a much broader interpretation given to the rules of discipline of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

It is worth noting that the ideas expressed by both these writers are reflected in certain statements shown above, attributed to the Buddha. Removal (*vinaya*) of unwholesome states of the mind (*akusala*), attachment, hatred and delusion etc. are given in them as the aim of his teaching. In another statement "that removal of the 'conceit I am'(*asmimāna*)" is called the Bliss Supreme which in fact, is a term of expression for *Nibbāna*. Thus according to this scholar, while *Vinaya* leads to the highest positive achievement envisaged in Buddhism, it becomes, in the *arahant*, the outward expression of his inner tranquility.

Vinaya Applied to the Layman's Discipline

Vinaya, although in its broadest sense could be applied to any person, in Buddhist usage, it has generally been reserved for the rules and regulations governing both the abstinences (*vāritta*) and the allowed practices (*cāritta*) in the life of monks and nuns. But, concluding the commentary on the *Sigālovāda Sutta* in the *Dighanikāya*, Buddhaghosa says, " In this *sutta*, of whatsoever has to be done by the lay follower, nothing has been left out.(Therefore) this discourse is called "*Gihi-Vinaya*" (Layman's Discipline *DA*.III.959). The sub-commentary explains, "It is called *Gihi-vinaya* because by it are the lay followers disciplined (*gihino vinīyanti*) and attain discipline (*vinayaṃ upenti DAT*.III.188).

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1 Jayawickrama, N.A. *Inception of Discipline and Vinaya-Nidāna, SBB* Vol. XXI 1962, p.1
2 *ibid*.11
3 *ibid*.95 n.2
4 *ibid*.16
5 *Book of the Discipline*,*SBB* x,p.vi-vii
6 Holt, Jhon C.,*Discipline*, *The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapiṭaka*, South Asia Books, Delhi 1983 p.3*ff*.
7 *Buddhism, its Essence and Developments*, Bruno Cassirer (Publishers)Ltd., Oxford, 1951. p.54.

VINAYA (3) Vinayas of difference Buddhist traditions have been preserved in Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan, in addition to the *Vinaya* of the Theravāda tradition preserved in Pāli. Since an in-depth treatment of the different *Vinayas* would go beyond the scope of the present article,1 in what follows only a basic survey of the extant versions will be attempted.2 This survey takes up the *Vinayas* according to their respective schools, which are listed in alphabetical order.

Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*

In addition to a few Sanskrit fragments of the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*,3 a translation of the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* exists in Chinese. This is the "*Vinaya* in four parts", found in the Taishō edition as no. 1428 at *T.* XXII 567a. The *Vinaya* in four parts was translated in the early fifth century by Zhu Fo-nian, based on a text recited by Buddhayaśas from memory (*T.* L 334b19). This *Vinaya* begins with the *bhikṣu-vibhaṅga*, followed by the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga*, the *skandhaka* and appendixes (the last being the counterpart to the *Parivāra* of the Theravāda tradition). The *bhikṣu-* and the *bhikṣuṇī- prātimokṣa* and the respective *karmavācanās* are found again as separate texts in the Chinese canon (*T.* nos. 1429-1434, *T.* XXII 1015a). Parts of the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* have been translated into French,4 the *bhikṣu-prātimokṣa* and the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* have been translated into English.[5]

Haimavata Vinaya

A *Vinayamātṛka* that appears to stem from the Haimavata school has been translated into Chinese by an unknown translator. This the, found as no. 1463 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXIV 801a.

Kāśyapīya Vinaya

The *bhikṣu-prātimokṣa* of the Kāśyapīya school has been translated by Prajñāruci in the sixth century into Chinese. This is the, found as no. 1460 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXIV 659a.

Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya

In addition to a few Sanskrit fragments of the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*,6 the *bhikṣu-prātimokṣa* of the Lokottaravāda Mahāsāṅghika school has been preserved in fragments,7 as well as the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga*.8 The *bhikṣu-prātimokṣa* has been translated into English,9 and the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* into French.[10] A *Vinaya* text of the Lokottaravāda Mahāsāṅghika school preserved in Sanskrit is the *Mahāvastu*,[11] which has also been translated into English.[12]

The Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* was translated early in the fifth century into Chinese by Fa-xian and Buddhabhadra (*T.* L 338b16), based on a manuscript that Fa-xian had brought from India (*T.* LI 864b19). This is found as no. 1425 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXII 227a. The Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese begins with the *bhikṣu-vibhaṅga*, followed by the *skandhaka*, and only after the *skandhaka* turns to the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga*. The *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* has been translated into English.13 The *skandhaka* section of the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* differs considerably from the corresponding section in other *Vinayas*.14 The *bhikṣu-* and the *bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣas* of the Mahāsāṅghika school are found again as separate texts in the Chinese canon (*T.* no. 1426-1427, *T.* XXII 549a).

Mahīśāsaka Vinaya

The Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* in five parts was translated in the fifth century by Zhi-sheng, based on a text read out to him by Buddhajīva (*T.* L 339a9), a text that had been brought by Fa-xian from Ceylon (*T.* LI 865c24). This is found as no. 1421 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXII 1a. This Vinaya begins with the *bhikṣu-vibhaṅga*, followed by the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* and the *skandhaka*.15 Parts of this *Vinaya* have been translated into French.16 The *bhikṣu-* and the *bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣas* and the *karmavācanā* for *bhikṣus* are found again as separate texts in the Chinese canon (*T.* no. 1422-1424, *T.* XXII 194c)

(Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda Vinaya

The (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* has been preserved in Sanskrit fragments as well as in Chinese and Tibetan translation. The Sanskrit fragments are quite substantial, covering the *bhikṣu-prātimokṣa*,[17] which has been translated into English,[18] and parts of the *Vinayavastu*,[19] extracts of which have been translated into English and French.[20]

A partial translation of the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* into Chinese was undertaken by Yi-jing in the eighth century (*T.* LV 370b9). This is found as nos. 1442-1451 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXIII 627a. In

this *Vinaya*, the two *vibhaṅgas* are followed by the *Vinayavastus*. The *vastus* preserved in Chinese translation are the *Pravrajyāvastu* (*T.* 1444); the *Varṣāvastu* (*T.* 1445); the *Pravāraṇāvastu* (*T.* 1446); the *Carmavastu* (*T.* 1447); the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (*T.* 1448); the *Kaṭhinavastu* (*T.* 1449); the *Kṣudrakavastu Saṅghabhedavastu* (*T.* 1450); and the *Kṣudrakavastu* (*T.* 1451). Several other texts of this *Vinaya*, containing the two *prātimokṣas*, *karmavācanās* etc., are found again as separate texts in the Chinese canon (*T.* 1452-1459, *T.* XXIV 415a).

Probably in the ninth century the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* was translated into Tibetan by several translators. In addition to the original block prints of this translation found in the different editions of the Tibetan canon, the *bhikṣu-prātimokṣa* has been edited,21 as well as the *Pravrajyāvastu*.22 The Tibetan (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* begins with the *Vinayavastu* (*'dul ba gzhi*, Derge *ka* 1b1 / Peking *khe* 1b1),23 followed by the *bhikṣu-prātimokṣa* (*so sor thar pa'i mdo*, Derge *ca* 1b1 / Peking *che* 1b1) and the corresponding *Vinayavibhaṅga* (*'dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, Derge *ca* 21a1 / Peking *che* 18b2). Next are the *bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* and the corresponding *Vinayavibhaṅga* (*dge slong ma'i so sor thar pa'i mdo*, Derge *ta* 1b1 / Peking *the* 1b1; and *dge slong ma'i 'dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, Derge *ta* 25b1 / Peking *the* 25a6). Then comes the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* (*'dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi*, Derge *tha* 1b1 / Peking *de* 1b1) and the *Vinayottaragrantha*, (*'dul ba gzhung bla ma* and *'dul ba gzhung dam pa*, Derge *na* 1b1 / Peking *pe* 1b1).24

Of the different *Vinayas*, the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* stands out for its wealth of narrative material. Extracts of this material have been translated into English,25 a summary of its *vastus* is available in English and a comprehensive survey of its narrative material in German.26

Sammitīya Vinaya

A commentary on the *bhikṣu-prātimokṣa* of the Sammatīya school has been translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in the sixth century. This is found as no. 1461 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXIV 665b.

Sarvāstivāda Vinaya

Parts of the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* have been preserved in Sanskrit fragments, covering the two *prātimokṣas*,[27] parts of the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* and of the *karmavācanā*.[28]

The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* "in ten chapters" was translated early in the fifth century by Kumārajīva in collaboration with Puṇyatara, who knew the text by heart (*T.* L 333a21 and b13). Puṇyatara passed away in the midst of the translation work, which was resumed when Dharmaruci brought a copy of this *Vinaya* to China. The final result of these translation efforts is found as no. 1435 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXIII 1a. The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* begins with the *bhikṣu-vibhaṅga*, followed by the *skandhaka*, the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga*, and appendixes. The *bhikṣu-vibhaṅga* has been summarized in German.[29] The two *prātimokṣas* and the *bhikṣu-karmavācanā*, as well as two *Vinaya* commentaries, are found again as separate texts in the Chinese canon (*T.* 1436-1441 at *T.* XXIII 470b).

Theravāda Vinaya

In addition to the material preserved in Pāli, a Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* commentary *Samantapāsādikā* was undertaken by Saṅghabhadra towards the end of the fifth century. This is found as no. 1462 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXIV 673b. This text has been translated into English.30 Another work preserved in Chinese translation is the *Upālipariprcchā*, a text comparable to the *Parivāra* and which some scholars relate to the Abhayagirivāsins.31 This is found as no. 1466 in the Taishō edition at *T.* XXIV 903a. This text has been translated into German.[32]

Anālayo

References

1 A detailed examination of the different *Vinayas* can be found in Frauwallner: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome 1956; for a brief survey cf. Lamotte: *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain 1988: 165-179. A study dedicated to the different *bhikṣu-prātimokṣas* has been undertaken by Pachow: *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa*, Santiniketan 1955. A concordance with page references to the Chinese originals for each rule can be found in Rosen: *Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*, Berlin

1959: 42-49. For a translation of the *bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣas* cf. Kabilsingh: *The Bhikkhunī Pāṭimokkha of the Six Schools*, Delhi 1998; for a comparative study Kabilsingh: *A Comparative Study of the Bhikkhunī Pāṭimokkha*, Delhi 1984. Tsomo: *Sisters in Solitude*, New York 1996, compares the Dharmaguptaka and the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda *bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣas*. For comparative studies and a concordance of the rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* cf. also Waldschmidt: *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*, Leipzig 1926: 53-69.

2 A more detailed survey can be found in Prebish: *A Survey of Vinaya Literature*, London 1994.

3 For more details on these fragments cf. the survey in Heirman: *The Discipline in Four Parts*, Delhi: Motilal 2002: 27-34; Oberlies: "Ein bibliographischer Überblick über die kanonischen Texte der Śrāvakayāna-Schulen des Buddhismus", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 47, 2003: 42-43; and Yuyama: *Systematische Übersicht über die Buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur*, Wiesbaden 1979: 33-37 (an update to Yuyama's detailed survey in regard to Sanskrit fragment material can be found in Yamagiwa: "Vinaya Manuscripts: State of the Field", *Indica et Tibetica*, Wien 2007: 607-616).

4 Bareau: "La légende de la jeunesse du Buddha dans le Vinayapiṭaka Anciens", *Oriens Extremus*, 9.1, 1962: 6-33; Wieger: *Bouddhisme Chinoise, Vinaya*, Paris 1951; cf. also Yuyama: *Systematische Übersicht über die Buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur*, Wiesbaden 1979: 35-36.

5 Beal: "The Pratimoksha", *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, London 1871: 206-239. Heirman: *The Discipline in Four Parts*, Delhi: Motilal 2002.

6 Lévi: "Notes sur des manuscrits sanscrits provenant de Bamiyan (Afghanistan) et de Gilgit (Cachemire)", *Journal Asiatique*, 1932: 4-8. Another relevant text is the Lokottaravāda *Abhisamācārikā*, edited by the Abhisamācārikā-Dharma Study Group, Tokyo 1998, (earlier ed. by Jinananda, Patna 1969) for more details cf. Oberlies: "Ein bibliographischer Überblick über die kanonischen Texte der Śrāvakayāna-Schulen des Buddhismus", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 47, 2003: 74.

7 Tatia: *Prātimokṣasūtram of the Lokottaravādamahāsāṅghika School*, Patna 1975 (earlier ed. by Pachow and Mishra, Allahabad 1956).

8 Roth: *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, Including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a Summary of the Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*, Patna 1970.

9 Prebish: *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, Delhi 1996 (1974).

10 Nolot: *Règles de Discipline des Nonnes Bouddhistes*, Paris 1991.

11 Basak: *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Calcutta 1963-1968, (earlier ed. by Senart: *Le Mahāvastu*, Paris 1882-1897).

12 Jones: *The Mahāvastu*, London 1949-1956.

13 Hirakawa: *Monastic Discipline for the Buddhist Nuns*, Patna: 1982.

14 Frauwallner: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome 1956: 198ff: cf. also Clarke: "Vinaya Mātṛkā - Mother of the Monastic Codes, or just another Set of Lists?", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 47, 2004: 77-120.

15 For more details cf. Frauwallner op. cit.: 182.

16 Bareau: "La légende de la jeunesse du Buddha dans le Vinayapiṭaka Anciens", *Oriens Extremus*, 9.1, 1962: 6-33: Jaworski: "La Section de Remèdes dans le Vinaya des Mahīśāsaka et dans le Vinaya Pali" and "La Section de la Nourriture dans le Vinaya des Mahīśāsaka", *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, Warshaw, 5, 1927: 92-101; and 7, 1930: 53-124.

17 Banerjee: *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit, Prātimokṣa Sūtra and Bhikṣukarmavākya*, Calcutta 1977. Chandra: "Unpublished Gilgit Fragment of the Prātimoksasutra", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 4, 1960: 1-13. Lévi: "Notes sur des manuscrits sanscrits provenant de Bamiyan (Afghanistan) et de Gilgit (Cachemire)", *Journal Asiatique*, 1932: 20. Schmidt: *Der Schlussteil des Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*, Göttingen 1989: 91-94. Von Simson: *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*, Göttingen 2000: 150-153.

18 Prebish: *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, Delhi 1996 (1974).

19 Chung: *Die Pravāraṇā in den kanonischen Vinaya-Texten der Mūlasarvāstivādin und der Sarvāstivādin*, Göttingen 1998. Dutt: *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. 3 parts 1-4, Delhi 1984. Gnoli: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* and *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, Rom 1977/1978. Hu-von Hinüber: *Das Poṣadhavastu*, Reinbek 1994. Jinananda: *Upasamadāññaptiḥ*, Patna 1961. Wille: *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung des Vinayavastu der Mūlasarvāstivādin*, Stuttgart 1990. For a survey of further fragments cf. Oberlies: "Ein bibliographischer Überblick über die kanonischen Texte der Śrāvakayāna-Schulen des Buddhismus", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 47, 2003: 61-64; and Yuyama: *Systematische Übersicht über die Buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur*, Wiesbaden 1979: 12-33.

20 Chang: *A Comparative Study of the Kaṭhinavastu*, Gravenhage 1957 (with Sanskrit and Tibetan text); Hofinger: *Le Congres du Lac Anavatapta*, Louvain 1954.

21 Vidyabhusana: *So-sor thar pa (khrims)*, Calcutta 1915, who also offers an English translation. A French translation of the first part of the *bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* can be found in Rockhill: "Le Traité d'Émancipation ou Pratimoksha Sūtra Traduit du Tibétain", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 9, 1884: 3-26.

22 Eimer: *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gzi*, Wiesbaden 1983.

23 While in the Derge edition the *Vinaya* stands at the beginning of the Kanjur collection, in the Peking edition the *Vinaya* comes as the concluding work of the Kanjur.

24 On the sequence adopted in the Tibetan (Mūla) sarvāstivāda Vinaya cf. Eimer: "Zur Reihenfolge der Texte in der Abteilung Vinaya des Tibetischen Kanjur", *Zentralasiatischen Studien*, 1987: 219-226. A survey of Tibetan Vinaya texts can be found in Tsedroen: *A Brief Survey of the Vinaya*, Hamburg 1992.

25 Rockhill: *The Life of the Buddha*, London 1907.

26 Banerjee: *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta 1957: 79-245; Panglung: *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*, Tokyo 1981.

27 Von Simson: *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*, Göttingen 2000 (earlier ed. by Finot *Journal Asiatique*, 1913: 465-558). Waldschmidt: *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*, Leipzig 1926.

28 Rosen: *Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*, Berlin 1959; Härtel: *Karmavācanā*, Berlin 1956. Listings of further fragments can be found in Oberlies "Ein bibliographischer Überblick über die kanonischen Texte der Śrāvakayāna-Schulen des Buddhismus", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 47, 2003: 46-47; and in Yuyama: *Systematische Übersicht über die Buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur*, Wiesbaden 1979: 1-12.

29 Rosen op. cit.

30 Bapat: *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o Sha: A Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of the Samantapāsādika*. Poona: 1970.

31 For references to relevant publications cf. Oberlies "Ein bibliographischer Überblick über die kanonischen Texte der Śrāvakayāna-Schulen des Buddhismus", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 47, 2003: 40.

32 Stache-Rosen: *Upāliparipṛcchāsūtra*, Göttingen 1984.

VINAYAPIṬAKA. 'The Basket of Disciplinary Rules' for the members of the Buddhist Saṅgha, both male and female, one of the three divisions of the Buddhist canon as recognized by all Buddhist traditions. But the term *piṭaka* not attested in early Buddhist literature, appears to have come into vogue sometime after the demise of the Buddha. In early canonical works the teachings of the Buddha are generally referred to as Dhamma-vinaya, a term that appears to be common to all religious traditions in ancient India. The teachings of both Ālāra Kālāma (*M*.I.163) and Uddaka Rāmaputta (*ibid.* 165) are referred to by this term by the recluse Siddhattha Gotama who expressed his desire to practise their Dhamma. This is the term used to describe the Buddha's teachings even at the stage of the first Buddhist Council, held immediately after the demise of the Buddha, as recorded in the Cullavagga of the Vinayapiṭaka. At the very outset the Ven. Mahākassapa proposed to the Sangha that they agree upon the Dhamma- vinaya before the non-*dhamma* and non- *vinaya shine* and the *dhamma* and *vinaya* decline and before the speakers of the non-*dhamma* and non- *vinaya* become strong and the

speakers of the *dhamma* and *vinaya* weaken (*Vin*.II 285). At the Council the rehearsal of the *vinaya* was led by Ven. Upali, who, replying to the questions put to him by Mahākassapa , laid bear the details of the rules of discipline starting with the first *Pārājikā*. Mahākassapa is said to have questioned Upāli on both the disciplines (*ubhato vinaya*) probably meaning the disciplines of both the monks and the nuns. In the discussion on what constitute the minor rules of discipline (*khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni*), six out of the seven groups of rules in the *Pātimokkha* are mentioned by name. The *Sekhiyas* not mentioned in the account may have been included under the minor rules. The account also does not mention by name the *Adhikaranasamathas (ibid* 287 *f.*). The Pāli account does not mention any of the rules included in the Khandhakas. But the *Mūlasarvāstivadins* account of this Council, found in Tibetan translations, in addition to all the groups of rules of the *Pratimokṣa* and the *Adhikaraṇa samathas*, are mentioned a few more section headings taken from the other parts of the Vinaya. For instance, rules pertaining to admission to the Order, *Upasampadā*, persons to be admitted or excluded, confession of offences, rains retreat etc. are mentioned in this account[1].

While the *Cullavagga* account refers only to the rehearsal of the Dhamma and *Vinaya* with no mention at all of the *Abhidhamma*, the Tibetan account refers also to the recital of the *Mātrikā* by Mahākāśyapa, which is taken to be a reference to the *Abhidharma Mātṛkā*. When he had finished, says this account, the *yakṣas* above the earth cried out that Ven. Mahākāśyapa and the five hundred arhats have compiled the Tripiṭaka of the Tathāgata2. Quite significantly the Vinaya commentary (*VinA*.29) states that all three *piṭakas* were rehearsed by the five hundred self-controlled monks led by Mahākassapa. The *Cullavagga* account which has no reference at all to the *Abhidhamma* or even the word *piṭaka* in the body of its account of the First Council quite surprisingly states in the summing up *uddāna* verses, quite obviously a very late addition—

He questioned Upāli on *vinaya*
The wise Ananda on suttanta he queried,
Thus the disciples of the conqueror
Did recite the Piṭakas three. (*Vin*.II.293)

The final chapter of the *Cullavagga*, giving an account of the Second Buddhist Council, held one hundred years after the demise of the Buddha, referring only to the settlement of ten controversial issues (*dasa vatthūni*), has nothing pertaining to the division of the Buddha word into *piṭakas*. However the final text of the present *Vinayapiṭaka*, the *Parivārapāṭha* or the *Parivārapāḷi* (*Vin*.V. 3), refers to the Vinayapiṭaka as having been taught in Tambapaṇṇī, ie. Sri Lanka) by a lineage of great elders, expert in *vinaya*, descending from Ven Upāli who led its recital in the first Buddhist Council. But, since there is no finality about the time or the location of the compilation of this work, some scholars viewing it to be a Sri Lankan work, the information given here is problematical. Possibly they were introduced by Sri Lankan redactors. The Vinaya commentary attributes these verses to ancients (*yathāhu porāṇā*, *VinA*. 62 *f*.). However there is evidence that the division of the Buddha word into *piṭkas* was known at least in the 3rd century B.C3. for inscriptions of Bharut refer to the word *peṭakin*, 'one versed in the *piṭakas*'. The *Milindapañha* also refers to the *Vinayapitaka*, (p.190), the Buddha word of the three Piṭakas (*tepiṭakaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ* p.18). This shows that in the centuries after the Second Buddhist Council the concept of the division of the teachings of the Buddha into *Piṭakas* had become an established fact.

By the time of the compilation of the Pāli commentaries the *piṭaka* concept was the common thing. It had become the practice by that time to push back the history of the *piṭaka* concept even into the time of the First Buddhist Council held immediately after the demise of the Buddha. Thus, speaking about the rehearsal of the Vinaya led by Ven Upāli, the commentary states, " Thus was made the compilation of the *Vinayapiṭaka* which consists of the *Vibhaṅga* of both categories, the *Khandhaka* and the *Parivāra*" (*VinA*.1.15). This is a far cry from the account found in the *Cullavagga*. Buddhaghosa's definition of the term *Vinayapiṭaka*, apparently recognized in his time, shows further developments. Having first defined the concept of the three Piṭakas as Vinaya, Suttanta and Abhidhamma, he goes on to give what he meant by the term Vinayapiṭaka as follows; "Therein, having brought together all that has been both rehearsed and not at the First Convocation, both *Pātimokkha*, the two *Vibhaṅga*, the twenty-two *Khandhakas* and the sixteen *Parivāra*, it is called the Vinayapiṭaka"4. It is clear then that, by the time of Buddhaghosa, the texts of the *Bhikkhu* and *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha*, apparently extracted from the Suttavibhaṅga and used for the *pātimokkha* recital at the *uposatha* ceremony, had come to be recognized as a separate text of the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

As it stands today the *Pātimokkha* is not generally included in the *Vinaya piṭaka* as a part of it. Rhys Davids (*ERE.*ix.676) says that it is older than the canon and hence it is not included in it. But its 227 rules, he says, along with an old commentary and a subsequently compiled commentary along with certain supplementary chapters have been included in the extant canon4. While Winternitz[5] also holds the same view B.C. Law6 includes the *Pātimokkha* as a part of the canon. Oldernberg7 is another scholar who stood for the antiquity of the *Pātimokkha* above the other parts *Vinayapiṭaka* including the *Suttavibhaṅga*. In fact he calls it " the earliest specimen of the Buddhist *Vinaya* literature that we possess". This view, however, has been rejected by Prof. Dheerasekara who has put up quite convincing reasons for the antiquity of the *Suttavibhaṅga* and to regard the *Pātimokkha* as an extraction of the rules alone from the *Suttavibhanga*. It may have been done at a time, he thinks, when the details in the *Suttavibhanga* served no practical purpose for the *pātimokkha* recital which had become a mere ritual. Originally in the *uposatha* ceremony an opportunity was given to the members of the Saṅgha to confess their transgressions to the assembly and purify themselves. Prof. Dheerasekara points out that " in the *Suttavibhaṅga* version the *sikkhāpadas* come to more meaning and significance with regard to their disciplinary role. The generalized rule which occurs in isolation in the *Pātimokkha* looks revitalized when viewed in the specific setting of its origin". He has shown how certain rules in the *Pātimokkha* sans the details in the *Suttavibhaṅga*, look meaningless to a reader who has no prior knowledge of its origin etc. Therefore in the living *vinaya* tradition, when the *pātimokkha* recital played a vital role in disciplining the members of the Saṅgha, *Suttavibhaṅga* must be regarded as the older text.

The Pātimokkha

Whatever may be its position vis-a-vis the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the *Pātimokkha* comprises ten sections as follows: i Interrogatories relating to the requisites for forming a chapter (*Pucchāvissajjanaṃ*); ii Introduction (*Nidānaṃ*) in which the attention of the assembled members drawn to significance of the *Uposatha* day on which they have come together and that they should recite the *pātimokkha* containing the rules of the *bhikkhus* of the Order.

The procedure that follows is to recite the seven sets of rules of discipline, set by set and, at the end of each one of them to ask the monks present to confess if any of the rules have been violated. If any member is guilty he should confess but, if not guilty he should remain silent by which he would bedeemed to be pure. The seven sets are the four *Pārājikas*, thirteen *Saṅghādisesas*, two *Aniyatas*, thirty *Nissaggiya Pācittiyas*, ninety two *Pācittiyas*, the four *Pāṭidesanīyas* and the seventy five *Sekhiyas*. At the end of this are recited the seven *Adhikaraṇasamathas* meant for the settlement of disputes. Since the *Aniyata* rules are not included in it, the *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* has only nine sections. With six sets of rules, viz eight *Parājikas*, *seventeen Saṅghādisesas*, thirty *Nissaggiya Pācittiyas*, one hundred and sixty *six Pācittiyas*, eight *Pāṭidesanīyas* and seventy five *Sekhiyas* making a total of three hundred and four rules. At the end are added the seven *Adhikaraṇasamathas*8

The Suttavibhaṅga.

As already shown above some modern scholars have given the *Suttavibhaṅga* a secondary position within the *Vinayapiṭaka* following the *Pātimokkha*, deemed by them to be the oldest text of the *Piṭaka* devoted to the disciplinary rules of the members of both Orders of the Saṅgha. Prof. Dheerasekara has, however, painted a completely different picture by placing the *Suttavibhaṅga* in the primary position in the *Vinayapiṭaka* with the *Pātimokkha* code of rules being described as a list of rules extracted from the *Suttavibhaṅga*, at a time when the *pātimokkha* recital had become a mere ritual with no practical relevance maintaining the discipline of the members of the Saṅgha.

The *Suttavibhaṅga* is traditionally divided into two sections as the *Pārājikāpāli* and the *Pācittiyapāli*. The former comprises the detailed exposition of the forty nine rules of discipline for the monks that are classified under the *Parājikā*, *Saṅghādisesa*, Aniyata and Nissaggiya Pācittiya. In the second *Pācittiyapāli* are included the rules in the *Pācittiya* and *Sekhiyā* categories, the seven *Adhikaranasamathas* and the rules of the *Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga*.

Significantly, each of the rules of discipline, designated here as *sutta*, is presented in the text within the framework of the *Pātimokkha* as if it was intended to be recited (*evañca pana bhikkhave imaṃ*

sikkhāpadam uddiseyyātha). This shows that the rules of discipline in the *Suttavibhaṅga* are closely bound up with the recital (*uddesa)* and, therefore, cannot be divorced from it. Each of the rules thus layed down is also bound up with an introductory story without which some of these rules become hardly intelligible. Therefore it is unavoidable that the introductory portion should be known by the members of the Order to be able to gauge that any one is guilty or not quilty of infringing these rules. Once a rule is laid down those governed by it also must be aware how one should judge the gravity of the offence, whether it is a complete transgression or an offence of a lesser degree etc. Sometimes a rule had to be amended several times before it assume the final form. That this detailed analysis was known even at the earliest stages is shown by the records of the First Council in the *Cullavagga*. Accordingly Ven Mahākassapa, interrogating Ven Upāli on each of the Vinaya rules, queried, "Where, Ven Upāli was the first offence involving defeat *(pārājikā)* was laid down?, " At Vesāli, honoured Sir."etc. In this manner Ven. Kassapa the Great questioned Ven Upāli as to the subject *(vatthu)*, of the first offence......., as to its provenance (*nidānam*)........,the individual (*puggalam*),... What was laid down (*paññattam*), What was further laid down (*anupaññattam*), What was an offence *(āpattim)*, what was no offence (*anāpattim)* and soforth. In this manner, says the account, Ven Upāli was questioned on the whole of the two Vinayas viz. the Bhikkhuvinaya and the Bhikkhunī vinaya. This shows that at this early stage the concept of the *Suttavibhaṅga* was already envisaged.

Khandhakā — Mahāvaggapāli

The second text of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the *Khandhakā*, whose contents are not accounted for in the Theravāda account of the First Council, is in two parts as the *Mahāvaggapāḷi* and the *Cullavaggapāḷi* Of these the Mahāvaggapāḷi consists of ten chapters presenting some important events in the early history of Buddhism and its monastic Order, some of the more important rules and regulations governing the life of Buddhist monks, and their monastic organization instituted by the Buddha.

The first chapter of the Mahāvagga, the longest, running into one hundred printed pages in the *PTS*. edition, significantly named the *Mahākhandhaka*, starts with an account of the opening events in the history of Buddhism, beginning with the Enlightenment of the Buddha and the first four weeks of his life as the Buddha. The Buddha's journey to Banares to deliver his first sermon, setting the Wheel of the Dhamma in motion, conversion and ordination of his first disciples, gradual expansion of his community of monks and sending out his first sixty disciples emancipated as himself, to take the message of his Dhamma, for the good and welfare of the world, follow suit.

The first disciples of the Buddha were ordained directly by him with the "*ehi bhikkhu*" formula, but with the gradual expansion of the new religion it became necessary to hand over the authority for ordination to the monks. Thus the first simple rules relating to ordination and higher ordination were formulated, ultimately culminating with the authority of higher ordination *(upasampadā)* being vested in the collective membership of the Saṅgha. With the increase in the number of monks and the geographical expansion of the Saṅgha proper, training of new recruit, and the relation between the preceptors (*upajjhāya)* and co-residents (*saddhivihārika)* and, later, teacher *(ācariya)* and resident-pupil (*antevāsika)*, had to be regularized and their mutual duties had to be defined. Growing popularity of the new Order also needed rules to define the suitability for admission and the exclusion of the unsuitable from the Order. The Buddha's first visit to Rajagaha and the meeting with King Bimbisāra and the gifting by him of the Bamboo Grove, Veluvana, the first property vested with the Saṅgha, brought stabilization to the new monastic Order. The conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna and the three Kassapa brothers showed signs of the new religion gaining converts from the older religious Orders.

Chapters two of the *Mahāvagga* is devoted mainly to rules regarding the *uposatha* ceremony, comprising the recital of the *pātimokkha*, in which one could observe the Buddhist application of a pre- Buddhist religious day for the maintenance and consolidation of purity of the religious life of members of the Saṅgha and, thereby, gaining popularity for the new religious Order. Among the many rules and regulations in the chapter are included those pertaining to the establishment of a boundary *(sīmā)* to maintain intact the concept of a united Saṅgha. All monks living within an established *sīmā*, which should not extend beyond the radius of three *yojanas*, are expected to perform their uposatha and other ecclesiastical activities

unitedly. No factional activities are allowed within the *sīmā*.

The third and the fourth chapters deal respectively with rules relating to the annual rains retreat (*vassa*) and the invitation ceremony (*pavāraṇa*) which comes at the conclusion of the rains retreat. All members of the Saṅgha are expected to go on the three month rains retreat commencing on the day following the July-August full moon day. During this period they are expected to restrict their out door activities and go on journey only for purposes specified by rules. The *pavāraṇa* ceremony which comes at the conclusion of the rains retreat is meant for the purification of monks by atoning for faults committed during the three months. The ceremony and the rules governing it have many features in common with the *uposatha* but there is also a vital difference. While in the *uposatha* the onus of declaring one's transgressions in the presence of the Saṅgha falls on the individual members, in the pavāraṇa it is the duty of the Saṅgha to point out the transgressions of individual members when invited (*pavāreti*) to do so.

The fifth chapter, *Cammakkhandhaka*, and the sixth *Bhesajjhakkhandhaka* are devoted to rules on different types of articles— eg. shoes and slippers, seats, vehicles, etc. and different kinds of medicaments and food, their preparation, taking and storing thereof by monks. There is no attempt to commit Buddhist monks to vegetarianism. But certain kinds of flesh including human flesh and that of certain kinds of animals like elephants, horses, lions, tigers etc. are prohibited for them. On the other hand by another rule the Buddha has allowed the monks the taking of meat pure in three respects, viz not seen, heard or suspected to have been killed purposely for them. An important reference in chapter five is the liberation of certain rules like the use of skins, conferring higher ordination by a chapter of five monks etc. for monks living in bordering countries outside the middle country (Majjhadesa), done at the request of the Ven. Mahakaccāna through his pupil, the Ven Sona Kuṭikanna.

Chapter eight of the *Mahāvagga* is fully devoted to the rules relating to the offering and acceptance of *Kaṭhina* robes or robe material gifted to monks who have successfully concluded the rains retreat. However, since only one robe is thus received by a group of monks observing rains retreat at one centre, only one monk out of them, decided by the group in unison, is entitled to receive a *Kaṭhina* robe.

Rules regarding the validity or not of ecclesiastical acts are given in chapter nine. The most important factors deciding the validity or not of an ecclesiastical act are that it has to be carried out according to rule (*dhammena*) and by a complete chapter (*samaggena*). Absence of any one of these factors makes an act invalid. An act done by a complete chapter even in accord with what appears to be rule (*dhamma-paṭirūpakena*) is also invalid. What is meant by an act in accordance with rule and what is meant by a full chapter are also fully defined.

Chapter ten of the text is devoted to a discussion on disputes and division management in the Saṅgha. Rather than going into a medley of rules and regulations, the discussion is mainly focused on avoidance of circumstances leading to divisions and the healing of ruptured feelings and uniting disputants. Thus even when a member, especially if he is learned, well versed in tradition, and desirous of training refuses, when accused of an ofence, to acknowledge it, others should not be hasty to take punitive action against him. On the other hand, the accused person also should have respect for the integrity of the accusers and be ready to acknowledge the offence he is accused of without disputing its validity. Once a division has taken place legal acts performed by either party, if done within the boundary (*sīmā*), is valid, because each group is now deemed to be a separate Saṅgha acting independent of each other.

A member who is accused of an offence and punished could form his own group of supporters who could form into a dissentient unit who could rehabilitate the accused member. If the dissentient group later approaches the original group and request they accept their decision and heal the rupture, better counsel should prevail and unity achieved between the two groups. The Buddha also instructs the lay followers not to discriminate between the two groups with regard to material gifts. Both parties should be equally treated regarding material benefits. The Buddha also admonishes the disciples on the criterions to be applied in deciding the real followers of the *dhamma* from two disputing groups. The story of prince Dighāvu and the episode of the quarrelsome monks of Kosambi also deal with the wisdom of avoiding disputes leading to- divisions.

The Cullavagga

The second book of the *Khandhaka* division of the *Vinayapiṭaka* comprises twelve chapters in all. Of these the first chapter named *Kammakkhandhaka* is devoted to the elucidation of five acts of punishment of a general nature and, unlike *Parivāsa* and *Mānatta*, are not derived directly from the *Pātimokkha*.

The five punitive acts are:

1. *Tajjanīya Kamma* - Act of Censure
2. *Nissaya Kamma* - Act of Subordination
3. *Pabbājanīya Kamma* - Act of Banishment
4. *Paṭisāranīya Kamma* - Act of Reconciliation
5. *Ukkhepanīya Kamma* - Act of Suspension

Of these the act of Suspension is of three types, viz; i. for not seeing an offence *(āpattiyā adassane)* ii. for not making amends for an offence *(āpattiyā appaṭikamme)* and iii. not giving up a wrong view *(pāpikāya diṭṭhiyā appaṭinissagge)*. They deal in detail on why the particular action should be taken against a member, the behavior expected from the person under punishment and the revocation of the punishment and the rehabilitation of the punished member.

Of the five acts the *Paṭisāranīya* is of special interest as it concerns the maintenance of good relations between the Saṅgha and tha laity. A member who strives for the non- receiving of gain by a householder, for non- profiting or non- residence of a householder, who reviles or abuses a householder and causes dissension among householders could be punished by the Saṅgha according to this act. Further, a member of the Saṅgha, who speaks in dispraise of the Buddha, the Dhamma or the Saṅgha to the laity, who jeers, scoffs at a lay follower with a low thing and, does not honour a promise made in accord with rule to a layman, also is liable to be punished under this act.

Chapter two details out the conduct expected from a member of the Order put on probation (*parivāsa)* for a *Sanghādisesa* offence, one who is sent to be beginning of the probation for repeating the offence while undergoing probation and one put on Mānatta after concluding the *Parivāsa* period. The chapter also refers to possibility of interrupting the probation etc. for certain reasons.

Chapter three is devoted to the rules regarding the imposition of *Parivāsa, Mānatta, Mūlāyapaṭikassana* and *Abbhāna*. *Mānatta* of six nights is imposed for a *Saṅghādisesa* offence acknowledged and revealed without any concealment. If the offence is concealed for a period the offender is put on probation (*Parivāsa)* for a period equivalent to the period of concealment, followed by six nights of Manatta. Going back to the beginning *(Mūlāyapaṭikassana)* of the probation is for the repetition of the same offence during the probationary period, *Mānatta* or before the *Abbhāna*. After successfully completing the *Parivāsa* and *Mānatta* the person punished is rehabilitated by an *Abbhāna Kamma* which needs a full chapter of twenty or more members. Chapter four deals with the rules regarding the implementation of the seven modes of settling legal questions, viz the *Adhikaranasamathas.*

Chapter five, six and eight are devoted to rules concerning the daily life of the members of the Saṅgha. Articles of use allowed and disallowed for them by the Buddha and rules pertaining to their use are discussed in detail. Starting with the sixty simple dwellings constructed by the treasurer of Rājagaha at Veluvana, the gradual development of various kinds of buildings that came to be gifted to them by lay devotees, ending up with the great Jetavana monastery at Sāvatthi gifted by the treasurer Anāthapiṇḍika, are given in detail in these chapters. They also go into the rules and duties of various categories of monks, eg. the resident monks in a monastery, the visitors, those on tour, those on their alms round, those using the refectory, forest-dwellers, those at the bathing place and those in use of the privy are given in great detail in these chapters. They also deal with the mutual duties of preceptors and co- residents as well as the teachers and resident pupils, a subject dealt with in the *Mahāvagga* as well.

Chapter seven open with the story of the ordination of a group of Sakyan youth along with their barber Upāli. Devadatta who was also a member of this group, later becomes infatuated by the material gains he comes into by his close association with prince Ajātasatta, plots to destabilizing the Saṅgha by splitting it in two and attempting to grab its leadership from the Buddha. These discussions gradually lead on to the subject of schism in the Saṅgha, their nature and how they can be engineered and their consequences to the Order and the perpetrators of schisms. Showing the great concern with which such schisms in the Saṅgha were viewed, it is classed with the gravest sins known to Buddhism. A schismatic is said to be destined

to suffer in hell (*niraya*) for an aeon while a uniter of the split order is destined to rejoice in heaven for a similar period of time.

Chapter nine of the Cullavagga opens with an episode in the life of the Buddha where he is said to have announced his decision not to participate in the recital of the *pātimokkha* any more, for it is not possible that a Tathāgata should perform the *uposatha* or recite the *pātimokkha* in an impure assembly. He permits the Saṅgha to carry out these functions without the Buddha and allow them to suspend the *Pātimokkha* for a member who, having commited an offence, participates in the ceremony and hears the *pātimokkha*. Following this are given rules on the suspension of the *pātimokkha* enumerating valid and invalid suspensions.

In addition to the rules on suspending the *pātimokkha* of a member of the Order the chapter also deals with two other important matters regarding the personal life as well as the organization of the Saṅgha. Thus a member of the Saṅgha who wishes to engage, for one's own sake, in an undertaking (*attadānam ādātukāmena*) should take five factors into consideration before setting out on it; viz. whether it is the proper time or not to embark on it, whether it concerns with fact (*bhūta*) or not, whether it conduces to welfare (*atthasaṃhita*) or not, whether it could attract comrades and associates in accord with *dhamma* and *vinaya* or not and, whether it could cause strife, quarrel, dispute, contention and dissension in the Saṅgha or not. One should go ahead with the undertaking only if the result is positive and not negative.

Another important task that falls to the lot of the members of the Saṅgha is the onerous duty of reproving errant members to bring them back to the correct path. But this is not a very simple matter in the administration of the matters of the Saṅgha, for one who wishes to reprove another (*paraṃ codetukāmena*) has to first make a self examination to find whether one possesses certain positive qualities which qualify oneself for this duty. Before setting upon this task one should find out whether one is pure and faultless with regard to conduct in body and speech, whether one has a mind of loving kindness towards one's fellows in the noble life, whether one is learned and expert in relation to the Dhamma and well versed and expert regarding both the *Pātimokkha*. Only a person possessing these qualifications should undertake the duty of reproving others. Otherwise there could be critiques who would ask him to acquire these qualifications before trying to reprove others. It also goes on to say that a reprove-r of others should establish himself in five factors at the time of reproval viz. I will speak in time, according to fact, in gentle words, with what conduces to welfare and with a mind of loving kindness devoid of hatred within. One who reproves another wrongly has to feel remorse for one's wrong action while the accused should feel remorse if he is rightly accused. But one reproving another correctly has no reason to feel remorse and one accused wrongly also has no reason to feel any remorse about it.

Chapter ten of the *Cullavagga* is entirely devoted to a discussion of the setting up of the Bhikkhunī Order with the acceptance by Mahāpajāpati Gotamī of the eight grave rules (*aṭṭha garudhammā*) and various rules and regulation which came to be laid down in relation to the life and the discipline of nuns.

The eleventh and the twelfth chapters are taken up by the Theravāda accounts of the First and the Second Buddhist Councils held respectively at Rajagaha and Vesāli.

The Parivāra

The third and the final work of the *Vinayapiṭaka* is the *Parivārapātha* the date and the locality of compilation of which is an open question even today. Since the Vinaya of no other Buddhist school or sect had a *Parivāra* or anything on the lines of the *Parivāra* which has come to light yet. Horner9 is of the view that the Pāli *Parivāra* is an appendix to a finished work rather than a *māthikā* as suggested by some scholars, which served as a sort of matrix to the rest of the *Vinaya*. Prof. Malalasekara also conjectures that the *Parivāra* corresponds to the *Mātikā* of the *Abhidhamma* and was enlarged later (*DPPN.* s.v. *Parivārapātha*). Horner10, however thinks that because of the vast proportion of the *Vinaya* and its immense importance, some form of summary of the contents of the texts were taken out and arranged in an orderly manner so that nothing of the material was lost. In her opinion there is nothing in the text indicative of its compilation before the other *vinaya* texts. Oldernberg and Rhys Davids call it an abstract of the other parts of the *vinaya* compiled at a very much

later period "and probably the work of a Ceylonese Thera". Winternitz11 calls it "an insignificant and much later product, perhaps only the work of a Sinhalese monk" The reference here to the Ceylonese or Sinhalese Thera is, of course, to the Thera named Dīpa mentioned in the envoy of the text, something quite unique for any text of the Pāli Tipitaka.

Of the Thera Dīpa the stanzas of the envoy states: "(The Thera) named Dīpa of great wisdom, the bearer of what he has learnt, skilful, having inquired at different places the way of the former teachers, thought out this epitome of details following the middle course of recital (*sajjhāyamaggena majjhime*) and had it written down to bring happiness to the pupils". What this envoy seems to indicate is that this Elder Dipa got the text of the *Parivāra*, brought down by way of recital up to his time, which he had collected from different places, reduced to writing for the benefit of his pupils. But another point of interest in tha *Parivāra* is the inclusion in it of a list of names of a succession of teachers, Indian and Sri Lankan, from the Arhant Upali downwards, through whom *vinaya* was handed down to posterity. B.M. Baruva has taken this as a canonical reference to the propagation of Buddhism in Sri Lanka[12].

The possibility is that the names of the Sri Lankan teachers were added by the local teachers who reduced the *Parivāra* to writing. Buddhaghosa has given the same succession of teachers in his *vinaya* commentary (p.62 *f.*) as having been told by former teachers (*vathāhu porāṇā*).

Franwallner calls the *Parivāra* an appendix comparable to the *Ekottara* in *Dharmagupta Vinaya.* He also considers it later than the other works. Lamotte considers it an "appendix in 16 sections and 19 chapters" E.J. Thomas calls it "a supplement containing summaries and classifications of the rules". Some also call it "a digest of the entire Vinaya Piṭaka "setting forth the method of teaching *vinaya*13 . Naturally the different view points stem from the unusual arrangement of the text adding nothing new to the rules of *vinaya* found in the two main texts.

Contents of the Parivāra

The comment made by E.J Thomas seems to be the most relevant in considering the contents of the *Parivāra.* To him the work contains summaries and classifications of rules. However, the classifications in this work are not confined merely to the rules found in the main texts of the *Vinayapitaka,* but go much beyond that. In the first place, the compiler of the *Parivāra* has, after a thorough study and careful analysis of the contents of the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*, summarized the contents answering a series of questions such as, where (the rules were laid down) ? Concerning whom? On what subject? Is there a laying down? A laying down that has not (yet) occurred? That (holds good) every where? That (holds good) only for certain districts? That is shared, for one (order only)? For both (orders)? etc.etc. What is relevant for each one of the rules is answered in the summary

But besides these the work also carefully pulls out material from the contents of the principal texts to build up classifications of elements that do not normally draw the attention of a casual reader. One such interesting classification is called the "Summary of origins" (*Samuṭṭhāna Uddāna)* forming chapter three of the work. In it are given, under thirteen classificatory headings, names of offences, taken from the *Vibhaṅgas*, classified according to their origin from a combination of the three origins of body, speech and thought. The chapter also stresses the importance of the *Parivāra* saying that he who desires the rule (*dhamma)* must train in *Parivāra* " which, as a strand in the head fastens the garlands of both the *Vibhaṅgas*. the *Khandhakas* and the *Matikas*". Chapter sixteen also deals with origins. For instance, it raises the question, "from how many origins originates the first offence involving defeat"? and answers " from one origin, viz. 'body and mind". The Second Defeat originates from three origins, viz. "body and mind" or "speech and mind" or from "body and speech and mind", and thus up to the end of the seventy five *Sekhiyas* which have three origins.

Another interesting classification is found in chapter six which is named *Ekuttaraka* ("Higher by One"), which seems to follow the *Anguttara Nikāya* methodology with both going up to eleven groups, and such Suttantas as the *Sangīti* and the *Dasuttara* in the *Dīgha Nikāya.* " In common with them it collects an enormous range of topics, qualities and attributes of no matter what kind of persons or objects or situations" But the material is drawn mainly from the vinaya with a possible few items drawn from other sources as the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* but, even then, having

distinctive flavour of *vinaya14*. These examples may suffice to get a fain inkling into the contents of the *Parivārapātha*.

C. Witanachchi

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9 Horner, I.B., *The Book of the Discipline*, *SBB*.vol.xxx,1966 p.xi

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14 *ibid*.xxi *f*

VINAYAVINICCHAYA : *Vinayavinicchaya* or investigation of monastic rules and its supplementary treatise the *Uttaravinicchaya* have been composed in verse, summarizing vinaya rules for the purpose of easy memorizing.

There is no controversy as regarded its author. It is clear from the colophon that both the *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya* have been composed by Ven. Buddhadatta resident of Uragapura in South India. Further the venerable author says that he composed it on a formal invitation of his pupil Buddhasīha. It is also recorded that it was written during the reign of King Accyutavikrama of Kalamba clan, apparently a royal clan. The eminent historian V.A. Smith records of a clan or family called Kadamba who enjoyed independent power in the district now called South Kanara and western Mysore from the third to sixth century A.C., in his *Oxford History of India*. Historical records report two C ālukya kings Wickramāditya and Vinayāditya defeating Kalabhras. Pallawa king Sinhavishnu too is reported to have defeated Kalabhres in the 6th century A.C. (History of Pallawa in South India p. 79-84). Possibly the Accyutavickrama referred to in the Vinayavinicchaya could be a Kalamba king of South India circa 4th century A.C.

The author of the *Vinayavinicchaya* also has recorded that he was living in a magnificent mansion Venhudasa, built in beautiful surroundings in the neighborhood of Bhutamaṅgala a prosperous town on the banks of the river Kaveri in the kingdom of Chola in South India, when he was writing *Vinayavinicchaya*.

According the *Buddhagosuppatti* and also the *Vinayaviniccayaṭīkā*, Ven. Buddhadatta the author of *Vinayavinicchaya*, who was returning from Lanka and Ven. Buddhaghośa who was proceeding to Lanka to translate Sinhala commentaries, met on the sea. After exchange of formal greetings Ven. Buddhaghośa is reported to have indicated to Ven. Buddhadatta that he was going to Lanka to translate Sinhala commentaries to Pali on the request of the Mahā Saṅgha of Jambudīpa. Ven. Buddhadatta is supposed to have made a request to Ven. Buddhaghośa to send the commentaries he would be writing for him to summarize. According to the tradition Ven. Buddhadatta summarized the *Samantapāsādikā*, the Vinaya commentary of Buddhaghośa and composed the *Vinayavinicchaya*. But scholars do not accept this tradition, since there is no reference to the *Samantapāsādikā* or Buddhaghośa in the *Vinayavinicchaya* of Buddhadatta. But they do not deny the similarity that is seen between the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Vinayavinicchaya*. The similarity, the scholars explain, has occurred as a result of both Buddhadatta and Buddhaghośa drawing materials from the same source namely the *Sihalaṭṭhakathas* of Mahāvihāra. Ven. Buddhadatta has further recorded in the colophon that he composed the *Vinayavinicchaya* on a formal request made by his pupil Buddhasīha.

The *Vinayavinicchaya* consists of three main sections *Bhikkhu Vibhaṅga, bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga* and *khandhakas*, while the *Uttaravinicchaya* has *bhikkhu bhikkhuni vibhaṅgas* only. The *Vinaya vinicchaya* has 31 chapters and 3183 gāthās and the *Uttaravinicchaya* has 969 gāthās. Thus the total number of gāthās including the *nigamanagāthās* in both, the *Vinaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya* (3183+969) comes to 4152. However the last gāthā of the *Uttaravinicchaya* (gāthā no. 969) speaks 4119 gāthās, apparently the total in both *vinaya* and *Uttaravinicchayas*. The discrepancy is difficult to understand. Several other works stand to the credit of this master summarizer Ven. Budhadatta in addition to *Vinaya* and *Uttaravinicchayas*. He composed *Abhidharmāvatāra* a manual of Abhidhamma on an invitation by Ven. Sumati, while he was residing at a vihāra built in Kaṇhadāsa at Kāveripaṭṭana . He was living at the same vihara built by Kaṇhadāsa at Kāveripaṭṭana, when he composed the *Madhuratthavilasini* the *Buddhavamsa* commentary on a request of Ven. Buddhasīha. But it appears that this Buddhasīha is not his pupil Buddhasīha who invited him to write the *Vinayavinicchaya*. Ven. Buddhadatta also composed a book on Abhidhamma called the *Rupārūpavibhaṅga* for beginners.

A *ṭīkā* for the *Vinayavinicchaya* is extant as *Vinayasāratthadipanī* and is ascribed to Ven. Vacissaramahāsāmi. But Ven. A.P. Buddhadatta Maha Thera says that though this *ṭīkā* is ascribed to Vacissaramahāsāmi in the Burmese *Gandhavamsa* he did not see his name in the manuscript of the *Vinayasaratthadipani*. Instead he says he had come across three *gāthās* praising Sāriputta Saṅgharāja , the teacher of Vācissaramahāsāmi (Polwatte Buddhadatta, *Pali Literature combine volume* (Sinhala) p. 285), possibly some *gāthās* are missing, in the manuscript under reference. It is reported that King Parakramabāhu II (1250-1285 A.C.) (Pandita Parakramabāhu) composed a Sinhala commentary for the *Vinayavinnicchaya*, but it is not extant at present.

The *Vinayavinicchaya* edited by Ven. A.P. Buddhadatta together with the *Uttaravinicchaya* under the title "Buddhadatta's Manual Part II" has been published by the *PTS*, London 1927.

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VIÑÑĀṆA. The term *viññāṇa* in Pali (Sk. *Vijñāna*) is a noun derived from the prefix *vi* signifying separation, division, discrimination, disconnection and the verbal root *jñā* signifying knowledge. The term is usually rendered into English as consciousness. It is among a group of cognitive terms that occur in Buddhist usage having the root *jñā* in common to all of them indicating that the mode of cognition expressed by the term *viññāna* is different from others formed with the prefixes *saṃ, pari, abhi,* and *pra*. Giving an English equivalent to the term *viññāṇa* seems difficult because of the fact that no proposed equivalent does seem to fit exactly all the different contextual uses of the term in the Buddhist scriptures.

Terms such as *Vijñāna, saṃjnā* and *prajñā* and other derivatives from the verbal root *jñā*, signifying different modes of cognition were used in pre-Buddhist *Upaniṣads* and it is obvious that Buddhist too inherited this terminology from such usage.1 The *Upaniṣadic* use of these terms usually occurs in connection with speculation about the metaphysical *Ātman* which became the central philosophical notion of the Vedic systems of thought. Buddhism differed from the Brahmanical standpoint represented in the *Upaniṣads* in explaining the cognitive functions signified by these terms purely on the basis of the notion of dependent arising rejecting the view that they were activities attributable to an indwelling spirit or soul.

Vijñāna occurs as the last of the five aggregates or groups (*pañcakkhandha*) recognized in Buddhism as constituting an individual (*Dīgha Nikāya, - Saṅgīti Sutta, Saṃyutta Nikāya, Khandha Samyutta- Khandha Sutta*), with the first of these aggregates being the material body (*rūpa*), and the other three in their standard order of occurrence sensation (*Vedanā*) perception (*saññā*) and dispositions or volitional tendencies (*saṅkhārā*). Like all other aggregates *viññāṇa* also is to be seen with proper insight (*sammappaññaya*) as neither belonging to me (*netaṃ mama*) nor identical with me (*neso hamasmi*) nor as my self (*na me so attā*). *viññāṇa* is described as analyzable into six groups in terms of the sensory basis on which it arises as visual (*cakkhu*), auditory (*sota*), olfactory (*ghāṇa*), gustatory (*jivhā*), tactile (*kāya*) and mental (*mano*). 2 It is to be noted that the term referring to the other aggregate *saññā* signifying also a cognitive aspect of the constitution of a person is described in terms of the sense data that a person becomes aware of through the respective senses, as perception of

form (*rūpasaññā*), perception of sound (*saddasaññā*), etc. whereas [1] *viññāṇa* is described in terms of the respective sense base through which the awareness arises as *cakkhuviññāṇa*, *sotaviññāṇa* etc. *Viññāṇa* occurs as the last in an alternative analysis of reality into six elements as the element of solildity (*pathavidhātu*), the element of liquidity (*āpodhātu*), element of temperature (*tejodhātu*), element of gaseousness (*vāyodhātu*), element of space (*ākāsadhātu*) and element of consciousness (*viññāṇadhātu*) (*Majjhimanikāya*, *Bahudhātukasutta*). *Viññāṇa* is recognized as the fourth kind of nutrient (*āhāra*) that supports and sustains the life of living beings (*sattānaṃ ṭhitiya anuggahāya*) in addition to gross material food (*labaliṅkāra āhāra*), sense contact (*phassa*) and mental volition (*manosañcetanā*) (*Nidāna Saṃyutta*, *Āhāra Sutta*).

The term occurs as the third factor in the standard formula of dependent arising having volitional tendencies (*saṅkhārā*) as the immediately preceding condition on which it depends and the psycho-physical organism (*nāma rūpa*) as the factor that immediately follows depending on it (*Nidāna Saṃyutta*). The dependent arising relationship between *viññāṇa* and *nāma rūpa* is sometimes explained as being reciprocal indicating that they are mutually dependent for their existence (*viññāṇa paccayā nāma rūpaṃ nāma rūpa paccayā viññāṇaṃ*) (*Dīghanikāya*, *Mahanidāna Sutta*). The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* says that *viññāṇa* bounces forth as it were from *nāma rūpa* and that it does not go beyond *nāma rūpa*, but continues to flow in mutual dependence leading to the process of birth, decay, death and rebirth.3 In the *Mahanidāna Sutta*, *viññāṇa* is referred to as descending into the mother's womb at conception and causing the formation of the psychophysical organism (*nāma rūpa*) in the mother's womb.4 If *viññāṇa* were to descend on the mother's womb and later exit it, the psychophysical organism would not go through its normal course of growth that results in the birth of a being. If *viññāṇa* were to be cut off while the being who comes to birth is still an infant girl or boy, the psychophysical organism would not come to growth and maturity. If *viññāṇa* were not to get a foothold in *nāma rūpa* there would be no more rebirth to be known. It is pointed out here too, as in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, that it is this mutual dependence on *viññāṇa* and *nāma rūpa* that causes the cyclic process of suffering consisting of repeated birth, decay and death.[5]

The continuity of the activity of volitional determination and intentional thought activity is considered as leading to the establishment of *viññāṇa* on whatever object that becomes the focus of such activity.6 It is when such an object of intense interest is found that *viññāṇa* gets established, and grows leading to the continued process of becoming.7 What is mentioned here appears to be the same principle of continuity that is referred to in the standard formulation of the twelve links of the *paṭiccasamuppāda*. We have seen that according to that formulation *saṅkhāra* (volitional constructions) are the condition for *viññāṇa* and *viññāṇa* the condition for *nāma rūpa*. The *viññāṇa* of the person who attains liberation, as opposed to those who are yet in the cyclic process of existence is believed to cease without taking a new foothold, suggesting that *viññāṇa* is the component in the person that provides continuity in *saṃsāra*. This is supported by the story of Godhika, one of the Buddha's disciples who is said to have committed suicide, but attained final liberation (*parinibbāna*) at the time of his death. In this episode, Māra, the Lord of Death is said to have searched for the place where Godhika's *viññāṇa* got established, and was disappointed because Godhika attained *parinibbāna* with his *viññāṇa* not getting established anywhere.[8]

The Suttas also refer to seven stations of *viññāṇa* (*satta viññāṇa ṭhitiyo*).[9] They are described as different stations in which living beings can survive with a manifest consciousness. Some living beings like the humans some types of *devas* and hell beings are described as possessing diversity in body as well as diversity in perception and this is described as the first station of *viññāṇa*. The second station of *viññāṇa* applies to those beings called *devas* of the Brahma body (*Brahmakāyikā devā*) who have diversity in body but oneness in perception. The third applies to those beings who are called *Ābhassara devas* who have oneness of body but diversity of perception. The fourth applies to beings called *Subhakiṇha devas* who have oneness of both body and perception. The fifth applies to those beings who have reached the state of infinity of space. The sixth applies to those beings who have reached the state of infinity of consciousness and the seventh applies to those who have reached the state of nothingness.

In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, it is stated that when a person who goes through the systematic stages of mental culture prescribed in Buddhism applies his

mind which is fully purified after the removal of all its hindrances, and fully composed by the attainment of the four stages of meditative attainment (*jhāna*) to insightful knowing and seeing (*ñāṇadassanāya*), he becomes capable of seeing clearly the connection between *viññāṇa* and the physical body. The body is seen in such insightful vision as that which is sustained by nutrition from gross material food, while *viññāṇa* is seen as being attached to that body and connected to it (*ettha sitaṃ ettha paṭibaddhaṃ*). 10 In the *Sampasādaniya Sutta*, a recluse or a Brahmin who is skilled in attaining composure of the mind through meditative training is said to be capable of knowing the "stream of consciousness of a person" (*purisassa viññāṇasotaṃ*) which is established in this world and the other in unbroken succession in addition to seeing the various components of the physical body.11 In these instances *viññāṇa* is seen as a reality irreducible to material bodily processes implying a denial of the philosophical thesis of monistic materialism.

In Pali Suttas which presumably belong to an early period it is suggested, though not explicitly stated, that the term *viññāṇa* is synonymous with two other terms *citta* and *mano* used frequently in Buddhism in referring to mental activity.12 In the *Vrti* of *Vasubandhu's Vijñāptimātratāsiddhi*, it is explicitly stated that *citta, mano* and *viññāṇa* as well as the term *vijñāpti* used with a new philosophical emphasis by the *viññāṇavadins* are all synonyms (*cittaṃ mano vijñānaṃ vijñāptiś paryāyah*). In the third, *citta, mano* and *viññāṇa* occurring in the supposedly earliest stratum of Pali Sutta literature differences in meaning may be discerned on the basis of the observation that not all three terms can be used appropriately as interchangeable in their different contextual uses. For instance, the verb *bhāveti* (develops or cultivates) could be used with the terms *citta* and *mano* , but seems inappropriate when used with the term *viññāṇa*. *Citta* which under ordinary conditions is uncultivated, undeveloped (*abhāvitaṃ*), unguarded (*aguttaṃ, arakkhitaṃ*) , unrestrained (*asaṃvutaṃ*), unpurified (*avisuddhaṃ*) and not emancipated (*avimuttaṃ*) could be developed, cultivated, guarded, restrained and emancipated with effort. Both *citta* and *mano* could be defiled (*paduṭṭha*). *Mano* too, like *citta*, could be developed whereas it would be inappropriate to speak of developing *viññāṇa*. In fact the *Suttapiṭaka* seems to mark the distinction between *viññāṇa*and *paññā* by saying that *viññāṇa* ought to be comprehensively known (*viññāṇaṃ pariññeyyaṃ*) whereas *paññā* ought to be cultivated (*paññā bhāvetabbā*). 13 There is no instance in which *viññāṇa* is considered as subject to purification or defilement. In the enumeration of the sense faculties, *mano* stands for the sixth non-physical sense faculty which has *dnamma* (ideas, mental phenomena or concepts) as its objects. The role of *viññāṇa* appears to be rather a passive one of just a being aware of the sensory input, whereas man plays an instrumental role in producing the awareness of mental objects in the same way as the other physical sense do in the production of the awareness of their respective data. *Citta* is also conceived as an actively applicable instrument for controlling and directing various phenomena of the world. The world is said to be led and dragged around by *citta*. 14 Such distinctions seemingly possi8ble to be made in terms of the early usage have however been accommodated by the novel concept of *vijñāna* that evolved in Yogacara Buddhist philosophy that introduced the idea of a basal *vijñāna* that serves as the repository of all conceivable facets of conscious and unconscious mental processes.

The triad *citta, mano* and *viññāna* represented the nonmaterial processes observable in a living person having a distinct reality that is not entirely reducible to the observable material processes. The Buddha cautioned his disciples against the ;mistake of considering whatever is referred to as *citta, mano* and *viññāna* as a substantial enduring entity of the nature of a soul (*atta*), pointing out that on careful observation it is found to undergo change with much more rapidity than what we refer to as our material body. 15 The *Mahātanhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to a monk named Sati who fell into the error of conceiving *viññānan* as an unchanging entity that transmigrates in the manner of a substantial soul (*viññāṇam sandhāvati saṃsarati anaññaṃ*). However, when the Buddha was informed of Sāti's view, he severely reprimanded Sāti for holding a view that was contrary to his teaching. On this occasion the Buddha insisted that *viññāna* cannot be treated as the eternal being that animates the body, the eternal subject of experience, the eternal agent or doer of good and bad actions and the reaper of their consequences. He pointed out that *viññāṇa* arises dependently (*paṭiccasamuppanaṃ*) in continuous interaction between sense faculties and their respective sense objects. To conceive of it as a simple entity that persists in the cyclic process of existence is judged in this instance to be a serious error. [16]

Under whatever category Vinnana is considered, whether it is conceived as the fifth aggregate constituting a person (*viññānakkhandha*), or as the continuing *viññāṇa* in the cyclic process of existence as more elaborately described in the Yogācāra school, or as *viññāṇa* that momentarily arises at each moment of cognitive consciousness, or as one of the essential nutrients for the sustenance of beings, or as one of the elements of existence (*viññāṇadhātu*) like the element of solidity, it is to be viewed as having the three characteristics of being impermanent (*anicca*), unsatisfactory (*dukkha*) and devoid of self essence (*anatta*).

However one encounters a difficulty in interpreting an occurrence of the term *viññāṇa* in the *Kevatta Sutta* where the term is qualified by the adjective *anidassanaṃ* suggesting the idea that *viññāṇa* attains such a nature that it becomes impossible to point to it. According to the later commentarial explanation, it is a reference to *nibbāna*.17 The words *viññāṇaṃ anidassanaṃ* occurs in a verse attributed to the Buddha as a response to a question raised by a certain bhikkhu who searched for an answer to it in vain from all divine beings of the highest heavenly worlds including the great Brahma who was considered to be the omniscient lord of all beings. After this enquiring monk was finally referred to the Buddha by Brahma himself to get an appropriate answer, he raised the question "Where do these four great elements cease without remainder?" (*kattha nu kho ime cattāro mahābhūta aparisesā nirujjhanti*). The Buddha reframes the question as "Where do these four great elements not find a support; where do long and short small and large, lovely and foul, as well as name and form come to cessation without residue?"18 In other words the question is about the cessation of all discriminations that we ordinarily make in our perceptual experience. After reframing the question the Buddha explains that this happens in infinite Vinnana which is altogether luminous and transcends identification.19 In Buddhaaghosa's commentary the term *viññāṇaṃ* is explaianed as *viññāṇatabbanti viññāṇaṃ* and it is further maintained that it is a reference to *nibbāna*. The term *viññāṇatabbaṃ* means "ought to be known". It is immediately followed by the statement "It is a name for *nibbāna*" (*nibbānassetaṃ nāmaṃ*). The idea of an ultimate reality that cannot be explained in terms of any empirical phenomenon, an entity that is infinite in the sense of having no origin, end, or transience is mooted here.20 Commenting on the second occurrence of the term in *viññānassa nirodhena* in the Kevattasutta verse Buddhaghosa suggests that it refers to the cessation of the last moment of consciousness and the consciousness that carries all the acquired tendencies or dispositions (*tattha viññāṇanti carimakaviññāṇampi abhisaṅkhāraviññāṇampi*). The sub-commentary explicitly identifies the *carimaka viññāṇa* with the dying mind moment of the Arahant.

Buddhaghosa suggests that *anidassanaṃ* conveys the idea 'that which is not possible to be pointed to' and interprets this as a reference to *nibbāna*. However, it does not have the implication that the Buddha presented a kind of surviving infinite consciousness that transcends ordinary empirical consciousness. There is a high probability that the canonical verses are referring to the *nibbāna* attainment. An explanation which might agree with the point made by the Buddha in this context is that in the first part of these verses the Buddha was speaking about the nature of nibbānic consciousness of the living Arahant. This explanation accords with other instances also in which the Arahant or the Tathāgatha is said to be unknowable even while he is alive because already his consciousness takes no foothold in anything whatever.21 It is a kind of consciousness in which all the ordinary discriminations of the world find no foothold. The latter part of the verses draws attention to the fact that the final outcome of such a *viññāṇa* is the total cessation of name and form breaking off the recurrent link between *nāmarūpa* and *viññāṇa* . However, it seems inappropriate to derive from these verses the metaphysical implication that *nibbāna* is a kind of surviving, eternal infinite, luminous, transcendental and ineffable consciousness (*anidassanaviññāṇa*). Rune Johansson is of the opinion that the Kevatta Sutta presents "a description of a *viññāṇa* that has 'stopped' and does not flow any more and therefore will not be instrumental in any further rebirth.22 He also interprets it as justifying his thesis that the *citta* of the Arahant in some form survives death.23 The implication of Johansson's observation is that in *nibbāna*, *viññāṇa* is stopped leaving no more room for its rebirth in another life and *citta* is calmed and stabilized. His conclusion is that Vinnana as well as *citta* survive death.

It was already noted that the term *viññāṇa* signifies a mode of cognitive consciousness distinguished by the prefix vi. The post-canonical Pali works also

recognized that all Buddhist terms derived from the verbal root *ñā* signify in common some mode of cognition. Buddhaghosa observes that in the terms *sañjānāti*, *vijānāti* and *pajānāti* the difference is in the prefix. He maintains that the difference in prefix indicates a difference in cognitive meaning. 24 He also proceeds to give his own explanation of the difference, pointing out that the cognitive function of *saññā* occupies the bottom level in terms of the relative depth of cognition it is capable of producing. *Viññāṇa* is described as involving a higher degree of cognitive depth. In addition to the capability of the former it also has the potential of penetrating into the three characteristics of existence such as impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and soullessness. *Paññā* in addition to having the capabilities of both former modes of cognition has the further capability to produce understanding of the path of liberation. We have noted earlier in the discussion that such an active function as suggested by the commentator is not attributed to *viññāṇa* in the early Suttas. Although Buddhaghosa seems to be justified in recognizing the fact that the terms signify different modes of knowing, his explanation of the difference may be doubted.

Prof. Sarathchandra expresses the view that the word *viññāṇa* has acquired several meanings in the Pali literature both early and late. He maintains that "though it stood in the early texts as a general term for sense-consciousness, when it came to be applied to the psychology of perception, it meant, not full cognition, but bare sensation, a sort of anoetic sentience that occurs before the object is completely apprehended. 25 Prof. K.N. Jasyatilleke, who disagrees with this interpretation points out that "The sense of 'knowledge' for *viññāṇa* is quite clear where it is said that 'the Tathāgata should be examined in order to know (*viññānaya*, lit. for the knowledge of), whether he is perfectly enlightened or not".26 Discussing the various uses of the terms *vijānāti* and *pajānāti* Prof. Jayatilleke concludes that "....*viññāṇa* seems to be the general term for 'cognition', while *paññā* is more or less restricted in common to the cognition of spiritual truths."27 Prof. Jayatilleke's suggestion is that Vinnana differs from *paññā* in terms of the respective objects of cognition. It is our contention however, that the difference in meaning lies not in the objects known but the nature of the particular mode of knowing involved. The same objects of knowledge may be known from different cognitive perspectives and the Vinnana perspective and the *saññā* perspective according to Buddhism do not fulfill the specific aim of Buddhist knowing, namely, the liberation of the mind from cankers.28 It is fulfilled only in the seeing from the *paññā* perspective. Thus our conclusion is that at least according to the early Pali usage in the canonical Sutta tradition, *viññāṇa* as a cognitive act falls short of being insightful knowing whereas *paññā* attains that status.

Prof. Sarathchandra points out that the term *viññāṇa* presents difficulties of interpretation due to the fact that it; is used in evidently more senses than one. 29 Two of the main senses in which it has been used as recognized by most scholars is (1) as cognitive consciousness that is dependently arisen (which Sarathchandra calls empirical consciousness), and (2) the 'transmigrating " consciousness or that consciousness which passes into a new life carrying with it, its accumulated kammic potential. Prof. Sarathchandra contends that the notion of Vinnana as a transmigrating factor is a later view rejecting Mrs. Rhys Davids's view that the explanation given by the Buddha to Sati against a transmigrating eternal entity is the later view.30 He appears to see a contradiction between the concept of *viññāṇa* implied by the explanation in the *Mahātaṇhasaṅkhaya Sutta* and that implied by the explanation in the *Mahānidāna Sutta*. He believes that the notion of *viññāṇa* as a transmigrating factor is a part of popular Buddhism, which accommodated the existing belief in rebirth and explains it as being partly due to the gap left in the original teaching providing no specific link between one life and another in the rebirth series and partly due to the Brahmanical environment in which the new teaching grew."31 In his opinion "The peculiar interpretation given in the *Mahānidāna Sutta* to the statement *nāmarūpapacaya viññānaṃ* is due, probably, to the influence of the non-Buddhist belief. It should not be taken as representative of the original Buddhist position. He argues that the *Mahānidāna Sutta* explanation consists of an inherent contradiction, and concludes that it should be a later intrusion. Sarathchandra says: "*Nāmarūpa*, wherever it stood for the individual, always included *viññāṇa* as well."32 We cannot, however, agree with this last statement, because the sequence *saṅkhāra* – *viññāṇa* —*nāmarūpa* has been stated in many discourses dealing with the dependent arising process including the *Mahātaṇhasaṅkhaya Sutta* which Sarathchandra cites in support of his view. It is also to be noted that contrary to Sarathchaandra's view the Suttas usually

explaining *rūpa* as consisting of the four great elements and whatever is derived from them, and *nāma* as consisting of *vedanā, saññā, cetanā, phassa* and *manasikāra* excluding *viññāṇa* in the enumeration.[33]

While agreeing with Sarathchandra's view that *viññāṇa* is not conceived in Buddhism as a transmigrating soul, it is difficult to agree with his view that Buddhism did not accept the reciprocal connection between *viññāṇa* and *nāmarūpa* as an explanation in terms of dependent arising of the samsāric process. This dual status of *viññāṇa* as both cognitive consciousness arising instantaneously depending upon the interaction of the sense faculties and sense stimuli, and as that which flows along as an uninterrupted stream implicitly recognized in the early *sutta* period came to be more explicitly stated in the later theorizing that emerged in the Abhidhamma period of Theravada Buddhism. Abhidhamma scholasticism intorduced the new concept of *bhavaṅga* in order to maintain the unbroken sequence and continuity of the stream of *viññāṇa*, while taking care to emphasize that even this consciousness was not an eternal abiding principle. A distinction thus came to be drawn between active consciousness which arises on the occasion of sense contact and the dormant consciousness (*bhavaṅga*) which incessantly flows as long as such active consciousness is not aroused.

It is the seeming contradiction between the notion of Vinnana that is affirmed in the *Mahātaṇhasaṅkhaya Sutta* and the notion of Vinnana that descends into the womb of the mother when a new birth takes place that gave rise to innovative interpretations of the concept of Vinnana in later Buddhism. The most striking innovative *vijñāna* interpretation of the Buddhist concept of *vijñāna* developed mainly in the Yogācāra Buddhist tradition. One of the unique contributions of this later school of Buddhism was the concept of a store house consciousness referred to as *ālayavijñāna*. Recent scholars on Buddhism have proposed that some aspects of this concept are comparable with the concept of the unconscious in modern psychology. It is also proposed that the concept of *ālayavijñāna* was necessitated by some problems and inadequacies in the theory if mental life found in the early Sutta period and the Abhidharma traditions of the Hīnayāna schools.

William S. Waldron draws attention to the two aspects or functions of Vinnana evident in the various formulas of dependent arising found in the early Buddhist sources. "The first refers to *viññāṇa* as an underlying sentience which flows in an unbroken stream of mind through out multiple lifetimes, while the second refers to *viññāṇa* in terms of six modalities of cognitive awareness which momentarily arise in conjunction with discrete cognitive objects."34 The firs t is distinguished by him as "samsāric *viññāṇa*", following O.H.de A. Wijesekera's discussion of "*The Concept of Vinnana in Theravada Buddhism*".35 It is the consciousness that is determined by *saṅkhāra* stated in the standard formula of causation as "*saṅkhāra paccaya viññāṇaṃ*". Understood as the basic sentience necessary for all animate life, it is always mentioned without reference to cognitive objects. It sis probably the same aspect of *viññāṇa* that the Theravada commentators qualified as *abhisaṅkhāra viññāṇa*. Waldron proposes that these two aspects of *viññāṇa* implicitly recognized in the early Buddhist sources "clearly foreshadow the bifurcation of *viññāṇa* (*vijñāna* in the Yogācāra school into a subsisting, subliminal, and accumulating consciousness, represented by *ālayavijñāna* and the momentary supraliminal forms of awareness, represented by "manifest cognitive awareness" (S. *pravṛti-vijñāna*)."[36]

The new role of *viññāṇa* in the samsṛric life of beings came to be elaborated in the Yogācāra school of Buddhism under its novel philosophical doctrine of *cittamātra* (mind only) which led philosophically to an idealistic interpretation of reality. The *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra* and the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* marks the beginning of this tradition.

It came to be systematized in the *Viṃśatikā* and *Triṃśikā* of Vasubandhu's *Vijñaptimātratā-Siddhi*. Other Mahayana treatises associated with the doctrine are Asanga's ÿ¶ *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*, Maitreyanātha's *Mahāyānasūtralaṃkāra* and *Madhyāntavibhāga*. Hsuan Tsang's Ch'eng wei Shih lun (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddi*) represents mainly the views of Dharmapāla of the sixth century concerning the doctrine. The *cittamātra* tradition distinguished eight types of consciousness which included the six types of sense consciousness, the consciousness of the tainted mind (*kliṣṭa-manas*) and the storehouse consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*).

According to Schmithausen, it is in the Śaptadaśabhūmikā of the Yogācārabhūmi that the term

ālayavijñāna appears to have been first used. 37 Early in the Buddhist tradition the question as to how the unbroken continuity of the stream of consciousness of a person is maintained subsequent to the total cessation of perception and sensation in the meditative absorption called *saññāvedayitanirodha* was raised. The early post-canonical Theravada text Milindapanha proposed that the mind enters a state called *bhavaṅga* maintaining its unbroken flow in the form of a continuing subliminal consciousness. Schmitausen points out that the Yogācārabhūmi considers *ālayavijñāna* to be the basal consciousness that persists uninterruptedly in such states of absorption. The causal conditions for manifest forms of cognitive awareness to reappear after emerging from the absorption are contained within the *ālayavijñāna*. A distinction came to be recognized between modes of manifest cognitive awareness (*pravṛtti-vijñāna*) that arise on account of the interaction between the respective sense faculties and the sensory stimuli and the abiding uninterrupted flow of consciousness called *ālayavijñāna*

The concept of *ālayavijñāna* takes further development in the *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra* which refers to this consciousness as the mind with all the seeds (*sarvabījakaṃ cittaṃ*). *ālayavijñāna* is associated with the accumulated seeds and predispositions (*vāsanā*) for which it serves as the receptacle in the beginning less flow of samsāric existence. As stated in chapter V of *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* it is the consciousness that descends into the mother's womb at conception and facilitates the growth and development of the fetal materials in a newly re-embodied existence.38 A twofold appropriation is said to take place in this process as (1) the appropriation of the material sense-faculties along with their supports (*sādhiṣṭāna – rūpindriya-upādāna*) and (2) the appropriation which consists of the predispositions toward profuse imaginings in terms of conventional usage of images, names, and concepts (*nimitta-nāma-vikalpa-vyavahāra-prapañca-vāsanā-upādanā*).39

Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, the famous work of Vasubandhu which attempted a philosophical justification and a clear statement of the Yogacara standpoint shows in the *Triṃśikā* that *vijñāna* undergoes a process of evolution (*parināma*) due to the inherent power generated by ignorance. The evolving consciousness undergoes a threefold modification or transformation as (1) the resultant (*vipāka*), (2) mental activity infused with the sense of ego (*manana*) and (3) cognitive consciousness of external objects (*viṣaya vijñapti*). 40 The first represents the *ālaya* or he storehouse which contains all the seeds of karma, the dispositions (*vāsanā*) of good and bad actions that have attained maturity (*paripāka*).41 It flows like a rapidly flowing stream (*śrotasaughavat*) in unbroken succession, without any permanent enduring essence carrying along with it the internal seeds of consciousness, and the contents of mind such as sense impression (*sparśa*), sensation (*vedanā*), etc. that momentarily arise and cease. It is neither eternal (*śāśvata*) nor annihilating (*uccheda*), but dependently arising. It ceases at the attainment of Arahantship.

The second transformation is the evolution of *manas* or 'mentation', the seventh consciousness according to the Yogācāra. It is different from *manovijñāna* which is recognized in early Buddhism as one of the six types of consciousness having their respective objective supports (*ālambana*). According to *the Triṃśikā manas*, the seventh consciousness functions depending upon the *ālayavijñāna* and having it as the support. It is associated with four types of defilements: the self dogma (*ātmadṛsti*) the self delusion (*ātmamoha*), self-conceit (*ātmamāna*) and self-love (*ātmasneha*).

The third transformation of *vijñāna* consists of the evolution of the six fold consciousness in the form of visual consciousness (*cakṣur vijñāna*), auditory consciousness (*śrota vijñāna*) etc. through dependence on form (*rūpa*) sound (*śabda*) et. Although consciousness of external objects is recognized. Yogācāra Buddhism denies that this consciousness is produced by the activity of the external objects. They are considered as mere mental projections.

Vijñānavāda tradition of Buddhist philosophy explained in terms of the concept of *ālayavijñāna* the nature of existence itself. The evolution of the *ālalya* was considered to be without beginning (*anādikālika*). The evolution of *Manas* is a consequence of the maturity of the seeds in the alaya. *Pravṛtti vijñāna*, the third transformation consists of the evolution of the perceptive consciousness consisting of subject-object discrimination. It leads to activity or behaviour (*karma*) good, bad or indeterminate resulting in accumulation of dispositions (*vāsanā*) which are stored

up in the *ālaya* which in turn lead to repeated evolution of manas and the sixfold perceptive consciousness. This process goes on in the fashion of a flowing stream (*nadīsrotavat*) until the attainment of enlightenment.

What follows from the above discussion is that the early Buddhist account of Vinnana attempted to explain both the cognitive functions of a person as well as the continuing series of births and deaths involving incessant suffering and distress drawing attention to the role of *viññāṇa* as a major factor in these processes. No question appears to have arisen during the sutta period regarding the establishment of personal identity through *viññāṇa*. Any attempt to conceive of *viññāṇa* as a persisting entity that passes from one life to another without undergoing transformation was considered as a misinterpretation of the Buddhist view as pointed out in the Buddha's response to Sari's view. *Viññāṇa* was considered to arise dependently, and as no more a self existent eternal entity than any of the other aggregates that constitute a person. However, due to the fact that the Buddhist account denied both the doctrine of annihilation proposed by the materialist, and that of eternal survival proposed by the metaphysical soul theorist in terms of its doctrine of dependent arising in which *viññāṇa* played a crucial role, more theoretical precision was demanded both by its opponents as well as those within the tradition itself specially in the light of the challenges posed by the doctrine of *ātmavāda*.

The theoretical innovations of both the Theravada and non-Theravada Buddhists appear to be attempts to fill the theoretical gaps found in the earlier doctrinal positions as well as attempts to meet the challenges posed mainly by the orthodox schools of the Vedic tradition.

P. D. Premasiri.

References

1 *na vijñater vijñātāran vijnāyāh*- Bṛhadārankya Upaniṣad 3.4.2; *ayam ātmā anantara bāhyaḥ prajñāna ghana eva*- Ibid. 4.5.13; *na pretya samjñāsti* ibid. Forms such as *vijnāyāh* (Bṛhadāraṇkya Upaniṣad 3 4. 2) *vijñātam* (Chāndogya Up. 6.1.3). *vijānam* (Ibid 7.25.2). *vijānataḥ* (Ibid. 7.26.1) are used along with other words that signify perceptual experience

2 Majjhimanikāya Vol. I. p 53

3 *Paccucludāvatati kho idaṃ viññānaṃ nāmarūpamha nāmarūpam gacchati. Ettavata jāyetha vā jiyyetha va miyyetha va cavetha vā uppajjetha va yadidam nāmarūpapaccaya viññānaṃ viññāna paccayā nāmarūpaṃ* Dīghanikāya Vol. 2. p. 32

4 *viññānaṃca hi Ānanda mātukucchismiṃ na okkamissata api nu kho nāmarūpaṃ mātukucchismiṃ samuccissāthati. Na hetam bhante*, Ibid. p. 63.

5 *viññāṇanca hi Ānanda mātukucchismiṃ okkamitvāvokkamissa tha, api nu kho nāmarūpaṃ itthattāya abhinibbattissathāti. No hetaṃ bhante. viññāṇaṇca hi Ānanda daharasseva sato vocchijjissatha kumārakassa vākumrikāva va api nu kho namarūpaṃ vuddhiṃ virūlhiṃ vepullaṃ āpajjissathāti. No hetaṃ bhante... viññānaṃ ca hi Ānanda nāmarūpe patiṭṭhaṃ na labhissatha api nu kho āyatiṃ jātijarāmaraṇaranadukkhasamudayasambhavo paññāyethati. No hetaṃ bhante*, Ibid

6 *Yañca bhikkhave ceteti yañca pakappeti ārammaṇaṃ etasṃ hoti viññānassa ṭhitiyā ārammane satipatiṭṭhā viññāṇassa hoti.* Saṃyuttanikāya Vol. 2, p. 65.

7 *Tasmiṃ patiṭṭhite viññāne virūḷhe āyatiṃ punabbhavābhinibbatti hoti.* (Cetanā Sutta – Nidāna Samyutta)

8 *appatiṭṭhitena viññānena Godhiko parinibbuto.* Ibid

9 *Satta kho imā Ānanda viññānaṭṭhitiyo Katame satta. San't Ānanda sattā nānattakāya nānattasaññino, sevvathapi manussā ekacce ca devā ekacce ca vinipātikā Avaṃ paṭhamā viññānaṭṭhiti. San't Ānanda sattā nānattakāya ekattasaññino seyyathāpi devā brahmakāyikā paṭhamābhinibbattā. Ayaṃ dutiyā viññāṇatthiti. Sant' Ānanda sattā ekattakāva nānatt-saññino, eyyathāpi devā ābhassara. Aya tatiya viññānatthiti. Sant' Ānanda sattā ekattakāva ekattasaññino. seyyathāpi devā subhakiṇhā. Avaṃ catutthā viññāṇatthiti. Sant' Ānanda sattā sabbaso rūpasaññānam samatikkamā paṭighasaññānam atthagamā nānattasaññānam amanasikārā ananto ākāso ti ākāsānañcāyatanūpagā. Ayaṃ pañcamī viññāṇatthiti. Sant' Ānanda sattā sabbaso ākāsānañcāyatanaṃ samatikkama anantaṃ viññāṇan ti viññānañcāyatanūpagā. Ayaṃ chaṭṭhā*

viññāṇatthiti. Sant' Ānanda sattā sabbaso viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ samatikkama natthi kiñci ti ākincaññāyatanūpagā. Ayaṃ sattamīviññāṇaṭṭhiti. Dīghanikāya Vol.2. pp. 68-69

10 Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 76.

11 Ibid. Vol 2. p. 105.

12 Samuttanikāya Vol. 2. p. 94.

13 Majjhimanikāya Vol. 1. p. 293.

14 *Cittenu nhs'aii loko, citteflu parikissati.* Samyuttanikāya Vol. 1. p. 39.

15 Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 94.

16 Majjhimanikava Vol. 1. p. 23 7f

17 *Viññānaṃ anidassanaṃ anantaṃ sabbato pabhaṃ.* Dighanikāya Vol. I. p. 223; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī Kevattasuttavaṇṇanā

18 *Kattha pathavi ca āpo ca tejo vāyo na gādhati-kattha dīghañca rassañca anuṃ thūlaṃ subhāsubhaṃ kattha nāmñca rūpañca asesaṃ uparujjhati.* Dighanikaya Vol. I p. 215 f.

19 *Viññānaṃ anidassanaṃ anantaṃ sabbato pabhaṃ*Ibid. p. 223

20 *Uppādanto vāvayanto vā thitassa aññathattanto vā etassa natthīti anantaṃ.* Sumaṅgalavilāsinī Kevattasuttavaṇṇanā

21 *Evaṃ vimuttacittaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhuṃ saindā devā sabrahmakā anvesaṃ nādhigacchanti Idaṃnissitaṃ tathāgatassa viññānanti. Taṃ kissa hestu. Diṭṭhevāhaṃ bhikkhave dhamme tathāgathaṃ ananuvejjoti vadāmi.* Majjhima Nikāya Vol. i. p. 140

22 *The Psychology of Nirvāna* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London 1969)

23 Ibid. p. 61

24 *Idāni sañjānāti vijānāti pajānātīti ettha viseso veditabbo. Tattha upasaggamatta meva viseso. Jānātīti padaṃpana aviseso. Tassāpi jānanatthe viseso veditabbo.* – Papañcasūdani, Mahāvedallasuttavaṇṇanā

25 *Buddhist Psychology of Perception* The Ceylon University Press of Colombo 1958 , p. 4

26 *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1963) p. 434

27 Ibid. p. 435

28 For a detailed discussion of this point see "*The Early Buddhist Analysis of Varities of Cognition*"

29 *Buddhist Psychology of Perception* p. 16

30 Ibid. pp. 18-19. See also Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids , *Birth of Indian Psychology* pp. 75 and 245.

31 *Buddhist Psychology of Perception* p. 19

32 Ibid. p. 20

33 Majjhima Nikāya Vol. I. p. 53

34 *The Buddhist Unconscious* (Routledge Curson, London and New York 2003) p. 12

35 *Journal of the American Oriental Society* , (84 (3): 254-9.

36 *The Buddhist Unconscious* p. 12

37 *Ālayavijñāna* . Internationa Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo 1987

38 Sandhinirmocanasūtra V. 2 As reconstructed in Sanskrit by Schmithausen it reads: *(Sarvabījakaṃ cittaṃ) vipacyate samūrcchati vṛddhiṃ virūḍhiṃ vipulatāṃ āpadyate* 1987: 356, n.508

39 Waldron: 2003, p. 94-95

40 *Vijñānapariṇāme sau pariṇāmaḥ sa ca tridhā Vipāko mananākhyaśca vijñaptir viṣayasya ca* - Trimśikā verses 1-2

41 *Tatrālayākhyāṃ vijñānaṃ vipākaḥ sarvabījakaṃ* –ibid. verse 2

VIÑÑĀṆAÑCĀYATANA, the "sphere of boundless consciousness", is the second of the four immaterial attainments (see also ARịPA etc.) According to the standard description given in the discourse, this sphere is to be attained by overcoming the preceding sphere of boundless space, *sabbaso ākāsānañcāyatanaṃ samatikkamma*, and by giving attention to the idea of boundless consciousness (e.g. *M.* II, 13). The *Vibhaṅga* explains that the actual attainment comes about by directing attention to the space touched by consciousness during the previous attainment of the sphere of boundless space, *taṃ yeva ākāsaṃ viññāṇena phuṭṭhaṃ manasikaroti* (*Vibh.* 262). That is, in terms of actual experience, to attain the sphere of boundless consciousness requires that mind takes consciousness itself as the object, and this consciousness is devoid of content apart from awareness of all pervasive space.

By reason of the method of attainment, the element of the sphere of boundless consciousness, *viññāṇañcāyatana-dhātu*, is based on the element of the sphere of boundless space (*S.* II, 150). The relationship between the two is such that a re-arising of perceptions related to boundless space is an obstruction to be overcome in order to stabilize the attainment of boundless consciousness (*S.* IV, 267; *A.* IV, 417; *A.* IV, 444). The happiness experienced during the attainment

of boundless consciousness is superior to the happiness of attaining the sphere of boundless space (*M.* I, 399). Moreover, the life span of one reborn in the realm of boundless consciousness lasts for altogether forty-thousand eons and is thus twice as long as the life span to be expected on rebirth in the realm of boundless space, (*A.* I, 267).

The sphere of boundless consciousness is the sixth in a series of altogether seven stations of consciousness, *viññāṇaṭṭhiti* (*D.* III, 253); the fifth of altogether eight liberations, *vimokkha* (*D.* III, 262), alternatively referred to as "directions", *disā* (*M.* III, 222); the seventh of altogether nine abodes of beings, *sattāvāsa* (*D.* III, 263); and the sixth of altogether nine successive dwellings or else nine successive cessations, *anupubbavihārā* or *anupubbanirodhā* (*D.* III, 265; *D.* III, 266). Another list that covers ten *kasiṇas* includes the *viññāṇakasiṇa* as the last in the series (*M.* II, 15). This *viññāṇa-kasiṇa* is reckoned supreme among the ten *kasiṇas* (*A.* V, 60), and is described as boundless in all directions and unified, *uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ advayaṃ appamāṇaṃ*. This description suggests that the *viññāṇakasiṇa* stands for the same type of experience that is elsewhere referred to by the term *viññāṇañcāyatana*. The commentaries confirm this impression, explaining that the expression *viññāṇakasiṇa* refers to taking boundless consciousness as the object and thereby reaching the sphere of boundless consciousness (*AA.* II, 77).

Notably, the detailed treatment of the *kasiṇas* in the *Visuddhimagga* does not cover the consciousness *kasiṇa* (*Vism.* 118-177), though the term occurs in the same work as part of a list of objects for insight, *abhiññā* (*Vism.* 609; quoting *Ps.* I, 6). The *Atthasālinī* explains that the consciousness *kasiṇa* was not included in the treatment of *kasiṇas* because it belongs to the development of the immaterial attainments (*DhsA.* 186). In fact, the *Nettippakaraṇa* reckons the space *kasiṇa* and the consciousness *kasiṇa* as belonging to the realm of insight, *vipassanā*, while the other eight *kasiṇas* are assigned to tranquillity meditation (*Nett.* 89). This distinction appears artificial and the reason for the absence of the consciousness *kasiṇa* in the *Visuddhimagga* treatment may rather be that once the expression *kasiṇa* is understood to stand only for a meditation device, it becomes difficult to imagine what a consciousness *kasiṇa* might be. The references in the discourses to a *viññāṇakasiṇa* rather suggest that the original implication of the term *kasiṇa* was quite literally the all pervasive 'totality', *kṛtsna*, of an experience, for the development of which the meditation devices described in the commentaries under the heading of *kasiṇa* are merely the tools (see also KASIṆA).

The experience of the totality of boundless consciousness takes place through mind-consciousness alone and does not involve the other sense-faculties (*M.* I, 293). Mental factors present during the attainment of the sphere of boundless consciousness are one-pointedness of the mind, contact, feeling, perception, volition, mind, aspiration, resolution, energy, mindfulness, equanimity and attention (*M.* III, 27). The type of perception present during this attainment is a "subtle but true perception of boundless consciousness", *viññāṇañcāyatana-sukhuma-sacca-saññā* (*D.* I, 184).

It is perhaps not surprising that such a sublime attainment is prone to leading those who experience it to metaphysical speculations. This much can be seen from the *Brahmajāla Sutta*'s listing of grounds that lead to the arising of annihilationist views, one of which involves the identification of the sphere of boundless consciousness as a self (*D.* I, 35; see also VIBHAVATAṆHĀ). That is, the perception of boundless consciousness has quite a propensity to lead to deluded type of imaginings and thence to the genesis of delight and appropriation in terms of 'mine' (*M.* I, 2). To have reached such attainment could also become the cause for developing conceit and despising others (*M.* III, 44). Though with the attainment of the sphere of boundless consciousness one has gone beyond Māra's vision (*M.* I, 159); and the same attainment features among the range of meditation experiences the Buddha attained on the eve of his passing away (*D.* II, 156 or *S.* I, 158); from an early Buddhist perspective this profound attainment should be reckoned as merely a peaceful dwelling (*M.* I, 41). It should be contemplated as a product of mental volition and thence as impermanent and subject to cessation (*M.* I, 352); or else each of its mental aggregate components should be seen as impermanent, unsatisfactory and not-self (*M.* I, 436), in order to progress towards final liberation.

Anālayo

VIPĀKA literally means "fruit" or "product", derived from *vi* + *pac*. The verb *vipaccati* means "to be cooked" or "to bear fruit", hence in a figurative sense *vipāka* stands for that which has become ready through cooking or ripening.1 In its early Buddhist usage, *vipāka* represents in particular the "result" or "consequence" of a deed, more specifically called *kamma-vipāka* (see also KAMMA). It is this sense of *kammavipāka* that will be examined in the present entry.

The perspective afforded by *vipāka* on human behaviour is of central importance to early Buddhist ethics. The early Buddhist "ethical system was ... emphatically a study of *consequences* - of karma and vipāka (effect of karma) - of seeing in every phenomenon a *reaping* of some previous sowing".2 The notion that any action will have its results is at the same time also an expression of the early Buddhist teachings on causality. Thus a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta* indicates that the wise ones who see action as it really is will have a direct vision of dependent arising and knowledge of the fruit of action, *yathābhūtaṃ kammaṃ passanti paṇḍitā paṭiccasamuppādadasā kammavipākakovidā* (*Sn.* 653).

Vipāka and Determinism

In the causal network responsible for an event, *kammavipāka* is not the only possible cause. Hence from an early Buddhist perspective it would not be correct to assume that everything is the result of previous action. Instead, causes responsible for the nature of present experience could also be bodily disorders, climate, carelessness etc. (*S.* IV, 230; cf. also *A.* II, 87; *A.* III, 131; *A.* V, 110).

The belief in *kammavipāka* as the only determinant of experience was, according to the *Devadaha Sutta*, held by the Jains, who considered all experiences to be the outcome of former deeds, *sabbaṃ taṃ pubbekatahetu*, assuming that through self-mortification the karmic retribution of former deeds could be exhausted (*M.* II, 214). According to the same *Devadaha Sutta*, the Buddha humorously commented that, as a logical consequence of this belief, the Jain practice of self-mortification should be regarded as the result of evil deeds done by the Jains in the past (*M.* II, 222). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* clarifies that to consider all experiences as the result of former deeds would result in determinism, since evil deeds like killing etc. would simply be the result of former deeds (*A.* I, 173).

Vipāka and the Denial of Causality

Though the *vipāka* of former deeds is not the only determinant for experience, former deeds will, however, certainly have a result. That is, while the conditionality of present experience involves various causes and conditions in addition to karmic retribution, this does not mean that deeds have no result at all. It only means that in addition to the results of former deeds, other causes are also operative. To assume that deeds do not have a result would amount to what from an early Buddhist perspective constitutes another mistaken view. According to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, such a view was held by Ajita Kesakambalī, who proclaimed that good or bad conduct has no results, *n' atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko* (*D.* I, 55). From the early Buddhist perspective, however, intentionally undertaken deeds will inevitably have a result, which will be experienced either now or later (*A.* V, 292; *A.* V, 297; *A.* V, 299).

The *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta* reports an occasion when a monk was puzzled by this teaching, since he wondered how to understand the operation of karmic retribution in the light of the teachings on the absence of a self. The line of thought of this monk was that, given that there was no self, who would be affected by the results of deeds, *anattakatāni kammāni kam attānaṃ phusissanti* (*M.* III, 19). In reply, the Buddha delivered a standard catechism on the true nature of the five aggregates. The intention of this reply seems to be to highlight that the absence of a substantial self does not deny the existence of those causally arisen processes, the five aggregates, that make up the individual. Thus the deeds undertaken by the conditioned process of the five aggregates of an individual at a particular point of time will eventually give fruits that are to be experienced by the continuity of these five aggregates, be this within the same lifetime or in a subsequent one.

The Ripening of *Vipāka*

According to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the ripening of the fruits of former deeds could take place in a hell realm, as an animal, as a ghost, as a human being, or in a heavenly realm. The possible time periods for the ripening of the *vipāka* of a deed are either here and now, or on being reborn, or at a still

later time, *diṭṭh'eva dhamme, upapajje vā, apare vā pariyāye* (*A.* III, 415).3 This basic presentation of the relation between deed and result receives a more detailed treatment in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. To the three time periods mentioned in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* adds the possibility of *ahosikamma*, when the results of a particular deed become defunct.4 This refers to deeds whose effect was to ripen in the present or the next existence, but which did not meet with the appropriate conditions for ripening.

The interrelation between the *vipāka* of different deeds is taken up for examination in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* by way of distinguishing four functions. These cover deeds whose function is productive, supportive, obstructive, and destructive. The first of these has its own direct result, whereas the second only supports the result produced by another deed. The third has an obstructive influence on the ripening of another deed. The final category, a deed whose function is destructive, completely eliminates the results of another deed.

The same work also distinguishes between the fruition of four types of deeds, listed in the order in which they take precedence at the time of rebirth. These four are deeds whose effect is weighty; deeds performed just before death; deeds performed habitually; and other types of deeds. Here weighty deeds are outstanding enough to determine the next rebirth. These could be particularly unwholesome deeds, such as killing one's parent etc., or particularly wholesome deeds, such as attainment of a e¶ *jhāna* etc. The next class highlights the importance of a deed performed just before death, indicating that its *vipāka* has a greater chance of influencing the conditions of the next life than a similar deed undertaken at some earlier time. The third class, then, draws attention to the fact that deeds done habitually, even if in themselves of minor importance, can exert considerable influence. This principle could also underlie a verse couplet in the *Dhammapada*, which compares the fruition of deeds that might seem negligible to a water bucket that is filled drop by drop (*Dhp.* 121-122). The fourth class covers any other deed that may exert its influence at the time of rebirth.

The emphasis on *vipāka* in early Buddhism finds its expression in the injunction to adopt wholesome conduct and avoid any action that will have detrimental results. The underlying principle here is that a deed performed under the influence of greed, hatred or delusion will have *dukkha* as its *vipāka* (*A.* I, 263). Especially the ten unwholesome courses of conduct, *kammapatha*, will have evil results here and now as well as in the future (*A.* V, 250). Wholesome conduct will instead have positive results. A case in point is described in a discourse in the *Itivuttaka*, which reports that due to giving, self-control, restraint, and by undertaking the practice of loving kindness, the bodhisattva was reborn for several aeons in the Brahmā worlds, followed by a series of rebirths as Sakka and as a wheel-turning king (*It.* 15). At times quite colourful stories illustrating the various *vipākas* of deeds can be found in the *Petavatthu* and the *Vimānavatthu*.

A detailed survey of the results of different types of unwholesome deeds is offered in the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga Sutta*. This discourse explains that killing will lead to being oneself short-lived in future lives; harming others will result in becoming diseased and sick; irritability causes ugliness; stinginess leads to poverty; and arrogance to rebirth in lowly conditions (*M.* III, 203). The same deeds also have a considerable propensity of leading to rebirth in hell. The *Devadūta Sutta* takes up retribution in hell for a more detailed examination. It indicates that just as a robber has to face the king's punishment, so too an evildoer will have to face the retribution for his or her former deeds (a¶ *M.* III, 181). In this discourse, King Yama, who personifies the inevitability of karmic retribution (see also MĀRA), makes it clear to the culprit that these deeds have not been undertaken by the evildoer's parents or friends, but by the culprit alone, hence he or she will have to suffer their *vipāka*.

A direct insight into the relation of deeds to their *vipāka* can according to early Buddhism be developed with the help of recollection of past lives and with the help of the divine eye. The first of these two higher knowledges involves recollecting one's own past lives, and therewith the degree to which one's experiences were and are the result of one's earlier deeds. The other higher knowledge, the divine eye, involves a direct vision of how other beings, on passing away, are reborn in accordance with their deeds.

Yet, as the *Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta* makes clear, the exercise of the divine eye can also lead to wrong conclusions on the retribution for deeds. This discourse describes how someone might witness how a person

performs an evil deed and later is reborn in a heavenly realm, and hence come to the conclusion that there is no retribution for evil deeds (*M.* III, 211). The Buddha points out that this conclusion is mistaken, as it involves drawing a general conclusion based on a single and somewhat exceptional case. He explains that someone who has performed an evil deed may nevertheless be reborn in a heavenly realm if, and only if this same person has usually performed good deeds. The particular evil deed witnessed will still have its result, but due to the considerable amount of wholesome deeds performed at other times the evil deed will not affect the nature of the rebirth taken in the next life.

The diversity in the fruition of deeds is illustrated in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* with the help of a simile. According to this simile, the same piece of salt will have quite a different effect when thrown into a small cup of water or when thrown into the river Ganges (*A.* I, 250). While the water in the cup will become entirely salty, the water of the Ganges will be hardly affected. Similarly, in the case of someone who usually observes wholesome conduct, a particular bad deed will have less consequences than in the case of someone who habitually acts in unwholesome ways.

In regard to the consequences of deeds, early Buddhism does not set itself the task of in some way influencing or altering karmic retribution (*A.* IV, 382). Instead, it takes the forward view, in the sense of emphasizing restraint in the present. Such restraint of unwholesome deeds avoids the accumulation of karmic retribution for unwholesome deeds and at the same time acts as the ethical foundation for progress on the path to liberation. With liberation attained, the *arahant* goes beyond karmic retribution in a future life (*Th* 81). As the case of the former brigand *Aṅgulimāla* illustrates, the *vipāka* of former evil deeds will only have scope to affect the *arahant* during the remainder of that same life time (k¶ *M.* II, 104). Thus by becoming a monk and eventually an *arahant*, *Aṅgulimāla* had gone beyond karmic retribution in any future life.

In addition to the twofold distinction between wholesome deeds that have positive results and unwholesome deeds that have negative results, a fourfold perspective on the nature of karma is given in the *Kukkuravatika Sutta*. This discourse sets off on an examination of the *vipāka* to be expected by those who undertake the ascetic practice of behaving like a cow or like a dog. The Buddha points out that for one who imitates the behaviour of an animal, it is to be expected that in the next life this person will be reborn in the animal realm (*M.* I, 388). The discourse then continues by enumerating four types of action, which are introduced as dark action, bright action, dark-and-bright action, and neither-dark-nor-bright action. Each of these will have the corresponding result. While the first two reflect the above distinction between wholesome and unwholesome deeds, action that is dark-and-bright refers to a mixture between these two, in the sense of a medley of wholesome and unwholesome intentions behind a particular deed. The fourth type, neither-dark-nor-bright action, stands for the type of conduct that leads beyond the sphere of action. According to the commentarial explanation, this intends in particular the attainment of the supramundane paths (*MA.* III, 105).

Though the basic principle of karmic retribution is quite straightforward, in that deeds of a wholesome or unwholesome nature inevitably will lead to a corresponding *vipāka*, the exact workings of karma can be rather subtle. To try to simply think one's way into a comprehensive understanding of this topic is not advisable (*A.* II, 80), in fact full insight into karma and its fruit is a specific power of a *Tathāgata* (*M.* I, 70; see also TATHĀGATA).

Na antalikkhe na samuddamajjhe,
na pabbatānaṃ vivaraṃ pavissa,
na vijjati so jagatippadeso,
yatthaṭṭhito muñceyya pāpakammā.
Neither in the sky, nor in the depths of the ocean,
Nor by entering a mountain cave,
Nor [anywhere else] in the world can a place be found,
Where on could escape [the results] of evil deeds (*Dhp.* 127).

Anālayo

References

1 Cf. also *Dhp.* 69: *yadā ca paccatī pāpaṃ, atha bālo dukkhaṃ nigacchati.*

2 Rhys Davids: *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, Oxford 1922: XCIII.

3 Cf. also *Vism.* 601; *AbhKbh.* 4.50 and *Mhvyut.* no. 2308-2310.

4 Bodhi: *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma*, Kandy 1993: 205 (5.20).

VIPASSANĀ and the corresponding verb *vipassati* stand for the development of a form of vision that "sees", *passati*, in an "intensified" and also "analytical" manner, *vi-*, hence *vipassanā* stands for "insight". Such insight is of central importance for progress towards liberation. Progress towards liberation, in fact, sets the context for the early Buddhist conception of *vipassanā*, which stands for "liberating insight", that is, for the type of insight whose growth culminates in the total release of the mind from the grip of defilements and delusion.[1]

The present article will first examine occurrences of the term *vipassanā* and the related verb *vipassati* in the Pāli discourses, in order to explore the significance of the term in its early Buddhist usage. Then, the practical development of *vipassanā* will be taken up, illustrated with the help of *satipaṭṭhāna* meditation. This is followed by turning to the relationship between *vipassanā* and concentration. The final part of the article will briefly survey modern day *vipassanā* meditation in the Theravāda tradition.

In the thought world of early Buddhism, insight is closely related to wisdom.[2] In fact, the chief task of *vipassanā* is the development of wisdom, which in turn leads to the eradication of ignorance, *vipassanā bhāvitā ... paññā bhāvīyati, paññā bhāvitā ... yā avijjā sā pahīyati* (*A.* I, 61). The development of wisdom requires insight into impermanence in particular. Thus, according to the standard definition in the discourses, to be wise is to be "endowed with wisdom regarding the arising and disappearance [of phenomena], which is noble and penetrative, leading to the complete destruction of *dukkha*", *udayatthagāminiyā paññāya samannāgato ariyāya nibbedhikāya sammādukkhakkhayagāminiyā* (e.g. *M.* I, 356). This passage sets the parameters for the development of wisdom and insight. Based on penetrative awareness of impermanence as the crucial foundation, the growth of true insight and wisdom manifests in a gradual ennobling of the practitioner and eventually culminates in total liberation from *dukkha*. In short, wisdom and insight, from an early Buddhist perspective, have a clear scope and purpose. Their scope is the true nature of existence and their purpose is liberation.

As the above description indicates, the basis for growing insight into the true nature of existence is penetrative awareness of its impermanent and therewith conditioned nature. Penetrative in so far as such insightful awareness needs to quite literally penetrate into every aspect of personal experience, —*aniccato sabbabhavaṃ vipassaṃ* (*Thag.* 1091). Such comprehensive seeing with insight will ensure that the entire gamut of what is usually experienced as 'I' and 'mine' is instead seen with insight as a product of conditions and subject to change and alteration.

Comprehensive insight into impermanence then needs to lead on to insight into unsatisfactoriness and not-self or emptiness, *'aniccaṃ dukkan'ti vipassa yoniso, 'suññāṃ anattā'ti* (*Thag.* 1117). That is, once a clear perception of impermanence, *aniccasaññā* has been established, the progress of insight requires viewing what is impermanent as unsatisfactory, *anicce dukkhasaññā*, and that which is unsatisfactory needs in turn to be seen as devoid of a self, *dukkhe anattasaññā*.

The locative forms *anicce* and *dukkhe* indicate that the progression from one of these three characteristics to the next does not involve a change of object, but a change of perspective. What has been seen with insight as impermanent, is now seen as unsatisfactory, in fact it is precisely because it is impermanent that it is unsatisfactory. This dynamic is reflected in a standard teaching on the three characteristics, found often in the discourses, where the inquiry 'is what is impermanent unsatisfactory or agreeable?', *yam pananiccaṃ dukkhaṃ vā taṃ sukhaṃ vā*, leads to the conclusion that it can only be unsatisfactory (e.g. *M.* I, 138).

The same teaching then continues by inquiring if it is appropriate to regard what is impermanent, unsatisfactory and subject to change as 'this is mine, this I am, this is my self', *yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vipariṇāmadhammaṃ kallaṃ nu taṃ samanupassituṃ: 'etaṃ mama, eso 'ham asmi, eso me attā 'ti?* The inevitable conclusion is that this would indeed be inappropriate. Needless to say, passages like this are guided forms of meditation for the development of insight.

In sum, once the impermanent has been seen as unsatisfactory, it is then to be viewed as devoid of anything that could justify the conceit 'I am' or any appropriation in terms of 'this is mine'. Concurrent with this progression of insight is a deepening appreciation of the conditioned nature of all aspects of subjective experience, an appreciation that from its

starting point as a corollary to impermanence reaches its culmination in the direct vision of not-self with the break-through to awakening.

A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* presents these three progressive perceptions – *aniccasaññā, anicce dukkhasaññā, dukkhe anattasaññā* – together with "perception of eradication", *pahānasaññā*, and "perception of dispassion", *virāgasaññā*; all five perceptions having the purpose of leading to liberation (*A.* III, 85). This presentation thus combines the scope of insight – impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and not-self – with the purpose of insight, namely eradication and dispassion. Such dispassion, then, is the proximate cause for liberation in a dependent sequence that leads from ignorance to the destruction of the influxes (*S.* II, 30).

True insight is diametrically opposed to the four perversions of perception, of the mind and of views, *vipallāsa*, which are to 'mis'-take what is impermanent, unsatisfactory, not-self and unattractive for being the opposite, *anicce 'niccan'ti ... adukkhe 'dukkhan'ti ... anattani 'attā'ti .... asubhe 'subhan'ti saññāvipallāso cittavipallāso diṭṭhivipallāso* (*A.* II, 52). Undermining the force of these perversions through insight is what gradually eradicates the defilements in the mind and thereby leads to increasing degrees of dispassion.

Instead of succumbing to the perverting force of these four *vipallāsas*, insight reveals an ever more correct vision of the world that is in accordance with reality. Such a vision is a necessary requirement for progress to liberation, in fact all "those who have been quenched in this world, had insight in accordance with reality", *ye cāpi nibbutā loke, yathābhūtaṃ vipassisuṃ* (*D.* III, 196; See in more detail YATHĀBHŪTAÑĀNADASSANA).

Another quality of particular relevance for the development of insight would be the awakening factor of investigation-of-*dhammas*.3 The *Ānāpānasati Sutta* explains that this awakening factor stands representative for the activities of inspecting, scrutinizing and examining with wisdom, *paññāya pavicinati pavicarati parivīmaṃsaṃ āpajjati* (*M.* III, 85; see also VĪMAṂSĀ). A support for the awakening factor of investigation-of-*dhammas*, literally its 'nutriment', *āhāra*, is wise attention, *yoniso manasikāra* (*S.* V, 104; See also YONISO MANASIKĀRA). Such wise attention should be directed towards what is wholesome and unwholesome, in the sense of what is blameable, inferior and dark in contrast to what is blameless, superior and bright.

This alludes at another aspect of the development of insight, a development that stands within an ethical context and inevitably has ethical repercussions. Genuine insight, from an early Buddhist perspective, needs to be based on a sound moral foundation. In turn, growth of insight will further strengthen this moral foundation, making certain unwholesome deeds an impossibility for one endowed with higher insight. Such gradual ennobling through insight reaches its culmination point with the *arahant*. By dint of profound insight and inner purity an *arahant* is simply incapable of undertaking such actions as deliberately depriving another living being of life, appropriating what belongs to others by way of theft, or consciously speaking falsehood, etc. (*M.* I, 523). That is, genuine growth of insight can be measured in terms of the degree to which true inner detachment manifests in ethical purity.

The potential of being endowed with insight in regard to wholesome phenomena, *vipassako kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ*, can be seen in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, where such insight occurs in the context of an instruction given to a monk who is under the influence of sloth-and torpor as well as doubt and who no longer delights in living a life of celibacy (*A.* III, 70). According to this instruction, insight should be combined with sense-restraint, with contentment in regard to food and with wakefulness, and should lead to developing, day and night, the mental qualities related to awakening, *bodhipakkhikā dhammā*. These instructions set up a clear behavioural context for insight, and at the same time highlight its final purpose. The discourse reports that, as a result of this instruction, the monk in question overcame his problems and developed insight all the way up to full liberation. The awakening potential of the same type of insight is also reflected in another discourse in the same collection, according to which neither the monks nor the Buddha had ever seen or heard that anyone had reached final liberation without having developed insight in regard to wholesome phenomena in conjunction with sense-restraint, contentment with food, wakefulness, and development of the mental qualities related to awakening (*A.* III, 301).

The potential benefits of the path of insight are available to all those who engage in its practice and gender is of no relevance in this context, as the nun Somā pointed out to Māra, the Evil One. In reply to his insinuation that women are by nature incapable of higher attainments in meditation, Somā clarified that womanhood is of no relevance once the mind is well concentrated and the teaching is properly seen with insight, *itthibhāvo kiṃ kayirā, cittamhi susamāhite .. sammā dhammaṃ vipassato* (*S.* I, 129; see also *Thīg.* 61). Though the path of insight is open for men and women alike, yet, there are only few that see with insight, as for the most part the world remains blind, *andhabhūto ayaṃ loko, tanuk' ettha vipassati* (*Dhp.* 174).

The potential of the development of insight is also reflected in the *Itivuttaka*, where a series of discourses take up various defilements – such as greed, anger, delusion, conceit etc. – in each case indicating that those who truly understand the respective defilement, by abandoning it with insight, *taṃ ... sammadaññāya, pajahanti vipassino*, will go beyond being reborn in this world (*It.* 1-3). The point made by this set of discourses is easily underestimated. Yet, it is only with insight into the nature of defilements, and more specifically insight into their arising in one's own mind, that they can indeed be abandoned.

Not only can defilements be overcome, but according to the *Ākaṅkheyya Sutta* even other types of aspirations can find fulfilment – ranging from merit for one's supporters via being dear to one's fellow practitioners all the way up to final liberation – if the development of insight is undertaken in conjunction with mental tranquillity and dwelling in empty places without neglecting the practice of meditation, *ajjhattaṃ cetosamatham anuyutto anirākatajjhāno vipassanāya samannāgato brūhetā suññāgārānaṃ* (*M.* I, 33 and *A.* V, 131).[4]

The growth of insight also gradually removes sensual desire. Those who, mindfully meditating with calm and discerning mind, properly see the teaching with insight are no longer interested in sensuality, *ye santacittā nipakā, satimanto ca jhāyino, sammā dhammaṃ vipassanti, kāmesu anapekkhino* (*It.* 39). Dispassion as a net result of deepening insight can then also be applied to the meditative experience itself. Thus even a sublime experience like the sphere of nothingness, possible only after having developed deep levels of concentration, should simply be contemplated from the perspective that any "enchantment is a fetter, directly knowing it like this, he thus sees it with insight", *'nandī saṃyojanaṃ' iti, evam etaṃ abhiññāya, tato tattha vipassati* (*Sn.* 1115).

The need to beware of attachment does, however, not imply that the development of insight needs to be a dreary and distressful experience. Rather, genuine insight will sooner or later be accompanied by joy and delight. As a verse in the *Dhammapada* proclaims:

"Secluded in an empty place,
a monk with calm mind
experiences delight beyond [that of ordinary]
humans
on rightly seeing the teaching with insight";
suññāgāraṃ paviṭṭhassa,
santacittassa bhikkhuno,
amānusī ratī hoti,
sammā dhammaṃ vipassato (*Dhp.* 373).

Though the development of insight will at times involve the experience of sadness and even fear, in the long run the joy of letting go and the delight of inner purity and freedom are bound to make their appearance. For one who experiences such letting go and inner purity, according to the *Theragāthā*,

"There is no comparable delight,
[even from] five-fold music,
as when with a concentrated mind
one rightly sees the teaching with insight."
Pañcaṅgikena turiyena,
na rati hoti tādisī,
yathā ekaggacittassa,
sammā dhammaṃ vipassato (*Thag.* 398, see also
Thag. 1071).

An extended simile in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* describes the situation of a man who has plunged into water and might either drown or else emerge again (*A.* IV, 11). In the context of this imagery, the one who emerges and is able to firmly remain above water and see with insight, *vipassati*, represents stream-entry. With this level of awakening, true insight has indeed emerged to such a degree as to become firmly established. Further deepening of insight then issues in full awakening, hence to be one who sees with insight and knows, *vipassina jāna*, is one of the epithets of a Buddha (*Sn.* 349 and *Thag.* 1269). The same quality

of being endowed with insight is also reflected in the name of the former Buddha Vipassī. According to the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, the recently born Vipassī was given his name because he had the habit of looking without blinking his eyes (*D.* II, 20). As a young boy in the hall of justice, he showed his ability to investigate thoroughly, thereby proving that he truly deserved his name (*D.* II, 21). In this way, the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* indicates that unwavering attention to a matter at hand and thorough investigation are central qualities associated with the term *vipassanā*.

Another quality associated with the same term is the ability to remain in the present moment. The theme of keeping to the present moment is taken up in a set of verses on how to best spend an 'auspicious night', *bhaddekaratta*.[5] According to these verses, one should not go after the past, *atītaṃ nānvāgameyya*, nor yearn for the future, *nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ*. Instead, to spend one's time in a truly auspicious manner one sees with insight phenomena as and when they manifest in the present moment, *paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ, tattha tattha vipassati* (*M.* III, 193). Such seeing with insight in the present moment is also a key requirement of mindfulness practice, described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*.

Vipassanā and *Satipaṭṭhāna*

A verse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and in the *Theragāthā* contrasts one who does not see what is 'outside' or does not know what is 'inside' to one who knows what is inside and sees with insight what is outside, *ajjhattañ ca pajānāti, bahiddhā ca vipassati* (*A.* II, 71 and *Thag.* 472).6 The references to 'outside' and 'inside' bring to mind the instructions given in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, which similarly enjoin that mindful contemplation should cover what is 'inside' and what is 'outside' (*M.* I, 56) . The *satipaṭṭhāna* instructions refer to the implementation of mindfulness with the verb *pajānāti*, he or she "knows", an expression also found in the verse above. This terminological similarity reflects a close relationship between *vipassanā* and *satipaṭṭhāna*. The close relationship between these two finds further support in a gloss in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, according to which "insight should be directly known through its meaning of 'contemplation'", *anupassanaṭṭhena vipassanā abhiññeyya* (*Paṭis.* I, 21). Contemplation, *anupassanā*, is another central aspect of the instructions in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, where it occurs in the form of *anupassī viharati* in relation to each of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*. Not only such terminological similarities, but also the various modes of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice reflect the important role that the development of mindfulness can offer to the growth of insight.

Besides *satipaṭṭhāna*, however, the discourses offer a variety of perspectives on the development of insight. In fact, several of the above surveyed passages speak of seeing with insight 'the teaching'. Thus a central aspect of *vipassanā* in the early canonical sources is the insightful vision triggered through a particular passage or teaching given by the Buddha. This pattern can be seen in recurrent occasions where a monastic disciple approaches the Buddha and requests instructions for solitary intensive practice. The instructions given in reply could be, for example: "by clinging one is bound by Māra", *upādiyamāno baddho Mārassa* (*S.* III, 73). Or else a description of the arising of delight in relation to any sense door is followed by the conclusion that "from the arising of [such] delight [comes] the arising of *dukkha*", *nandisamudayā dukkhasamudayo* (*S.* IV, 37). Often enough such instructions, on being put into practice, lead to the attainment of full liberation.

This goes to show that the teachings given by the Buddha play a crucial role in the development of *vipassanā*. Yet, this certainly does not mean that *vipassanā* is a matter of intellectual reflection. Quite to the contrary, in fact "there is no wisdom without meditating", *paññā n' atthi ajjhāyato* (*Dhp.* 372). But the teachings given by the Buddha play an all-important role as a catalyst for the development of insight through meditation. To use a modern simile, the dough of meditation practice, kneaded with energy and then placed into the warmth of concentration, needs the yeast of the teachings in order to grow into the bread of insight.

Since want of space makes an exhaustive survey of all canonical passages related to the development of insight impossible, in what follows practical examples for the development of insight will be provided by surveying the mindfulness practices described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, without thereby intending to confine *vipassanā* to *satipaṭṭhāna* practice.

According to a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, contemplating arising and passing away is of such

importance for the development of *satipaṭṭhāna* that it marks the difference between mere *satipaṭṭhāna* and its 'development', *satipaṭṭhānabhāvanā* (*S.* V, 183). The same mode of contemplation is also highlighted in a passage that is repeated in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* after each of the individual exercises. This passage indicates that mindful contemplation, besides needing to be undertaken in a comprehensive manner by covering what is 'inside' as well as what is 'outside', requires observing the arising and the passing away of the contemplated phenomena, *samudayadhammānupassī vā... vayadhammānupassīvā* (*M.* I, 56). Such directing of mindfulness to arising and passing away ties in well with the importance of penetrative awareness of impermanence for the development of insight and wisdom, mentioned above. The detachment and equanimity that result from such contemplation are also reflected in this passage in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, according to which during contemplation undertaken properly one dwells independently, without clinging to anything, *anissito ca viharati, na ca kiñci loke upādiyati.*

Besides these key recommendations, the individual exercises listed in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* offer diffe ent approaches for the gaining of liberating insight. The four areas for the growth of insight through the deployment of mindfulness cover the body, feelings, mental states and *dhammas* (see in more detail SATIPAṬṬHĀNA). In regard to the body, the exercises recommended are:

- mindfulness of breathing,
- awareness of bodily postures,
- clear comprehension with bodily activities,
- reviewing the anatomical constitution of the body,
- contemplating the body as constituted of the four elements,
- recollecting the stages of decay of a corpse.

The first of these exercises, mindfulness of breathing, brings home the impermanent and dependent nature of every moment of bodily existence, as one's very survival depends entirely on the next breath. In fact two discourses in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* recommend practising recollection of death by remaining aware of the uncertainty of being able to live even until the next breath (*A.* III, 306 and *A.* IV, 319). The next two exercises in this *satipaṭṭhāna* direct mindfulness to bodily postures and activities. A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* describes how a wordling's mistaken notion of a self is intrinsically related to his or her performance of the four bodily postures (*S.* III, 151). This suggests insight into not-self to be a potential benefit of mindfulness of one's bodily posture, in fact according to the commentary on the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* a practitioner of this mindfulness exercise should keep in mind the question: 'who is going (etc.)?' (*MA.* I, 251).

Contemplation of the anatomical constitution of the body can lead to insight into the vanity of the idea of bodily beauty, offering a strong antidote to sensual desire. According to another discourse this contemplation constitutes indeed the method for arousing the "perception of unattractiveness", *asubhasaññā* (*A.* V, 109), whose purpose other discourses indicate to be the overcoming of sensual desire, *kāmarāga* (*A.* III, 323; cf. also *A.* IV, 47 and *It.* 80). Another benefit of contemplating the unattractive nature of the body is its potential to counter conceit, a potential revealed in a passage where this exercise is recommended to monks who are being excessively honoured and venerated (*M.* I, 336).

Contemplation of the body from the perspective of the four elements again points to insight into not-self, an insight alluded to in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* itself with the simile of a butcher who cuts up a cow into pieces for sale (*M.* I, 58). What formerly was 'a cow', has now lost its apparent compactness and is reduced to mere 'pieces of beef'. Similarly, what formerly was 'my body' can with growing insight be seen as simply a conglomeration of the four elements. Another discourse clarifies that it is a distinct quality of *arahants* that they know these elements to be entirely devoid of a self, thereby having gone beyond any clinging in relation to them (*M.* III, 31). A complementary aspect of the same contemplation would be insight into impermanence. This is reflected in the *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta*, which reasons that, given that due to the cosmic cycles of destruction even the earth itself will eventually disappear, what to say of the impermanent nature of this body, made up of the same basic elements (*M.* I, 185)?

The final exercise described under contemplation of the body reviews stages of decay of a corpse in a charnel ground, where the task of mindfulness is to keep in mind that one's own body is bound to undergo a similar fate. An insight to be gained from such contemplation is, again, detachment in regard to the

idea of bodily beauty. This potential is reflected in a passage that employs the stages of decay as a way of bringing out the inherent disadvantage of a physical body, however beautiful it may have been earlier (*M.* I, 88). Verses in the *Theragāthā* document the actual undertaking of contemplation of a corpse and its potential of leading to liberating insight (*Thag.* 315-319, see also *Thag.* 393-398). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions the removal of conceit as yet another benefit to be expected from this exercise (*A.* III, 324). Another self-evident effect of contemplating a corpse in decay would be awareness of mortality. Death is fearful only to the extent to which one identifies with this body. Thus one who has insight into the impermanent nature of the body will gradually become able to dwell free from fear, *aniccaṃ ... kāyaṃ imaṃ ... vipassamāno vītabhayo vihassaṃ* (*Thag.* 1093).

The next chief subject of *satipaṭṭhāna* meditation are feelings, whose crucial position as the condition for craving in the context of the law of dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*, makes their mindful contemplation a central ground for the arousing of insight. The task of insight here is to realize the degree to which the affective tone of feelings – be it pleasant, painful or neutral – conditions one's attitude and reactions to what is experienced. The instructions for this *satipaṭṭhāna* further distinguish the three basic types of feeling into worldly and unworldly types, *sāmisa* and *nirāmisa*, thereby drawing attention to the possible activation of the underlying tendencies to passion, aversion and ignorance through worldly types of feelings that are pleasant, painful or neutral (*S.* IV, 205). Another prominent insight perspective engendered through contemplation of feelings is impermanence. One who has reached full liberation will experience any type of feeling as something impermanent that is felt with complete detachment (*M.* III, 244). The constantly changing nature of feelings also reveals the characteristic of not-self, making it impossible to either posit feeling as a self or else assume that it is the self that feels (*D.* II, 67).

Insight into impermanence and not-self continue to be central themes in the next *satipaṭṭhāna*, concerned with states of mind. The states of mind listed for mindful contemplation are presented in pairs of opposites, thereby inculcating in the practitioner the ability to clearly distinguish between what should be avoided and what should be developed. A central purpose of contemplation of states of mind is to arouse awareness of the conditioning role of mental states and intentions on verbal and bodily activities, whose wholesome or unwholesome nature depends on the quality of the mind that has been their forerunner. An analytical perspective on mental states becomes evident in the *Anupāda Sutta*'s description of Sāriputta's practice of insight in regard to things as they occur, *anupadadhammavipassanaṃ vipassi* (*M.* III, 25). His insight development took place through an analysis of the mental states experienced during a *jhāna* or immaterial attainment into their mental constituents, followed by contemplating their arising and passing away while at the same time remaining with detachment. The same analytical perspective is turned on deeper experiences of concentration in the *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta*, which indicates that seeing a *jhāna* or immaterial attainment as merely a conditioned product of the mind will yield such penetrative insight that either non-return or full awakening can be expected (*M.* I, 350).

Contemplation of *dhammas*, the final of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, covers the following topics:

- the five hindrances,
- the five aggregates of clinging,
- the six sense-spheres,
- the seven awakening factors,
- the four noble truths.

Two related contemplations from the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna* are the first and fourth, which are concerned with the five hindrances and the seven factors of awakening. The insight to be developed here is closely related to meditation practice itself, as one should be able to clearly recognize these states and the conditions responsible for the coming into being of a hindrance or an awakening factor, and for their removal or alternatively for their further development. Another two related contemplations in this *satipaṭṭhāna* analyse personal experience from the perspective of the five aggregates and the six sense-spheres. Insight into the impermanent nature of the five aggregates of clinging features in other discourses as a particularly prominent cause for the break-through to liberation (*D.* II, 35; *D.* III, 223; *S.* II, 29; *S.* II, 253; *A.* II, 45 and *A.* IV, 153). The reasons for this potential are not hard to find, as appreciating the impermanent nature of what is clung to as 'I' and 'mine' erodes the very foundation of clinging. In the case of the sense-spheres, mindfulness should explore the fettering force

of experiences that arise based on the senses and their objects. Mindfulness developed in this way reveals the degree to which the binding influence of the six sense-spheres is the central condition for involvement in and reaction to the world. In fact the 'world' of experience arises just due to these six and is afflicted because of clinging to them, *chassu loko samuppanno ... channam eva upādāya, chassu loko vihaññati* (*Sn.* 169). In the case of the sense-spheres, too, impermanence is another insight to be developed, as knowing and seeing the impermanent nature of the sense-spheres can lead to the attainment of stream-entry (*S.* III, 225), if not higher.

The culmination point of the exercises listed in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, and at the same time the culmination point of the growth of insight, are the four noble truths. The supreme importance of insight into these four noble truths, which equals full insight into the dependent arising of *dukkha* and its cessation, is reflected in the circumstance that such insight features regularly in descriptions of the attainment of stream-entry during a gradual discourse given by the Buddha (e.g. *M.* I, 380; see also SOTĀPATTI), as well as in descriptions of the break-through to full awakening (e.g. *M.* I, 23).

The *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* delineates the actual tasks required for true insight into the four noble truths, indicating that the first truth needs to be fully understood, the second to be abandoned, the third to be realized and the fourth to be developed (*S.* V, 422; see also *S.* V, 436). Other discourses that take up the same four activities indicate that what needs to be fully understood are the five aggregates of clinging, what needs to be abandoned are ignorance and craving for existence, what needs to be realized are knowledge and liberation, and what needs to be developed are tranquillity and insight, *samatho ca vipassanā ca* (*M.* III, 289; *S.* V, 52; *A.* II, 247).

Vipassanā and Concentration

A noteworthy aspect of occurrences of the term *vipassanā* in the discourses is that this term mostly appears in conjunction with mental tranquillity, *samatha*. This is so much the case that the two are at times simply listed as two things in their own right (*D.* III, 213 and *A.* I, 95). The same pattern recurs in a survey of various aspects of the early Buddhist path of practice as the way to the unconditioned. This survey mentions tranquillity and insight as one category and alternatively lists such categories as the four right efforts, the seven factors of awakening, or the noble eightfold path (*S.* IV, 360). What emerges from such listings is that, from the perspective of early Buddhist canonical scripture, *samatha* and *vipassanā* are two qualities that necessarily operate in conjunction.

The same principle finds a fitting illustration in a simile, according to which tranquillity and insight are a 'pair of messengers' whose task it to carry the message of *Nibbāna* along the road of the noble eightfold path (S. IV, 195; See also SAMATHA & VIPASSANĀ). Both *samatha* and *vipassanā* are required for progress from right view to full liberation (*M.* I, 294 and *A.* III, 21); hence both are recommended to a disciple in higher training for further progress (*M.* I, 494). A whole range of defilements can be overcome by developing both (*A.* I, 100); in fact *samatha* and *vipassanā* are of such importance that a monk, who realizes that they have not been developed, should make a determined effort in regard to both (*M.* III, 297).

The need to develop both *samatha* and *vipassanā* is taken up in more detail in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which describes altogether four types of practitioners, distinguished according to whether they have been able to gain:

- internal tranquillity of the mind, *cetosamatha*,
- higher wisdom through insight into phenomena, *adhipaññādhammavipassanā*,
- neither of the two,
- both.

According to this discourses, in case only one of the two or even none of them has been developed, one should search for instructions on how to develop the lacking quality. In its description of the inquiry that someone who lacks one or both puts to an experienced practitioner for guidance, this discourse indicates that 'internal tranquillity of the mind' stands for capability at concentrating the mind. In order to develop 'higher wisdom through insight into phenomena', one should know how formations should be regarded, comprehended and seen with insight, *evaṃ saṅkhārā daṭṭhabbā... sammasitabbā... vipassitabbā* (*A.* II, 94). Besides providing a definition of the contents of *vipassanā*, this discourse again underlines that both *samatha* and *vipassanā* need to be developed for

progress towards the destruction of the influxes, *āsavakkhaya*. The predicament of one who lacks both is comparable to someone whose head is on fire (*A.* V, 99), that is, something needs to be done immediately. Lacking only higher wisdom through insight into phenomena is still as detrimental as the predicament of a four-footed animal that has one of its legs crippled (*A.* IV, 360).

Though there is a time for the practice of tranquillity and there is a time for developing insight, *kālena samatho, kālena vipassanā*, only developing both at the proper time, together with hearing the teachings and discussing them, will gradually lead to the destruction of the influxes (*A.* II, 140). Once both have been developed, progress becomes natural, comparable to rainwater that fills the rivulets and rivers and gradually reaches the ocean. According to the *Yuganaddha Sutta*, progress to awakening can be undertaken by placing *samatha* first and then developing *vipassanā*, or else one might first engage in *vipassanā* and subsequently turn to *samatha*, or both may be developed in conjunction (*A.* II, 157; see in more detail YUGANADDHA SUTTA). That is, *samatha* and *vipassanā* can be combined in various ways and there seems to be no need to assume that one must invariably precede the other. At the same time, however, it is quite evident that this discourse does not envisage an approach to awakening that relies on only one of these two, practiced at the cost of excluding the other.

With the commentaries, however, a different perspective emerges, where *vipassanā* is perceived as something that can be developed on its own. Thus the *Visuddhimagga* refers to those whose vehicle is pure insight, *suddhavipassanāyānika*, in contrast to those whose vehicle is tranquillity, *samathayānika* (*Vism.* 588). Alternatively, the same concept is also referred to in terms of practitioners of dry insight, *sukkhavipassaka* (*Vism.* 666). The commentaries then gloss a reference to those who are liberated by wisdom, *paññāvimuttā* (see in more detail VIMUTTI), as implying that liberation has been reached without *jhānas* by dry insight alone, *nijjhānakā sukkhavipassakā paññāmatteneva vimuttā* (*SA.* II, 127). Elsewhere, the commentaries mention those who have destroyed the influxes through dry insight, *sukkhavipassakakhīnāsava* (*MA.* IV, 54). Thus, "at some point in the evolution of Theravāda meditation theory, the practice of *vipassanā* came to be regarded virtually as an autonomous means to realization that could be undertaken quite independently of any supporting base of *samatha*".

This position does not seem to receive support from the discourses. A particularly explicit statement can be found in the *Mahāmāluṅkya Sutta*, according to which it is impossible to overcome the five higher fetters without undertaking the path required for such overcoming, and this path is contemplation of a *jhāna* from an insight perspective (*M.* I, 435). Without having attained a *jhāna*, such contemplation can obviously not be undertaken. The need for the *jhānas* in order to be able to reach full awakening is also stipulated in the *Sekha Sutta* (*M.* I, 357), and in the opening section of a discourses that describes various approaches to full awakening, which are invariably based on the experience of a *jhāna* or an immaterial attainment (*A.* IV, 422). The same requirement also seems to apply to the case of non-return, as according to the discourses non-returners have fulfilled the development of concentration, *samādhismiṃ paripūrakārī*, to a degree similar to that of *arahants* (*A.* I, 232 and *A.* IV, 380).

The fulfilment of concentration is, however, according to the same discourses, not necessarily a quality of a once-returner. In fact, the concept of a once-returner is based on the principle that such a person will return once more to 'this world', *sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā* (e.g. *M.* I, 226). If *jhāna* abilities were required to reach this level of awakening, any once-returner should also be a *jhāna* attainer, and due to that should not be reborn in 'this world', the *kāmaloka*, but instead take rebirth in the higher Brahma realms. That once-returners do indeed come back to 'this world' is documented in passages that report the rebirth of once-returners in the Tusita Heaven (*A.* III, 348 and *A.* V, 138). Hence, although some once-returners may have attained *jhāna*, this does not appear to have been the rule.

The same principle would then apply to stream-enterers. In fact, the most advanced out of a listing of stream-enterers, the *ekabījī*, is destined to be reborn in the human world (*A.* IV, 380). Though in order to be able to reach any level of realization the mind needs to be temporarily free from the five hindrances (*A.* III, 63), such removal of the hindrances would be possible without *jhāna* attainment. This can be seen in the standard descriptions of the attainment of stream-entry during a gradual discourse given by the Buddha,

which invariably mentions the absence of the hindrances (e.g. *M.* I, 380: *vinīvaraṇacitta*), even though while listening to a discourse one would not be entering *jhānic* absorption.

Thus from the perspective of the discourses it seems that a dry insight approach, which dispenses with the formal development of mental tranquillity up to the level of at least the first *jhāna*, may not be capable of leading to full liberation, but might suffice only for stream-entry and once-return. In fact, if u¶ *jhāna* were simply irrelevant to the progress of insight up to full awakening, it would be difficult to understand why its practice and development has been given so much attention in the discourses, and why the four *jhānas* are included under the heading of right concentration as one of the factors of the noble eightfold path. Nevertheless, the dry insight approach has had a considerable influence on modern day *vipassanā* meditation practice in the Theravāda tradition.

Vipassanā Meditation in Modern Times

Whereas in the thought world of the early discourses *vipassanā* stands predominantly for a quality to be developed, in modern day usage *vipassanā* mostly represents a particular form of meditation, usually a specific technique whose practice marks off one *vipassanā* meditation tradition from another. Most of these *vipassanā* traditions have their origin in Burma, and in what follows three traditions that are particularly popular will be briefly surveyed.[8]

The approach to the development of *vipassanā* taught by the Burmese monk Mahasi Sayadaw (1904-1982) follows the commentarial notion of dry insight, in that it dispenses with the formal development of *samatha*.[9] The main technique in this tradition is to apply mental labelling to anything experienced throughout meditation practice in order to sharpen clear recognition. During sitting meditation the practitioner observes the 'rising' and 'falling' motion of the abdomen, making a mental label of these movements any of any other occurrence that may happen; while during walking meditation the same mental labelling is used to develop distinct awareness of several parts of each step, such as 'lifting' of the foot, 'putting' it, etc. Sustained practice eventually uncovers the mental intentions that precede any activity. Becoming progressively aware of increasingly subtler aspects of body and mind, practice leads to a sharpened awareness of the impermanent, unsatisfactory and insubstantial nature of all facets of experience.

The *vipassanā* meditation taught by the Indian S.N. Goenka (1924), a disciple of the Burmese meditation teacher U Ba Khin (1899-1971), centres on observation of *vedanā*. The formal practice of contemplating bodily sensations is based on the previous development of a foundation in *samatha* through mindfulness of breathing, to which in a standard ten days retreat the first three days of practice are dedicated. Subsequently, *vedanās* are observed through a continuous scanning of the body in the up and downward directions, leading to a penetrative awareness of their changing nature at increasingly subtler levels. Eventually, such practice leads to an awareness of the entire spectrum of body and mind in a constantly changing flux, thereby revealing its lack of inherent satisfaction and its insubstantial nature.

The method taught by the Burmese monk Pa Auk Sayadaw (1934) gives considerable room to the development of concentration, in fact ideally a practitioner should develop all four *jhānas* with the help of each of the meditation subjects listed in the *Visuddhimagga*. The insight approach in this tradition is based on surveying the body from the perspective of the four elements, recognizable by the experience of hardness, heaviness, warmth or motion etc. At first these qualities are identified in relation to particular parts of the body, but eventually are seen as existing in each atomic particle of the body. The subtle analysis undertaken in this manner is then extended to the mind, directing awareness to each aspect of the cognitive process and to discerning the conditions operative at the twelve stages of the scheme of dependent arising. Progress in this mode of practice will reveal the extent to which any aspect of the five aggregates of clinging is marked by the three characteristics.

Though these three traditions take different stances on the importance of concentration, and also approach the development of insight in different ways, they agree in employing the scheme of the insight-knowledges, *vipassana-ñāṇāni*, as the framework for evaluating the higher stages of *vipassanā* experience (See in more detail VIPASSANAÑĀNA). The scheme of these insight-knowledges reflects in a more detailed

form the basic pattern described in the beginning section of the present article, where based on an appreciation of the conditionality of experience the development of penetrative awareness of impermanence leads over to insight into *dukkha*, which in turn issues in realization of *anattā*, thereby paving the way for progress towards liberation.

"One who meditates continuously,
endowed with subtle view and insight,
delighting in the destruction of clinging,
him they call 'a true man'."
taṃ jhāyinaṃ sātatikaṃ,
sukhumadiṭṭhivipassakaṃ,
upādānakkhayārāmaṃ,
āhu 'sappuriso' iti (*S*. II, 232 ; *It*. 74 and *Thag* 1012)

Anālayo

References

1 Nanayakkara 1993: "Insight", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, 5,4: 580 explains that "insight is not knowledge in the general sense, but penetrative knowledge acquired as a result of not looking *at* but looking *through* things".

2 The close relation between insight and wisdom is reflected in passages that combine both terms, such as *tato paññā vipassati* (*A*. II, 70); or *paññāyatthaṃ vipassati* (*A*. II, 23; *A*. IV, 3 and *A*. IV 4).

3 In fact the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*'s definition of *vipassanā* begins by listing 'wisdom' and 'knowing', after which it mentions the activities of 'investigating' and 'inspecting', followed by the 'investigation-of-*dhammas* awakening factor', *Dhs*. 16 (§ 55): *yā tasmiṃ samaye paññā pajānanā vicayo pavicayo dhammavicayo ... ayaṃ tasmiṃ samaye vipassanā hoti.*

4 Another discourse that makes the same recommendation additionally mentions delight in seclusion, *paṭisallānārāma*, as another supportive factor for progress to non-return or full liberation (*It*. 39).

5 According to the commentary (*MA*. V, 1), the term *bhaddekaratta* represents "one fortunate attachment", *bhaddaka ekaratta*. My translation follows the alternative sense of *ratta* as "night" (Skt. *rātra*), which is supported by the Sanskrit fragment readings *bhadragarātriya* (fragment SHT III 816 V3 in Waldschmidt 1971: *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Wiebaden, 3:32); *bhadrakarātriyaḥ* (fragment 3b3 in Minayeff 1983: *Buddhist Texts from Kashgar and Nepal*, Delhi, 243), and by the Tibetan translation as *mtshan mo bzang po* (Peking edition *mdo shu* 171a7)

6 While the Pāli versions cover only three cases (knowing/seeing: neither inside nor outside, not inside but outside, both inside and outside), a counterpart in *Udānavarga* verses 22.13-16 has a complete set of four cases, as it also treats the case of knowing/seeing inside but not outside, *ādhyātmaṃ tu prajānāti, bahirdhā ca na paśyati.*

7 Bodhi 2007: "The Susima-sutta and the Wisdom-Liberated Arahant", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 29:63.

8 Restrictions of space do not allow a treatment of other meditation traditions or of the approaches to insight developed in the forest traditions. A survey of modern *Vipassanā* meditation that covers a broader range of teachers can be found in Kornfield 1988: *Living Buddhist Masters*, Kandy; King 1992: *Theravāda Meditation*, Delhi, 123-144 and Solé-Leris 1992: *Tranquillity & Insight*, Kandy, 125-153; see also Cousins 1996: "The Origins of Insight Meditation", *Buddhist Forum*, 4: 35-57.

9 This led to considerable criticism by those who affirm the need of *jhāna* abilities before being able to successfully develop *vipassanā*, see *Satipaṭṭhāna Vipassanā Criticism and Replies*, Rangoon 1979. Perhaps in reaction to such criticism, the Mahasi tradition has developed the idea of *vipassanā jhānas*, representative of deeper stages of insight meditation, cf. e.g. Mahasi 1981: *The Wheel of Dhamma*, Rangoon, 98, or in more detail U Paṇḍita 1993: *In This Very Life*, Kandy,180ff.

VIPASSANAÑĀṆA, "insight knowledge", refers to a key experience to be en-countered during the progress of insight meditation.[1] A survey of the devel-op-ment of insight, given in the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*, lists altogether ten such insight knowledges.[2] Other listings count more knowledges, due to taking more explicitly into account that the ten insight knowledges set in after the "knowledge of de-limitating name-and-form" and the "knowledge of discerning conditions",

nāma-rūpaparicchedo-ñāṇa and *paccayapariggaha-ñāṇa*, have al-ready been devel-oped.[3] Moreover, once the experience of the ten insight knowl--edges leads to stream-entry, "change-of-lineage" from worldling to a noble person takes place and the "path" as well as the "fruit" of stream-entry are experienced, fol-lowed by "reviewing", hence another four knowledges can be designated as *gotra--bhū-ñāṇa, magga-ñāṇa, phala-ñāṇa* and *paccavek-kha-ṇa-ñāṇa*, resulting in an overall account of sixteen knowledges.

The two preliminary knowledges, "knowledge of delimitating name-and-form" and "knowledge of discerning conditions", can be understood to clear the ground for the development of insight (see the detailed exposition in *Vism.* 587-605). Their purpose is to reveal the insubstantiality of all aspects of personal existence by analysing body and mind into their component parts, and by revealing the conditioned interrelation of these component parts. These two basic methods of analysis and synthesis complement each other. "In striving for insight, that is, for a 'vision of things as they really are', analysis comes first. The first task is to remove by analysis the basis for all ... notions of sub-stantial unities". However, "the 'things' presented by analysis are never iso-lated, self-contained units, but are conditioned and conditioning", hence "only the application of both methods - the analytical and the synthetical - can pro-duce a full and correct understanding of the impersonality (*anattā*) and in-sub-stantiality (*suññatā*) of all phenomena".[4] Based on having discerned mind and matter as distinct but interrelated phenomena, the series of ten insight knowl-edges sets in. These ten comprise:

- *sammasana-ñāṇa*, knowledge of comprehension;
- *udayabbaya-ñāṇa*, knowledge of rise and fall;
- *bhaṅga-ñāṇa*, knowledge of dissolution;
- *bhaya-ñāṇa*, knowledge of fearfulness;
- *ādīnava-ñāṇa*, knowledge of disadvantageousness;
- *nibbidā-ñāṇa*, knowledge of disenchantment;
- *muñcitukamyatā-ñāṇa*, knowledge of desire for deliverance;
- *paṭisaṅkhā-ñāṇa*, knowledge of reflection;
- *saṅkhārupekkhā-ñāṇa*, knowledge of equanimity towards formations;
- *anuloma-ñāṇa*, knowledge of conformity.

Knowledge of comprehension, *sammasana-ñāṇa*, refers to contemplat-ing the three characteristics. This then leads on to contemplating in particular the characteristic of impermanence in terms of rise and fall, which constitutes the onset of *udayabbaya-ñāṇa*. At this junction of progress, experiences can arise that are "imperfections of insight", *vipas-sa-nūpakkilesa* (see in detail *Ps.* II, 101 and *Vism.* 633). Such imperfections of in-sight could involve the experi-ence of, for example, deep tranquillity, or pene-trative insight, or firm equa-nim-ity. Though being signs of progress, these experiences could be at-tached to and mistakenly grasped as attainments in themselves. Detached pro-gress instead leads to a maturing of *udayabbaya-ñāṇa*, a penetrative experi-ence of the mo-mentary arising and passing away of all as-pects of body and mind. This even-tually culminates in an experience of total dissolution, *bhaṅga-ñāṇa*, wherein the disappearance aspect of all phenomena becomes particularly prominent.

At this stage, when the entire meditative experience is marked with con-stant dissolution and disintegration, fear arises, *bhaya-ñāṇa*. Such fear arises as the very foundation of what is taken to be 'I' and 'mine', whether this be ex-pli-citly as a rationalized self-notion or only implicitly as a sub-conscious feel-ing of identity that lurks at the background of all experience, is experienced as un-stable, breaking down and disintegrating at every moment. If mental balance can be maintained, the inherent disadvantage of all phenomena becomes evi-dent, *ādīnava-ñāṇa*, the whole world of experience loose all its attraction and an all pervasive sense of disenchantment sets in, *nibbidā-ñāṇa*. Such disen-chant-ment then leads to desire for deliverance, *muñcitukamyatā-ñāṇa*.

At this stage of practice, insight into the three characteristics of reality becomes markedly clear with knowledge of reflection, *paṭisaṅkhā-ñāṇa*, a knowledge similar in type to the earlier knowledge of comprehension, *sam-ma-sana-ñāṇa*, but differing from the latter in intensity and clarity. Knowledge of reflection gains its momentum from having passed through the previous in-sight experiences, in particular through the experiences of dis-solution, fear and disenchantment. Eventually a profound sense of equanimity sets in, *saṅkhār-u-pek-khā-ñāṇa*, during which the self-less nature of reality becomes prominent with outstanding clarity. Meditation practice continues effortlessly at this point, the mind is concentrated and well balanced. Full maturity of the devel-op-ment of insight comes with *anuloma-ñ*

āṇa, knowledge of conformity, which heralds the break-through to the supramundane experience.

At this point the series of ten insight knowledges has reached its com-pletion point. The mind momentarily withdraws from externals, with which the meditator leaves the stage of being a worldling, *gotrabhū-ñāṇa*. Imme-diately thereon follow the experi-ence of the path and fruition moment, *magga-ñāṇa* and *phala-ñāṇa*, being equivalent to liberating insight into the four noble truths through realization of the third truth, realization of *Nibbāna*. On emerg-ing from the experience of the supramundane, the mind naturally looks back on what has just happened and reviews what has taken place, *paccavek-kha-ṇa-ñāṇa*.

The basic dynamics that stands behind these ten knowledges could be reduced to the three characteristics, in that direct confrontation with the char-acteristic of impermanence (*udayabbaya-ñāṇa & bhaṅga-ñāṇa*) leads to in-sight into *dukkha*, which proceeds from the onset of fear via seeing disad-van-tage and developing disenchantment to arousing the desire for deliverance (*bhaya-ñāṇa & ādīnavā-ñāṇa & nibbidā-ñāṇa & muñcitukamyatā-ñāṇa*). With the maturity of the affective transformation brought about through this deep-ening appreciation of *dukkha*, the characteristic of not-self, *anattā*, becomes increasingly evident (*paṭisaṅkhā-ñāṇa & saṅkhārupekkhā-ñāṇa & anuloma-ñāṇa*), insight into which will reach perfection with the attainment of path and fruit, an experience wherein any sense of selfhood is completely annihilated. Considered from this perspective, the series of ten insight knowledges can be understood to express in a more detailed manner a basic dynamics of insight de-scribed frequently in the discourses, which proceeds from perception of im-permanence, *aniccasaññā*, via perception of *dukkha* in what is impermanent, *anicce dukkhasaññā*, to perception of not-self in what is *dukkha*, *dukkhe anat-tasaññā* (e.g. *A.* IV, 51-53).

Several of the individual stages of the insight knowledges can also be seen to take their inspiration from the early discourses. Thus a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* enjoins to develop "internal comprehension" through "com-pre-hending", *bhikkhu sammasamāno sammasati antara sammasaṃ* (*S.* II, 107), a "comprehension" that stands for reflecting on the de-pendent arising of *dukkha* through craving. This would involve a similar insight as that envisaged by the initial insight knowledge of *sammasana-ñāṇa*. A verse in the *Dhamma-pada* then provides a lead over from *sammasana* to *udayabbaya*, as it enjoins to "comprehend" the "rise and fall" of the aggregates in order to come to know the deathless, *yato yato sammasati, khandhānaṃ udayabbayaṃ ... amataṃ taṃ vijānataṃ* (*Dhp.* 374).

The reference in the third insight knowledge to dissolution, *bhaṅga*, can be understood to be but a different term for *khaya* or *vaya*, "destruction" and "decay", which in the discourses frequently highlight the disappearing aspect of phenomena.[5] Both terms occur in an ex-planation of why all felt experience is unsatisfactory (*S.* IV, 216), thus providing a lead over to the theme of *duk-kha* which is so prominent in the in-sight knowledges that follow after *bhaṅga-ñāṇa*.

The term *bhaya* occurs in a discourse in the *Saṃ-yutta Nikāya*, which de-scribes how long-lived *devas* become terrified when they realize that their ex-istence is impermanent and unstable (*S.* III, 85 and *A.* II, 33). A simile in an-other discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* com-pares the four elements to poison-ous snakes, the five aggregates to mur-derers, and the objects of the senses to a gang of robbers, images that bring out the frightful nature of these aspects of experience once their potential to lead to attachment is seen with insight (*S.* IV, 174).

The term *ādīnava* frequently occurs in the discourses as part of a treat-ment of phenomena from the three perspectives of their advantage, *as-sā-da*, their disadvantage, *ādīnava*, and the escape from them, *nissaraṇa* (e.g. *M.* I, 85-90). Insight into the inherent disadvantage of the five aggregates then leads to developing disenchantment, *nibbidā*, towards them (*S.* III, 62). The relation between seeing *ādīnava* and the desire for liberation comes to the fore in the Buddha's auto-biographical ac-count of his own striving for awakening, accord-ing to which on seeing the dis-advantage in what is subject to decay he set out in search for *Nibbāna* (*M.* I, 167). Hence these passages would corre-spond to the pattern of insight knowl-edges that leads from awareness of disad-vanta-geousness to dis-enchantment and desire for deliverance, *ādīnava-ñāṇa*, *nib-bidā-ñāṇa*, and *muñcitukamyatā-ñāṇa*.

The *Sabbāsava Sutta* relates the idea of reflection, *paṭisaṅkhā*, to devel-oping the seven factors of

awakening in such a way that they are based on se-clusion, dispassion, and cessation, and culminate in letting go (*M.* I, 11). In the discourses, this mode of development of the factors of awakening usu-ally designates a stage that issues in realization, and would thus be reflecting a similar level of development as *paṭisaṅkhā-ñāṇa*.

The term *saṅkhārupekkhā* itself does not appear in the discourse. The same idea could, however, be seen in the depiction of the progress towards the sev-enth awakening factor given in the *Ānāpānasati Sutta*, according to which on looking on with equanimity at the concentrated mind the awakening factor of equanimity arises, *tathā samāhitaṃ cittaṃ sādhu-kam ajjhupekkhitā hoti* (*M.* III, 86).

The *Visuddhimagga* illustrates *saṅkhārupekkhā-ñāṇa* with the help of a simile found in the *Devadaha Sutta* (*Vism.* 656). This simile describes a man who formerly suffered on seeing the woman he loves conversing and laughing with another man, but who by overcoming his affection for the woman will no longer be affected by her behaviour, a simile that in the *Devadaha Sutta* indeed illustrates the development of equanimity, *ajjhupekkhato upekkhaṃ bhāvayato* (*M.* II, 223).

Finally the term *anuloma* makes its appearance in a context related to the attainment of realization as "conformity of patience", *anulomikā khanti*, where it stands for the result of having developed insight into the three char-acteristics and leads to the at-tainment of the four stages of awakening (*A.* III, 441).

Hence even though the systematisation of the progress of insight in terms of ten insight knowledges is clearly a later development, its basic dy-namics as well as the individual components of this scheme have their source in the early discourses. The basic systematisation of these experiences can be found in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, which depicts the same progress of insight knowledge in five main stages. The first of these stages covers the knowl-edge of comprehension and the wisdom of analysing in a gener-alizing manner phe-nomena of past, present and future, *atītānāgata-paccup-pan-nānaṃ dhammānaṃ saṅkhipitvā vavatthāne paññā sam-masane ñāṇa* (*Ps.* I, 53). The second stages involves the knowledge of contemplating rise and fall and the wis-dom of con-templating the change of pres-ently arisen phe-nomena, *paccuppannā-nam dham-mānaṃ vi-pariṇām ānupas-sane paññā udayab-bayānupassane ñāṇa* (*Ps.* I, 54); while the third is the in-sight knowledge and wisdom of contem-plating dis-solu-tion after reflecting on an object, *ārum-maṇaṃ paṭisaṅkhā bhaṅ-gānupas-sane paṅ-ñā vipassane ñāṇa* (*Ps.* I, 57). These altogether three stages thus corre-spond to the first three knowledges in the scheme of ten *vipas-sanā-ñāṇas*.

The fourth stage in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is the knowledge of disad-vantageousness and the wisdom of looking on at fear, *bha-yatupaṭṭhāne paññā ādinave ñāṇa* (*Ps.* I, 59), which thus comprehends two in-sight knowledges of the fully developed scheme, namely knowledge of fear-fulness and of disad-vantageousness. The fifth stage then is the knowl-edge that involves equanim-ities towards formations and the wisdom of de-sire for deliverance, re-flection and composure, *muñcitukamyatā paṭisaṅkhā santiṭṭhanā paññā saṅ-khār-u-pek-khāsu ñāna* (*Ps.* I, 60), which covers altogether three insight knowl-edges of the scheme of ten, namely knowledge of desire for deliverance, of re-flection, and of equanimity towards formations.

The same basic pattern can also be found in the *Vimuttimagga*, a work preserved only in Chinese. The *Vimuttimagga*'s de-scription of the development of insight also proceeds from understanding the difference between name and form (*T.* XXXII, 454a2),[a] to discerning condi-tions (*T.* XXXII, 454a14). Its counterparts to the set of ten insight knowledges then begin with comprehen-sion of the three characteristics (*T.* XXXII, 454b1), followed by insight into rise and fall (*T.* XXXII, 454c3); dissolution (*T.* XXXII, 455c16); fear, which includes awareness of disadvantageousness and disenchantment (*T.* XXXII, 456c11); desire for deliverance, which includes re-flection on the three charac-teristics and equanimity (*T.* XXXII, 456c20); and knowledge of conformity (*T.* XXXII, 457a5). The *Vimuttimagga* completes its account with change of line-age (*T.* XXXII, 457a18), knowledge of the path (*T.* XXXII, 457a25) and the fruit (*T.* XXXII, 458a1).

The fact that the listings in the *Paṭisambhidā-magga* and the *Vimutti-mag-ga* combine several insight knowledges that are treated separately in the *Vi-sud-dhi-magga* does not entail a real difference, as the *Visuddhimagga* explic-itly in-dicates

that e.g. knowledge of desire for deliverance and knowledge of reflec-tion are but two early stages of equa-nimity towards formations (*Vism.* 660).

What does appear to be a noteworthy difference between the presenta-tions in the *Paṭisambhidā-magga*, the *Vimuttimagga*, and the *Visuddhimagga* is the general framework within which these insight knowledges are presented. In the *Paṭisambhidā-mag-ga*, the exposition of the insight knowledges comes as part of a treatise on the theme of knowledge, *ñāṇa*. In the *Vimuttimagga*, the in-sight knowl-edges form part of a detailed explanation of the four noble truths. The distinc-tion between name and form corresponds to insight into the first noble truth, with which purification of view has been accomplished (*T.* XXXII, 454a2). Discerning dependent arising is a manifestation of the second noble truth, with which purification by overcoming doubt has been reached (*T.* XXXII, 454a14). The remaining insight knowledges correspond to the truth of the path, while the attainment of the path itself implies direct vision of the un-con-ditioned and hence insight into all four noble truths at once (*T.* XXXII, 457a27).

The *Visuddhimagga* correlates the insight knowledges with the seven stages of purification,[7] a scheme that originates from the *Rathavinīta Sutta* (*M.* I, 147), and which forms the scaffolding for the *Visuddhi-magga* (see VISUD-DHIMAGGA). The first two purifications of morality and the mind are con-sidered as preliminary stages. The third purification of view, *diṭṭhi-visuddhi*, corresponds to knowledge of delimitating name-and-form (*Vism.* 587). The fourth stage of purification by overcoming doubt, *kaṅkhāvitaraṇa-visuddhi*, covers knowledge of discerning conditions (*Vism.* 598). Purification by knowl-edge and vision of what is the path and what is not the path, *maggā-mag-ga-ñāṇa--das-sa-na-visuddhi*, involves knowledge of comprehension (*Vism.* 606), as well as the beginning stages of knowledge of rise and fall (*Vism.* 629). Puri-fica-tion by knowledge and vision of the way, *paṭipadāñāṇadassana-visuddhi*, then takes off with knowledge of rise and fall at a mature stage (*Vism.* 639), and covers the remaining eight out of the set of ten insight knowledges up to knowledge of conformity. Purification by knowl-edge and vision, *ñāṇadassana-visuddhi*, cor-responds to the experience of path and fruit, which is preceded by change-of-lineage (*Vism.* 672).

Buddhaghosa would have known the *Vimuttimagga*, as according to the commen-tary on the *Visuddhimagga* statements attributed by Buddhaghosa to "some" stem from Upatissa's *Vimuttimagga*.[8] From this perspective it is note-worthy that the *Vimuttimagga* mentions only two purifications, that of views and of overcoming doubt, in relation to the insight knowledges. Thus it seems as if Buddhaghosa developed this further by adding the remaining purifi-cations from the scheme of seven purifications described in the *Ratha-vinīta Sutta*. In doing so, he seems to not have taken into account that the scheme in the *Ratha--vinīta Sutta* is not com-plete, as the series of seven purifications only lead up to the goal, but do not include the goal itself. The complete scheme can be found in the *Das-uttara Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which continues after the seven puri-fica-tions with purification of wisdom and purification of liberation (*D.* III, 288; see also RATHAVINĪTA SUTTA). Thus a more appropriate cor-relation of the stages of purification with the insight knowledges could have been made by taking into account all nine stages, and especially by correlating the *magga-ñāṇa* and *phala-ñāṇa* with purification of liberation, *vimutti-vi-sud-dhi*, in-stead of placing these under the heading of purification by knowl-edge and vi-sion.

Nevertheless, Buddhaghosa's mode of presentation has be-come norma-tive for the Theravāda tradition and the scheme of the insight knowledges, cor-related with the seven stages of purification, forms the basis for most insight meditation undertaken in modern days, constituting the com-mon reference point for otherwise often quite different approaches and meth-ods for the devel-opment of liberating insight.

Anālayo

References

[1] Detailed expositions of these key experience from a practical perspective can be found in Mahasi: *The Progress of Insight*, Kandy 1994; and Ñāṇārāma: *The Seven Stages of Purifi-cation and the Insight Knowledges*, Kandy 1993.

[2] *Abhs.* 63 (Burmese edition), 9: 46; Bodhi: *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma*, Kandy 1993: 346 (9: 25).

[3] Here *nāma-rūpa* is used as a referent to the entirety of mind and matter, different from its canonical

usage, where *nāma* stands for mentality except consciousness, see *M.* I, 53 and NĀMA-RŪPA.

[4] Ñānaponika: *Abhidhamma Studies*, Kandy 1985: 25-26.

[5] According to Ñāṇatiloka: *Buddhist Dictionary*, Kandy 1988: 249, "*bhaṅga*, in connection with the 5 groups of existence" is " often met with in the old sutta texts", but I have not been able to locate such occurrences.

[6] *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

[7] A survey of this correlation, together with an insightful discussion, can be found in Cous-ins: "The Origins of Insight Meditation", *The Buddhist Forum*, vol. 4, London 1996: 44.

[8] *VismA.* (Burm. ed.) I, 123: '*Ekacce ti Upatissattheraṃ sandhyāha, tena hi Vimuttimagge tathā vuttaṃ*; see also ABHIDHARMA LITERATURE p. 78; Bapat: *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga*, Poona 1937: LVIII; Ehara: *The Path of Freedom*, Kandy 1995: XXXVI.

VIPASSANĀYĀNIKA: 'The insight- conveyed person', also sometimes called *suddha-vipassanā yānika* (*vism.*p.588), who uses solely insight meditation as the vehicle of conveyance leading one to emancipation and Nibbāna. It is purely a commentarial term used in clarifying the canonical term *paññ āvimutta*, 'delivered by wsdom', found in all the four principle *Nikāyas*. But the term more popular in canonical works to designate a person who has won emancipation is *ubhatobhāgavimutta*, 'delivered in both ways' viz. 'deliverance of the mind' (*cetovimutti*) and ' deliverance by wisdom' (*paññāvimutti*) which are invariably linked. Explaining the term *paññā-vimutta*, the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1.477*f.*) says, " a monk may not have reached in his own person the 8 liberations (*jhāna*) but through his wisdom the cankers have come to extinction in him. Such a person is called wisdom- liberated" (BD.s.v *Paññā-vimutti*). Actually the word used in the text in this context is not *jhāna* but *vimokkha* which includes 'the cessation of perception and feelings' (*saññāvedayita-nirodha*) as the eighth. Whatever may be the importance of the realization of the eight liberations for the attainment of the final emancipatory wisdom, it is the realization of deliverance through wisdom (*paññā-vimutti*) which seals the final emancipation of the practitioner. For even a person who has attained the eighth liberation (*vimokkha*), ' the cessation of perception and feelings', has to utterly destroy the cankers (*āsavā*) by means of wisdom to become an Arahant (*M.*1.477). One is released from the material group (*rūpa-kāya*) only by the realization of the attainments of the formless sphere (*arūpāvacarasamāpattiyā*) ,but one has to realize the supreme path (*agga-magga*) to be released from the name group (*nāma-kāya SA.*1.278). This emphasizes the importance of deliverance through wisdom for full emancipation. By the development of insight (*vipassanā*) is developed wisdom (*paññā*). Ignorance (*avijjā*) becomes extinct through wisdom. Fading away of passion (*rāga-virāga*) is the deliverance of the mind while the fading away of ignorance (*avijjā-virāga*) is deliverance through wisdom (*A.*1. 61). The *Dīgha Nikāya* (II.70) explains 'deliverance through wisdom' as the full comprehension of the pros and cons of the seven abodes or supports of consciousness (*viññāṇaṭṭhiti*) and the two spheres (*āyatana*) and becoming free by purging all grasping (*anupādā vimutto*).

At the early stages of the Buddha's ministry most of the individuals who were converted by him and were admitted to his newly founded Order of monks are said to have won realization of emancipation while listening to a sermon given by him. His first convert Koṇḍañña is said to have realized the first stage of the Path to emancipation while listening to the Buddha's first sermon. Sāriputta had a similar realization while listening to a stanza, giving a gist of the Buddha's message, recited by Arahant Assaji. Some of them may have practised meditation under their former teachers and may have attained even *jhānas* under them. But this cannot be vouched about all of them. Yasa, one of the early converts of the Buddha, being disillusioned with his luxurious home life, left home in quest of peace of mind. He realized the first stage of the Path while listening to the Buddha the very first time he spoke to him (*Vin.*1.18). But even stranger is the reported conversion of the thirty Bhaddavaggiya princes who were out on a pleasure trip with their wives. They were also converted and won the first stage of the Path while listening to the Buddha (*ibid.*23*f.*). They do not appear to have practised any meditation before meeting the Buddha. Both the Vinaya texts (*ibid.* 13 *f*) and the *Samyutta Nikāya* (III.66*f.*) hold that the first five disciples realized freedom from cankers while listening to the Buddha's sermon on 'the characteristics of selflessness' (*anatta-lakkhaṇa*). Any way it is an open question as to how this is possible.

However the possibility of this attainment seems to have been well established and popularly accepted. In one discourse (*S*.III.191) the majority of three hundred and twenty monks out of five hundred are said to have been 'delivered by wisdom'. Of the other one hundred and eighty, sixty had realized the three super knowledges, sixty had realized the six super knowledges and sixty were freed in both ways. The process of realization as given here is the seeing of the selfless characteristic of all the five aggregates in all aspects, as they have come to be. This knowledge leads to disillusionment (*nibbindati)* in the five aggregates. Of what is disillusioned one becomes detached (*virajjati)* and through detachment one becomes released *(vimuccati*). In release one becomes aware of the freedom and one comes to know that birth is ended, the pure life has been led, all what has to be done has been accomplished and that there is no more to be done on its account.

Susīma's Challenge

Popular as it may have been, the idea of 'deliverance through wisdom' did not always go unchallenged even during the lifetime of the Buddha. In one discourse (*S*.II.119 *ff.*) a group of monks who had declared themselves to be fully emancipated is seen to be closely questioned on their extra-sensory knowledges and certain other spiritual attainments by a newly ordained monk named Susīma. Closely questioning them he wanted to know that they, claming to be 'knowing thus and seeing thus', experience manifold psychic powers, hearing sounds, both of *devas* and men with purified divine ear, reading others' minds, recollecting one's past births, seeing with divine vision the passing away and rebirth, according to *kamma*, of other beings and dwell in volitional contact with those states of liberation where the world of form (*rūpa)* is transcended and the formless (*āruppa)* is reached. When the monks replied in the negative to each of his questions Susīma was surprised and questioned them as to how this is possible "We are, friend Susīma, delivered by wisdom" was their reply. Still confounded, Susīma expresses his inability to comprehend what they stated in brief and asks for further clarification. But they curtly reply, "Whether you know it or not friend Susīma, we are delivered by wisdom".

Susīma was not yet fully convinced. So he takes the problem to the Buddha before whom he lays bear the whole story.

"First comes the knowledge of the fixity of conditions (*dhammaṭṭhiti-ñāṇa*) and afterwards the knowledge of Nibbāna" says the Buddha who then goes on to give, step by step, the inborn characteristics of impermanence (*anicca)*, unsatisfactoriness (*dukkha*) and selflessness (*anatta*) of the five aggregates (*pañcakkhandha)* in all their several aspects. With this knowledge comes disillusionment (*nibbidā*) and sofoth which leads finally to freedom as above. Then the Buddha goes on to clarify the conditioned arising of old age and death leading finally to ignorance (*avijjā*) and how activities (*saṅkhārā*) cease with the cessation of ignorance and soforth up to the cessation of birth, old age and death. What is important here is that the Buddha's sermon continues in a question and answer form getting negative or positive answers from Susīma showing that Susīma was becoming fully convinced by the Buddha's presentation of the Dhamma. Asked whether being so convinced he has acquired the five super knowledges (*pañca abhiññā*) or the liberations which transcend the world of form, Susīma, now convinced that these extrasensory knowledges are not essential for emancipation, replies in the negative. Although the discourse does not say so expressly the commentary states that Susima too won Arahantship by the conclusion of the sermon (*SA*.II.127).

Sukkhavipassaka, the Dry- Visioned

Another term used by the Commentators for the *vipassanā-yānika* is *sukkhavipassaka*, rendered into English sometimes as 'the dry-visioned'. Commenting on the assertion of the group of monks questioned by Susīma above, Buddhaghosa clarifies, "We, friend, are *jhāna*-free (*nijjhānikā*) dry-visioned ones (*sukkhavipassakā*), freed by wisdom alone (*paññ āmatteneva vimuttā*) (*SA*.II. 126*f*). He clarifies further that there could be arising of knowledge even without concentration (*vināpi samādhiṃ*). For, he asserts, neither the Path (*magga*) nor the Fruition (*phala*) is an issue (*nissanda*), a consequence (*ānisaṃsa*) or an accomplishment (*nipphatti*) of concentration. It is an issue, consequence or an accomplishment of insight (*vipassanāya*). The *Dīgha Nikāya* Commentary (II.512), clarifying the term *paññāvimutta*, says that one who is released by the discontinuance of the mental grouping (*nāma-kāya*) and the corporeality grouping

(*rūpa-kāya*) solely by the power of wisdom without realizing the eight liberations (*aṭṭha vimokkhā*) is called one 'delivered by wisdom'. He is of five types with *sukkha-vipassaka* given as the first of them. The sub-commentary explaining further says "his insight is dry, rough, unmoistened by the moisture of tranquility meditation". Ven Nyanatiloka however states that although this term is rendered often as "dry-visioned" or "having dry insight" it should not lead to the misconception that the nature of insight meditation is 'dry' or 'merely intellectual'. In fact, he asserts, the development of insight produces rapture (*pīti*) and a sense of urgency (*saṃvega*) in the meditatior (B.D.s.v *sukkha-vipassaka*).

C.Witanachchi

VIPULASĀRA, MĀPALAGAMA, See **WIPULASĀRA, MĀPALAGAMA**

VIRĀGA, "dispassion", is one of the epithets of final liberation in early Buddhism (e.g. *M.* I, 167). In some contexts, *virāga* can also stand for "fading away". Both meanings are interrelated and derive from the primary sense of √*raj* or √*rañj*, to "colour", hence *virāga* stands for "decolouration" or "fading away". In contrast to *rāga*, "passion", which 'colours' the mind, *virāga* then has the sense of "dispassion" (see also RĀGA).

To assess the relevance of these two nuances of the term *virāga* as "fading away" and as "dispassion" requires a survey of the occurrence of *virāga* in a series of different contexts.

The nuance of "fading away" appears to be more prominent in contexts where *virāga* is preceded by "impermanence" and followed by "cessation" and "relinquishment", *nirodha* and *paṭinissagga*. This sequence occurs in relation to the final four steps of mindfulness of breathing (*M.* III, 83). Alternatively, *virāga* could also be preceded by "impermanence" and "change", *anicca* and *vipariṇāma*. This perspective is applied, for example, to the five aggregates (*S.* III, 43). Here to "fading away" appears to fit the context best.

The same nuance of "fading away" seems to also apply when *virāga* is preceded by *khaya*, "destruction". This is the case, for example, in a description of how the mind is freed by the destruction and fading away of craving, *taṇhā* ... *khayā virāgā* ... *cittaṃ suvimuttaṃ* (*S.* III, 13). Quite often *virāga* is preceded by "destruction" and "decay", *khaya* and *vaya*. Examples are a contemplation capable of leading to final liberation (*A.* IV, 146); or when the three types of feelings are qualified to be subject to destruction, decay and fading away (e.g. *M.* I, 500). The same qualification of being subject to destruction, decay and fading away is also applicable to the five aggregates (*S.* III, 24); to the twelve links of dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda* (*S.* II, 26); and to the knowledge of the fixedness of the principle of dependent arising, *dhammaṭṭhitiñāṇa* (*S.* II, 60). In all these instances, the sense of "fading away" appears to be the prominent meaning.

Alternatively *virāga* can be preceded by "removal", *pahāna*. In such cases, the sense of "dispassion" seems to be the more prominent meaning. Examples are the five "perceptions that ripen in liberation", *vimuttiparipācaniya saññā* (*D.* III, 243). Other occurrences of *virāga* preceded by *pahāna* are in relation to five things whose development leads to liberation of the mind and liberation by wisdom, *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti* (*A.* III, 85); and which lead to overcoming a whole host of defilements (*A.* III, 277). A list of nine perceptions whose development is of great fruit also culminates in *pahāna-saññā* and *virāga-sañña* (*A.* IV, 387).

In numerous instances, "removal" and "dispassion", *pahāna* and *virāga*, are followed by "cessation", *nirodha*, a triad that occurs frequently in listings of types of perception. Examples are the six "perceptions conducive to penetration", *nibbedhabhāgiya-saññā* (*D.* III, 251). These are at the same time the six "things conducive to knowledge", *vijjābhāgiyā dhammā* (*S.* V, 345; *A.* III, 334); and the six things that lead to the removal of various defilements (*A.* III, 452). Another example are the seven

"things that prevent decline", *aparihāniyā dhammā* (*D.* II, 79 and *A.* IV, 24); which are seven "perceptions" (*D.* III, 253); whose development leads to overcoming all kinds of defilements (*A.* IV, 148); and which therefore are "things to be aroused", *dhammā uppādetabbā* (*D.* III, 283). The theme of "things to be aroused" recurs also in a nine-fold and a ten-fold formulation (*D.* III, 289 and *D.* III, 291), both of which are to be developed to overcome various defilements (*A.* IV, 465 and *A.* V, 309). The triad *pahāna virāga nirodha* also features in a list of ten perceptions that are of great fruit and with which the mind should be well familiarized, *paricitañca cittaṃ bhavissati* (*A.* V, 105 and *A.* V, 107); and in a long list of meditation topics whose development even for a short time is highly recommendable (*A.* I, 41; cf. also *S.* V, 132).

In most of these listings, the triad "removal, dispassion, cessation" *pahāna, virāga, nirodha*, is preceded by the triad "impermanent, unsatisfactory, not-self", *anicca, dukkha, anattā*, or by a set of terms that, in addition to *anicca* and *anattā*, may involve "impure", *asubha*, or "disadvantage", *ādīnava*, etc.

The basic pattern that emerges from a survey of the role of *virāga* in these different listings is that when *virāga* is preceded by terminology related to impermanence alone, its predominant sense appears to be that of "fading away".[1] When, however, *virāga* is preceded by "removal", instance where often all three characteristics of impermanence, unsatisfactoriness (or related terms) and not-self also precede *virāga*, then the sense of "dispassion" appears to be the most prominent implication of the term.

Such "dispassion" is thus the outcome of a full appreciation of the true nature of reality, preceded by "removal", *pahāna*, and almost always followed by "cessation", *nirodha*. This triad thus forms a counterpart to the triad *anicca, dukkha, anattā*, which describes the three main characteristics of reality in regard to which insight needs to be developed, while the triad *pahāna, virāga, nirodha* depicts the detachment that ensues once this insight matures. Just as the sequence underlying the insight triad *anicca, dukkha, anattā* is of significance, as it is based on awareness of *anicca* that *dukkha* is appreciated, and based on appreciation of *dukkha* insight into *anattā* arises, so too in the case of this affective triad a certain progression can be discerned. This progression moves from the more active "removal" to "dispassion", which then reaches its culmination point in "cessation".

A more detailed explanation of the implications of these three types of perception can be found in the *Girimānanda Sutta* (*A.* V, 110). According to this discourse, *pahāna-saññā* requires not indulging in any thought related to sensuality, anger and harming. *Virāga-saññā* and *nirodha-saññā* then stand for reflecting in accordance with the maxim that "this is peaceful, this is excellent, namely the stilling of all formations, the relinquishment of all substrata, the destruction of craving, dispassion, cessation, *Nibbāna*", *etaṃ santaṃ etaṃ paṇītaṃ, yadidaṃ sabbasaṅkhārasamatho sabbupadhipaṭinissaggo taṇhakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ*. The only difference is that in the case of *virāga-saññā* the maxim does not mention "cessation", and in the case of *nirodha-saññā*, "dispassion" is not mentioned. This suggests the last two perceptions to be closely similar in meaning, perhaps *nirodha* representing a slightly more definite and final form of leaving behind attachment to the world and of inclining the mind towards *Nibbāna*. The preceding *pahāna-saññā*, however, clearly sets in at a more gross level, when unwholesome thoughts are still to be overcome, whose removal would then be the basis for implementing the above maxim.

The topic of *Nibbāna* is also prominent in another series of terms that includes *virāga*. This series of terms qualifies the type of teaching or conduct that is conducive to liberation as leading to disenchantment, dispassion, cessation, peace, higher insight, awakening and *Nibbāna*, *nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattati* (e.g. *D.* I, 189). This thus depicts in more detail the outcome of *virāga*, namely inner peace, higher insight and awakening. In short, *nibbidā, virāga* and *nirodha* are the essential steps that lead to final liberation (e.g. *S.* III, 163).

The relationship between *virāga* and disenchantment, *nibbidā*, is taken up in a discourse in

the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which points out that *virāga* has disenchantment as its proximate cause (*S.* II, 30). The same discourse continues by indicating that liberation has *virāga* as its proximate cause. That is, the whole purpose of *virāga* is liberation, *virāgo vimuttattho* (*S.* III, 189), or knowledge and vision of liberation, *virāgo vimuttiñāṇadassanattho* (*A.* V, 312). Conversely, without dispassion to reach knowledge and vision of liberation is impossible (*A.* V, 314). Hence it is through dispassion that one reaches liberation, *virāgā vimuccati* (e.g. *M.* I, 139), and through dispassion that beings are purified, *virāgā visujjhanti* (*S.* III, 70).

The mental factors particularly required for reaching final liberation are the factors of awakening, *bojjhaṅga*, and it is in relation to these that *virāga* also makes its appearance. For the seven *bojjhaṅgas* to lead to knowledge and liberation, they need to be practiced in dependence on seclusion, dispassion and cessation, so that they will culminate in letting go, *vivekanissita, virāganissita, nirodhanissita, vossaggapariṇāmin* (*M.* III, 88). The same set of four applies not only to the seven factors of awakening, but is also of relevance for the development of the five faculties or powers (e.g. *S.* IV, 365), and for the noble eightfold path (e.g. *S.* V, 45).

In sum, then, *virāga* can be seen to comprise in a nutshell the whole gamut of the *Dhamma*, being a term that stands for the path to be taken as well as for the goal to be reached. As a path to be taken, *virāga* counteracts the chief culprits for the *saṃsāric* predicament: lust, desire and craving. Their hold on the mind is to be gradually reduced by seeing all the enticing aspects of experience for what they truly are, by allowing their attraction to 'fade away', their superficially colourful appearance to 'decolour'. The central means for such decolouration or fading away is awareness of their impermanent nature.

Such direct experience of the impermanent nature of all aspects of experience needs to be complemented by a clear apprehension of the other two characteristics, *dukkha* and *anattā*, in order to issue in 'dispassion'. With the onset of true dispassion the path gains momentum, which leads from the gradual 'fading away' of 'passion', *rāgavirāga*, in regard to any aspect of experience, to a most thorough 'fading away' and disappearance of all aspects of experience with the attainment of stream-entry.

This first experience of the supramundane, of *Nibbāna*, at stream-entry, is the most total 'fading away' possible. Here even the sense of 'I' that otherwise pervades all experiences has to yield to such 'fading away', and therewith all identifications are similarly subject to 'decolouration'. At this stage, *virāga* in its supreme sense as an epithet for the final goal has become an experienced reality. With progress to the higher stages of awakening *virāga* will then further unfold its 'dispassioning' potential. For the arahant then, *virāga* has become so all-encompassing that not only any trace of sensual passion, but also any passion for self or existence have been forever turned into 'dispassion', as the mind has become totally 'decoloured' of the colouring forces of unwholesome states and tendencies.

The broad compass of the term *virāga* and its significant nuances make it easy to understand why, according to a succinct statement by the Buddha, whatever things lead to *virāga*, these can definitely be understood as the proper teaching and training promulgated by him (*A.* IV, 280). Of all things, be they conditioned or unconditioned, *virāga* is indeed the highest. Hence those who have confidence in *virāga* have confidence in the highest and will gain the highest profit (*It.* 88).

Highest of all paths is the eightfold [noble path],
And of all truths the four part [noble truths],
Highest of [all] phenomena is dispassion,
And of two-footed [humans] the one with vision.

Maggān' aṭṭhaṅgiko seṭṭho,
saccānaṃ caturo padā,
virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṃ,
dipadānañca cakkhumā (*Dhp.* 273).

Anālayo

Reference

1 An exception to this pattern can be found in a verse in the *Ratana Sutta*, where *virāga* is preceded by "destruction", *khaya*, alone, without any reference to *anicca* or *vaya*. In this verse, *virāga* is followed by *amata*, the "deathless" (*Sn.* 225), a context where *virāga* would have the sense of "dispassion" and act as a synonym for *Nibbāna*.

VIRIYA stands for "energy", "effort", "vigour" and "exertion". Derived from *vīra*, "hero", *viriya* stands for the quality that is indeed required for any heroic deed, namely determined effort applied to the task at hand. According to early Buddhism, such determined effort in the form of wisely directed and balanced exertion is an indispensable necessity for progress. In the ancient Indian setting, the early Buddhist conception of *viriya* can be seen to cut a middle path position between the extremes of excessive and unwise striving through ascetic practices and self-tormenting on the one side, and the belief in the futility of any effort upheld by some deterministic or fatalist philosophers on the other side.[1]

The significant role played by *viriya* in the Buddhist path to liberation is reflected in its role in such schemes as the four right exertions, the four roads to [spiritual] power, the five faculties or powers, the seven factors of awakening and the eightfold noble path.2 In what follows, a survey of these different schemes will be given, followed by examining the importance of *viriya* in general and by surveying some imageries related to the term.

The Four Right Exertions

Out of the different schemes relevant to progress towards awakening, the four right exertions, *sammappadhāna* are dedicated entirely to the theme of effort (see also PADHĀNA).3 In the standard definition given in the discourses, the four right exertions are:

(1) preventing the arising of unarisen unwholesome states,
(2) overcoming arisen unwholesome states,
(3) arousing unarisen wholesome states,
(4) developing arisen wholesome states.

An indispensable requirement for developing these four right exertions is virtue, whose foundational role in this respect is similar to the role of the earth as a foundation for any activity (*S.* V, 246). Based on virtue, in regard to each of these four the task is to "stir up desire, make an effort, arouse energy, exert the mind and strive", *chandaṃ janeti, vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati* (*M.* II, 11). According to an explanation given in the *Vibhaṅga*, in the present context to "make an effort", to "arouse energy" and to "strive" are simply different terms with the same meaning (*Vibh.* 208). Hence these terms points to one basic factor: effort.

The implications of the above fourfold scheme can be filled out with the help of two discourses in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. The first of these uses the same fourfold pattern as usually employed for the four *sammappadhānas* - preventing unarisen unwholesome states, overcoming arisen unwholesome states, arousing unarisen wholesome states, developing arisen wholesome states - to explain four exertions, *padhānas* (*A.* II, 74). These four *padhānas* are:

(1) exertion in regard to restraint, *saṃvarappadhāna*,
(2) exertion in regard to abandoning, *pahānappadhāna*,
(3) exertion in regard to developing, *bhāvanappadhāna*,
(4) exertion in regard to protecting, *anurakkhanappadhāna*.

The other *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourse then explains in more detail what these four exertions represent (*A.* II, 16). According to its exposition, "exertion in regard to restraint" stands for sense-restraint, where the arising of unwholesome reactions at any sense-door is avoided through not allowing the mind to be carried away by the details of what has been perceived or by associations related to the same, *na nimittaggāhī hoti nānuvyañjanaggāhī*. "Exertion in regard to abandoning" then stands for overcoming thoughts of sensuality, ill-will or cruelty; while to develop the factors of awakening, *bojjhaṅga*, corresponds to "exertion in regard to developing". "Exertion in regard to protecting" takes place by protecting the sign of concentration, *samādhinimitta* (see also NIMITTA), which may have arisen due to meditating on such objects as a skeleton or a decaying corpse etc.

This presentation shows how the four right exertions can be practised, in that to prevent the arising of unarisen unwholesome states can be undertaken through sense-restraint; to overcome arisen unwholesome states can be put into practice by removing thoughts of sensuality, ill-will or cruelty; to arouse unarisen wholesome states can be implemented by developing the factors of awakening; and to develop arisen wholesome states can take place by protecting the sign of concentration. By treating sense-restraint,

the removal of unwholesome thoughts, the factors of awakening and the development of *samādhi* under the heading of *padhāna*, this presentation throws into relief the all-embracing importance of exertion for various aspects of the path to liberation.

Another perspective on the theme of "exertion" can be found in the five factors required for its successful implementation, the *padhāniyaṅga*. According to the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta*, these five factors are confidence, health, honesty, energy and wisdom (*M.* II, 95). The same discourse proclaims that one who is endowed with these five factors and trains in accordance with the instructions given by the *Tathāgata* might reach final liberation even within a single day. In view of such potential, it is no wonder that exertion and effort are given such emphasis in the early Buddhist teachings.

Energy as a Road to [Spiritual] Power

Viriya is the second of the altogether four roads to [spiritual] power, *iddhipāda*. In this context, *viriya* performs its role as the *viriyasamādhipadhānasaṅkhārasamannāgata iddhipāda*, the "road to [spiritual] power that is endowed with concentration due to energy and volitional formations of striving". As a road to [spiritual] power, *viriya* should be developed in a balanced way by avoiding weakness and excess, and by neither getting stuck internally nor distracted externally (*S.* V, 264). Here *viriya* that is too weak stands for laziness and indolence, *kosajja*, while an excess of *viriya* manifests in the arising of restlessness (*S.* V, 279). Due to sloth-and-torpor *viriya* becomes stuck internally, and by being disturbed with thoughts related to sensual pleasures *viriya* will be distracted externally.

Developing *viriya* as an *iddhipāda* leads to concentration, *viriyaṃ nissāya labhati samādhiṃ labhati cittassa ekaggataṃ, ayaṃ vuccati viriyasamādhi* (*S.* V, 268). Such concentration is maintained in force due to the volitional formations of striving, *padhānasaṅkhāra*, whose task is none other but to implement the four *sammappadhānas*. This shows the degree to which the four *sammappadhānas* are of continuous relevance to other aspects of the path, such as the development of the four *iddhipādas*. Developed in this way, *viriya* as an *iddhipāda* can lead to a whole range of supernormal powers, as well as to reaching the destruction of the influxes.

The Faculty of Energy

Viriya as a "faculty", *viriyindriya*, stands for the effort to prevent unarisen unwholesome states, overcome arisen unwholesome states, arouse unarisen wholesome states, and develop arisen wholesome states (*S.* V, 198).4 This presentation mirrors the four *sammappadhānas* and thus further highlights the degree to which these four are of relevance to various aspects of the path. As a faculty, *viriya* has a particularly close relationship to progress towards the different levels of awakening, where with the complete development of all five *indriyas* full awakening is reached (*S.* V, 200). Within the context of the five *indriyas*, *viriya* arises based on wisdom and confidence, and it leads on to mindfulness and concentration (*S.* V, 222 and 229).

Viriyabala, energy as a "power", stands for overcoming unwholesome, blameworthy and dark things; and for establishing their positive counterparts (*A.* IV, 363). This definition echoes the scope of activity of the *sammappadhānas*. According to a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, *viriya* as a power is in fact equivalent to *viriya* as a faculty, *yaṃ viriyindriyaṃ taṃ viriyabalaṃ, yaṃ viriyabalaṃ taṃ viriyindriyaṃ* (*S.* V, 219), so that the difference between these two would be only nominal. This finds confirmation in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which defines *viriyabala* in the same terms as used in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* to define *viriyindriya* (*A.* III, 2 and *S.* V, 197).

Energy as an Awakening Factor

The relationship of *viriya* to mindfulness and wisdom, reflected in its position and role among the five *indriyas*, comes up again in relation to the seven factors of awakening. Here *viriya* comes third, after mindfulness and investigation-of-phenomena, *dhammavicaya*. Since the seven factors of awakening are developed in sequence, each building on its predecessors, *viriya* as a factor of awakening clearly builds on mindfulness and investigation (*S.* V, 68). Taking into account that *viriya* as a faculty leads on to mindfulness, the relationship between *viriya* and mindfulness is probably best understood to be reciprocal, in the sense that an increase of energy enhances mindfulness, whose establishment in turn stirs up further energy.

According to the *Ānāpānasati Sutta*'s exposition of the successive development of the awakening factors, based on having established mindfulness and investigated with wisdom, unshakeable energy arises, *viriya assalīna* (*M.* III, 85). With further progress in developing the awakening factors, such unshakeable energy leads on to unworldly joy, *pīti nirāmisā*, and eventually to tranquillity, concentration and equanimity. In order to culminate in knowledge and liberation, the *viriyasambojjhaṅga* should be developed based on seclusion, dispassion, and cessation, thereby leading to letting go, *vivekanissita, virāganissita, nirodhanissita, vossaggapariṇāmin* (*M.* III, 88).

As a factor of awakening, *viriya* stands in direct contrast to the hindrance of sloth-and-torpor, since what acts as nourishment (*āhāra*) for *viriya* has the very opposite effect (*anāhāra*) for sloth-and-torpor (*S.* V, 104 and 105). Here *viriya* represents in particular the element of resolution, endeavour and exertion, *ārambhadhātu, nikkamadhātu, parakkamadhātu* (*S.* V, 66). The scope of such *viriya* comprises bodily energy as well as mental energy (*S.* V, 111). Its implementation needs, however, be undertaken with circumspection, as to develop the *viriyasambojjhaṅga* suits only occasions when the mind is sluggish and needs to be stirred and energized (*S.* V, 113). In contrast, to develop *viriya* at a time when the mind is already excited would be similar to throwing grass and wood on a fire that one intends to extinguish.

Right Effort

In the form of right effort, *samma vāyama*, *viriya* also takes up a prominent position within the eightfold noble path. Here, again, the all pervasive relevance of the four *sammappadhānas* manifests, as the standard definition of right effort speaks of making an effort at preventing unarisen unwholesome states, overcoming arisen unwholesome states, arousing unarisen wholesome states, and developing arisen wholesome states (e.g. *M.* III, 251).

The role of energy in regard to the other factors of the noble eightfold path is examined in the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*. According to this discourse, with right view as the foundation right effort has the task to overcome wrong manifestations of the path factors and to establish their right counterpart. Right effort carries out this task in close collaboration with right mindfulness (*M.* III, 72). The relationship of energy to mindfulness is also reflected in its position within a threefold division of the noble eightfold path into virtue, concentration and wisdom, where right effort belongs to the concentration section, together with right mindfulness and right concentration (*M.* I, 301).

Energy and Mindfulness

The relationship of *viriya* to mindfulness can on closer inspection also be seen in the context of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*. Each of these four needs be developed with the help of *ātāpi* (*M.* I, 56), a term that stands for resolute effort. Though the term *viriya* is not mentioned explicitly, the same quality would be implicit in *ātāpi*.

The Importance and Development of *Viriya*

In this way, *viriya* can be seen to take up some role or the other in the context of each of the seven sets of *bodhipakkhiya dhammas*. This recurrent contribution of *viriya* to each of these sets is an impressive testimony to its importance and relevance in regard to any aspect of the path.

In fact, as long as *viriya* is established and directed towards wholesome things, unwholesomeness has no scope to manifest (*A.* III, 5). *Viriya* is also of use when one has to patiently bear with hostility by others (*M.* I, 186); and can help to overcome a disease (*D.* II, 99).

Since *viriya* is present in each of the *jhānas* (*M.* III, 25), accomplishment in the realm of mental tranquillity can also be seen as a benefit of energy. In fact, according to the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* the Buddha-to-be reflected that not only Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta were endowed with energy and other mental faculties, but he also had energy and the same other mental faculties (*M.* I, 164). This reflection inspired the bodhisattva to practise until he eventually reached the same attainments that Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta were teaching. Not only did he match those attainments by relying on *viriya*, but his attainment of the three higher knowledges in the night of his awakening also took place when his energy was aroused and unwavering, *āraddhaṃ viriyaṃ ahosi asallīnaṃ* (*M.* I, 21).

The definition of *viriya* given in the *Visuddhimagga* similarly reflects the importance of this quality in the

early Buddhist path to liberation. According to this definition, *viriya* should be regarded as the root of all attainments, *sabbasampattīnaṃ mūlaṃ* (*Vism.* 464). In sum, *viriya* can be understood "as essentially that which supports and sustains any particular achievement".5 To borrow a simile from the *Milindapañha*, the function of *viriya* in regard to wholesome things is comparable to a piece of wood used to shore up a house that is in danger of collapsing (*Miln.* 36).

In addition to highlighting the importance of *viriya*, the *Visuddhimagga* also offers an analysis of its qualities. According to this analysis, the characteristic of *viriya* is exertion, its function is to consolidate conascent [mental states], it manifests as non-collapse and its proximate cause is a sense of urgency, *ussāhanalakkhaṇaṃ, sahajātānaṃ upatthambhanarasaṃ, asaṃsīdanabhāvapaccupaṭṭhānaṃ ... saṃvegapadaṭṭhānaṃ* (*Vism.* 464).

By referring to a sense of urgency as the proximate cause for *viriya*, the *Visuddhimagga* points to a way in which energy can be aroused. Examples are recollection of the possibility of being stricken by death or disease, which when carried out properly would indeed arouse a sense of urgency (*A.* III, 101). In order to arouse energy for progress on the path one also needs to be free from doubts about the *Tathāgata* (*S.* V, 225).

According to a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, only a mind that is not overwhelmed by attraction to the six senses will be able to arouse the kind of energy that leads to liberation (*S.* IV, 125). Another and rather self-evident obstruction to energy is laziness. The discourses mention altogether eight types of this obstruction, eight *kusītavatthūni* (*D.* III, 255), such as when one takes a rest in anticipation of the fatigue that will be caused by doing something that needs to be done, or else when one gives in to some rather minor negligible tiredness.

Imagery Related to *Viriya*

In addition to highlighting the importance of *viriya* and the requirements for its development, the discourses illustrate the quality of *viriya* with a range of similes. Thus *viriya* is compared to the wheel of a chariot (*S.* V, 6); or to a beast of burden that moves towards security from bondage without turning back (*S.* I, 173 or *Sn.* 79). To implement *viriya* is comparable to using one's hands and feet in order to row a makeshift raft over water from a shore beset by danger to the other shore, which is safe and free from danger (*S.* IV, 175). These images bring out the instrumental function of *viriya* in regard to progress on the path.

The imagery of employing one's hand and feet recurs again in another simile as an illustration of energy. A difference in this case is that instead of crossing a water, here *viriya* is required in order to get out of a dangerous current (*It.* 114). The current in this imagery represents craving, hence the point of this simile would be to illustrate "'the struggle of energy' (*viriya*) needed to overcome misdirected desire".6

The nuance of a sustained struggle recurs in several other imageries related to the same term. Thus *viriya* is like digging into an anthill (*M.* I, 144), which after having removed various obstructions finally yields a *nāga* that symbolizes final liberation. Or else to put forth exertion is comparable to heating up an arrow in order to make it straight (*M.* II, 225). *Viriya* is like a fourfold army that enables a king to conquer any direction, or like a large body of troops that ensures the safety of a citadel (*A.* III, 152 and *A.* IV, 110).

Another set of similes highlight the beneficial aspects of *viriya*. Like a shopkeeper who is capable at buying and selling will soon increase his wealth, in the same way *viriya* will lead to an increase of what is wholesome (*A.* I, 117). *Viriya* in its function of right effort is similar to a water outlet for a field, which ensures that the crop will come to growth and maturity (*A.* IV, 238). When combined with other wholesome qualities, *viriya* leads to progress comparable to the waxing moon (*A.* V, 124). As a factor of awakening, *viriya* is like the gem of a wheel-turning king (*S.* V, 99). The four right exertions are a treasure of the Buddha's teaching, comparable to the treasures found in the deep ocean (*A.* IV, 203). Hence one who has no *viriya* in regard to wholesome things is like a poor and needy person (*A.* III, 352)

One of the perhaps most famous imageries related to *viriya* is the lute example that the Buddha delivered to Soṇa, who through excessive striving had come to the point of wanting to give up monkhood. The Buddha made it clear to Soṇa that the extremes of excessive striving and giving up are like a lute whose

strings are too tight or too loose (*A.* III, 375). In both cases the lute is unfit for being employed in a musical performance. This imagery brings out the need to undertake mental cultivation with an attitude of balance, with a well-adjusted and finely tuned amount of energy and effort.

In this way, the simile of the lute provides an important spotlight on the fact that *viriya* can not only be deficient, but also excessive. As another passage explains, to strive energetically can turn out to be just restlessness (*A.* I, 282), which will prevent realization from taking place. Hence *viriya* as an indispensable requirement for progress on the path needs to be developed in a balanced manner in order to avoid the two extremes of submitting to personal laziness and idiosyncrasies on the one hand, and excessive self-assertive striving and self-inflicted suffering on the other.

Those who always make a firm effort
And meditate continuously,
These wise ones will experience *Nibbāna*,
The supreme freedom from bondage.
Te jhāyino sātatikā
niccaṃ daḷhaparakkamā,
phusanti dhīrā nibbānaṃ
yogakkhemaṃ anuttaraṃ (*Dhp.* 23).

Anālayo

References

1 Cf. e.g. the proclamation by Makkhali Gosāla at *D.* I, 53: *n' atthi viriyaṃ.* Warder: "On the relationships between early Buddhism and other contemporary systems", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1956: 44, explains that "the general outlook of society at that time was coloured with fatalism ... in this environment Buddhism ... reflected the desire to overcome the hopelessness of fatalistic outlooks". Rhys Davids: "On the Will in Buddhism", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898: 50, points out that in early Buddhism "will as such, desire as such, are not to be repressed", instead, "the culture and development of them are absolutely indispensable to any advance towards the attainment" of liberation.

2 On *vīrya* in the Mahāyāna traditions cf. Har Dayal: *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi 1970: 216-221.

3 The Sanskrit counterpart is *samyak-prahāṇa*, "right abandoning". Gethin: *The Buddhist Path to Awakening*, Leiden 1992: 70 points out that to speak of four right exertions would fit better as a general description of the formula than four right abandonings, "since all four parts of the formula speak of one who endeavours (*padahati/ pradadhāti*) while only the second part explicitly mentions abandoning (*pahānāya/ prahāṇāya*)".

4 Cf. also *S.* V, 196: *catusu sammappadhānesu, ettha viriyindriyaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ*, and *S.* V, 199: *cattāro sammappadhāne ārabbha viriyaṃ paṭilabhati, idaṃ vuccati viriyindriyaṃ.*

5 Gethin op. cit. 1992: 78

6 Matthews: "Notes on the Concept of the Will in Early Buddhism", *The Sri Lankan Journal of the Humanities*, 1976: 159.

VIRIYAPĀRAMITĀ See **PĀRAMITĀ**

VIRIYASAMBOJJHAṄGA See **BOJJHAṄGA**

VISĀKHĀ: The laywoman, Visākhā, comes through in the Buddhist texts as a very strong, vibrant personality. She is regarded as the foremost laywoman benefactress of the Buddha1. During the time of the Buddha Kassapa she is said to have been Saṅghadāsi, the youngest of King Kiki's seven daughters. They were to become, in the time of the Buddha Gotama, theris Mahāpajāpati Gotami, Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā, Paṭācārā, Dhammadinnā and also Mahāmāyādevi and Visākhā2. Thus, according to the texts she is considered as belonging in that very special category of women thought she did not attain arahantship during her life time as did the afore mentioned theris. Mahāmāyādevi, the only other non-theri in the group of seven, died one week after she gave birth to the Bodhisatta and is said to have been born in a heavenly abode as a deva king to whom the Buddha preached the *Abhidhamma*.

No other laywoman has been extolled and written about in detail as Visākhā in the Buddhist texts, especially in the commentary to the *Dhammapada*.

In the person of Visākhā the reader of *Dhammapada* commentary is presented a model of womanly perfection moulded not only in the traditional norms of that day but Buddhist values as well. We therefore see her making decisions as Master of her own inheritance, possessing a remarkable spirit of independence for a woman of that age. At the same time she would have conformed to the traditional norms that governed the conduct of an ideal wife which the Buddha did not decry, but praised in innumerable *suttas3*.

Once the Buddha delivered the following *sutta* to Visākhā which detailed the conduct of a wife towards her husband which is a prototype of the advice he always gave young women regarding this subject4.

"Endowed with four qualities, Visākhā, womenfolk win power in this world; this world is in their grasp. With what four?

Herein, Visākhā, a woman is capable at her work; she manages the servants; in her ways she is lovely to her lord; she guards his wealth.

And how, Visākhā, is a woman capable at her work?

Whatever her husband's home industries, whether in wool or cotton, therin she is deft and nimble, gifted with an inquiring turn of mind into all such undertakings, she is able to arrange and carry them out. In this way a woman is capable at her work.

And how does she manage the servants?

Whatever her husband's household consists of, slaves, messengers or workfolk-she knows the work of each by what has been done; she knows their remissions by what has not been done; she knows the strength and the weakness of the sick; she divides the hard and soft food, each according to his share. In this way she manages the servants.

And how is she lovely in her ways to her Lord? What her Lord reckons to be unlovely, that she would not commit for very life's sake.

Thus she is lovely in her ways to her Lord. And how does she guard his wealth? Whatever money, corn, silver or gold her husband brings home, she keeps it secure by watch and ward; and of it she is no robber, thief, carouser or wastrel. In this way she guards his wealth. Endowed with these four qualities, Visākhā, womenfolk win power in the world, this world is in their grasp. Endowed with these four qualities, Visākhā, womenfolk win power in the next world, the next world is in their grasp. What four? Herein, Visākhā. A woman is accomplished in faith, virtue, charity and wisdom..." It is said such a woman is born where lovely devas dwell.

According to Buddhism, wifely duties are not done with servility as was the teaching of the brahmanas. Wifely duties are to be done for their intrinsic worth because they achieve an individual's perfection.

We may safely assume she followed the Buddhas's advice with regard to fulfilling wifely duties for she seems to have won the Buddha's complete approval. She is the only lay woman the Buddha referred to as "My daughter5"

There are four benefits to be had from giving alms: *Āyu* (long life), *vaṇṇa* (beauty), *sukha* (happiness), *bala*(strength)6. It appears Visākhā had all these attributes. Benefits of almsgiving are also mentioned as *āyu, vaṇṇa, sukha, bala* and *yasa*7. The additional '*yasa*' denotes fame. Visākhā had this attribute also.

The story of Visākhā in the *Dhammapada* Commentary illustrates how one may accumulate merit in order to become a 'Visākhā'. There must be the prior wish, a strong determination to become the foremost laywoman benefactress of the Buddha and with that aspiration accumulate merit by doing good deeds. But the story of Visākhā illustrates much more than just that. Visākhā is the epitome of maternal qualities a mother naturally has towards her child as mentioned in the *Metta Sutta, Sutta Nipāta*.

" Just as a mother would protect her only child
At the risk of her own life,
Even so let one cultivate a boundless heart
Towards all beings"8

The story of Visākhā makes a significant statement according to Buddhist thinking. The highest social position a person can attain in the scale of Buddhist values in a truly Buddhist society is not a person who is of the *kattiya* or *brahmana* cast or one who has the most amount of wealth, but one who is an arahant.

"The kattiya's the best among those who value clan. He with knowledge and conduct is best of gods and men"[9]

During Buddha Padumuttara's time, the companion of a friend noted her friend was conversing with the Buddha on respectful terms,having attained the obvious confidence of the Buddha. The companion too wished to have that very same position some day. "In what relationship is that woman to you, Sir?" the companion of the friend asked the Buddha Padumuttara. "She is the chief of my benefactresses" he replied. "Could I also be the Chief Benefactress of a Buddha?" She asked and he replied that she could if she made a fervent wish for one hundred thousand world cycles.So, she made the wish by inviting the Buddha Padumuttara with his Saṅgha (numbering one hundred thousand) for alms to her house for seven days, at the end of which she prostrated herself at his feet and made the asseveration that by the giving of alms she would not wish for heavenly abodes but the eight boons from a Buddha like him and stand in the relation of a chief benefactress to him and mother to the Saṅgha. She reiterated this wish during the time of the Buddha Kassapa and was reassured by him that her wish would be fulfilled. The wish materialized in the Buddha Gotamas's time[10].

We see in Visākhā's story how the Buddha's egalitarian doctrine teaches social mobility-the prime position in society being reached through one's own efforts. We may note that Visākhā was not of the *kattiya* or *brahmana* caste but of the seṭṭhi caste. Yet she attained a foremost social position in a Buddhist society, not merely due to her wealth but due to her munificence towards the Buddha and the Saṅgha.Perhaps what the commentator is saying is that the highest *dāna* is giving to the Buddha and the Saṅgha though nowhere does the Buddha make this claim. The Bodhisatta ideal is selfless giving to all and sundry as in the *Vessantara Jātaka*. Another *Dhammapada* stanza states:

" *Abhivādana sīlissa*
Niccham vaddhāpacayino
Cattāro dhamma vaḍḍhanti
Ayu,vaṇṇo, sukhaṃ, balaṃ"[11]

Another statement that the story of Visākhā makes is that there is no division in a truly Buddhgist society between the lay and spiritual life where the true disciple is concerned. The mundane and the spiritual divisions merge in the *Sāvaka Saṅgha*, the true disciples. The chief of the Buddha's lay benefactors, whether male or female enjoys an exalted status without pride and arrogance, lost in the devotion of service for that ideal of the triple gem, taking joy in the fact of his/her ability to render valuable service for the continuity of the dispensation. It is a giving without the slightest hint of stinginess holding back the thought of generosity.

This thought is embedded in the stanza chanted daily by devotees when making material offerings to the Buddha:[1]

" By this offering to the Buddha
Done with a pure mind
May the world (those in the world)
be ever happy" [12]

The wish for the dispensation to last long is implicit in the offering. The purity of the motive makes the offering immeasurably valuable and redounds on the giver.

I seems the strength and purity of her motive kept Visākhā, like an indefatigable dynamo, performing meritorious deed after deed in *saṃsāra* until her *dāna pāramitā* was perfected.

However true to the doctrine, the texts do not say that Visākhā attained the highest goal through the giving of alms and munificence showered on the Buddha and the *Saṅgha*. Though her motive was chaste, the reward would be birth in a heavenly abode13 not the attainment of *nibbāna*, the end of the cycle of rebirths. Therefore, in the social scale of the true Buddhist society, the highest attainable position is the *arahant*.

Visākhā, though wise, and a *sotāpatti* at the age of seven, she was still in the world of *saṃsāra* with the strong emotions of a mother, beloved of the people and the *Saṅgha* and reckognized by the Buddha for her generous qualities. Visākhā's services to the triple gem are immeasurable for there have to be Anāthapiṇḍikas and Visākhās for the dispensation to continue.

The story of Visākhā:

The *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* states that Visākhā was born in Bhaddhiya in the kingdom of

Aṅga14. Her grandfather, Meṇḍaka was an immensely wealthy *seṭṭhi*, a merchant 'prince' who it is said, possessed miraculous powers. His wealth comprised fertile land from which he derived much grain. He also had vast herds of cattle, gold, houses, chariots, horses and innumerable employees and slaves. If he bathed, put on white clothes and sat outside his granary, there would be a veritable shower of grain on to his granary floor. His chief wife, Mahachanda Padumā, presided over the serving of food to their extensive household of employees, labourers and slaves.If she sat by a pint-pot of boiled rice and a dish of curry she could feed all their employees, labourers and slaves. Their eldest son, Dhananjaya (Visākhā's father) with a purse full of one thousand pieces of money could pay six months' wages to all their employees. Dhananjaya's chief wife Sumanadevi, Visākhā's mother,if she sat by a four-bushel basket of rice she could give six months' rations of rice to all their employees, labourers and slaves. One of their slaves, Puṇṇa, could plough seven furrows at once, three on either side and one in the centre of the plough.

Visākhā did not possess such miraculous powers of producing wealth except that she had the strength of five elephants1[5]

Besides Meṇḍaka, there were four other very rich merchants in Bhaddhiya in King Bimbisara's territory: Jotiya, Jaṭila,Puṇṇaka and Kākavaliya.King Pasenadi Kosala did not have such wealthy merchants in his kingdom, so he requested King Bimbisara to let one of those five merchants come and reside in his territory. He felt free to make this request because they were related through marriage, his queen being the sister of Bimbisara's queen. Since it would have been impossible to resettle such powerful merchants as Meṇḍaka, Jotiya, etc.elsewhere, King Bimbisara asked Dhananjaya if he would be willing to go and reside in King Pasenadi Kosala's realm to which Dhananjaya agreed.King Pasenadi Kosala himself came with a retinue to conduct him to Savatthi. However, when they bivouacked for the night at a pleasant spot seven leagues from Savatthi, Dhananjaya liked the countryside so much that he requested the king to let him and his very large retinue settle down there. The king agreed and then and there drew up a plan for the city and gave it over to him. By this fact, because the city was "made in the evening"(*sāyaṃ*) it was called Sāketa.

Visākhā probably inherited her ancestors' genius in organizational skill and business acumen. She was not a spendthrift though generous beyond limit to the Buddha and the Saṅgha.The impression created in the *Dhammapada* Commentary is that she understood the value of her immense assets. On her wedding night itself she went with her slave maids with lighted torches to the stables to comfort her thoroughbred mare which was delivering a foal. She washed her and rubbed her down with oil and saw that the foal was alright.This act also shows her strong compassionate nature.

Visākhā was so popular that she received gifts from relatives even after her wedding. On one occasion she was requested to pay custom's duty on one expensive gift.Visākhā,it is said, went on several occasions to meet the custom's officer concerning the duty and even secured several interviews with the king himself, all of which endeavours were of no avail16 Visākhā. Obviousely, did not believe in parting with money unnecessarily. The king would have looked upon Visākhā and her wealthy family as a source of income in the form of taxes and custom's duties which he would have been loath to forego.Visākhā, greately vexed over the matter, went to the Buddha to complain but he merely remarked with his customary philosophic wisdom:

"Painful is all subjection; blissful is all control; By sharing men are vexed; hard to escape are bonds."

In Visākhā's way of thinking, being lavishly generous to the Buddha and the Saṅgha was a different matter altogether.

It is mostly in the *Dhammapada* Commentary that a life size portrait of Visākhā emerges, though there are scattered references to her in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and its commentary and the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. The *Dhammapada* Commentary is studded with ornamentation and exaggerations elevating her almost to a legendary figure. Once, according to its account, King Pasenadi Kosala, in order to test her reputed strength, released an elephant against her. She took its trunk in her thumb and forefinger and forced it back so that it was compelled to sit on its haunches.

When she was seven years old and when her family was still living in Bhaddhiya, the Buddha perceiving that the Brahmin, Sela, and some of his kinsfolk were ready for conversion, decided to go there.Mendaka,

hearing of his arrival in Bhaddhiya, sent Visākhā with her five hundred slave maids in attendance in five hundred chariots to listen to a sermon delivered by the Buddha. Visākhā, though only seven years old, knew how to conduct herself with respectful decorum and having stopped the carriages some distance away, walked on foot to his presence. Then, having worshipped him, stood on one side to listen to him. When the Buddha preached to her she attained the first stage of sainthood, *sotāpatti*. It is Said Meṇḍaka also listened to him and attained *sotāpatti*.

At the time when Dhananjaya and his family were residing in Sāketa, there was a *seṭṭhi* by the name of Migāra residing in Savatthi. When his son came to a marriageable age, Migāra and his wife wished to find him a suitable bride. Puṇṇavaddhana, the son, was quite indifferent to the idea of marriage unless his parents could find him a bride who possessed all five perfections of beauty- *pañcakalyāna*. When the parents inquired from him what the five perfections of beauty are, he replied, "Beauty of hair, beauty of flesh, beauty of bone, beauty of skin, beauty of youth.17

Elaborating further, the account goes on:

"The hair of a woman who is experiencing the reward of great merit is like a peacock's tail and, when it is loosened and allowed to fall, reaches to the bottom of the tunic, where the ends turn and point upwards. This is 'beauty of hair' .The lips are of a fine colour, resembling a bright red gourd, and are smooth and pleasant to the touch. This is "Perfection of flesh" .The teeth are white with even interstices resembling a row of diamonds set upright, or evenly cut mother-of pearl. This is "beauty of bone" .The skin, even without application of sandalwood perfume, or any rouge, or other cosmetic is glossy like a blue- lotus wreath, and white like a wreath of *kanikara* flowers. This is "beauty of skin" She possesses a youthfulness as fresh when she has brought forth ten times as if she had brought forth but once. This is "beauty of youth"

It is said Visākhā fulfilled all these conditions, even down to producing ten sons and ten daughters after marrying Puṇṇavaddhana and yet remained like a young girl of sixteen even when she was a grand mother.

Visākhā appears to have fulfilled the standards of perfection held up for women of that time found also in the *Ithi Ratana* (woman treasure) possessed by King Mahā Sudassana, the great king of glory18. In the *sutta* concerning the righteous king, Sudassana, who possessed seven treasures, one being the " woman treasure", the Buddha tells Ven. Ananda:

"... there appeared to the Great king of Glory the woman-treasure, graceful in figure, beautiful in appearance, charming in manner and of the most fine expression, neither very tall, nor very short, neither very stout, nor very slim, neither very dark nor fair, surpassing human beauty, she had attained unto the beauty of the gods.

" The touch too, Ananda, of the skin of that wonderous woman was as touch of cotton or of cotton wool: in the cold her limbs were warm, in the heat her limbs were cool; while from her body was wafted the perfume of sandal wood and from her mouth the perfume of the lotus.

" That pearl among woman too, Ananda, used to rise up before the king of Glory and after him retire to rest; pleasant was she in speech, and ever on the watch to hear what she might do in order so to act as to give him pleasure.

"That pearl among women, too, Ananda, was never, even in thought, unfaithful to the Great King of Glory, how much less then could she be so with the body!

" Such, Ananda was the pearl among women who appeared to the Great King of Glory"

It is said Puṇṇavaddhana's parents sent eight Brahmins to comb the countryside in order to find such a maiden who might have the five perfections of beauty. They finally found her not in Savatthi but in Saketa where she was residing with her parents.

The eight Brahmins arrived in Saketa on the festive occasion of a "Public Day" when all the eligible young girls come out of their houses and walk on foot with their attendants to bathe at the river and the eligible young men line the streets and as the girls pass by choose one they fancy, who is of their own caste, and throw a wreath of flowers on her head which amounts to a proposal of marriage. Visākhā and her attendants also went to bathe at the river. Then without any warning came a shower of rain. Everyone ran into a hall by the river bank where the Brahmins were standing

looking at the young girls hoping to find one with the five perfections of beauty but Visākhā went walking at her usual pace. The eight Brahmins saw her and noted all but one of the perfections, that one being "perfection of bone"-her teeth. They could not see how even her teeth were and whether they could be compared to diamonds or mother-of-pearl.

The Brahmins were also curious to find out why she did not run for shelter as the others did. They were wondering if she could be lazy. As she passed them, Visākhā asked them what they were talking about and they told her that they were wondering why she did not come running into the hall as the others did and why she let herself, clothes and all, get wet. She replied that she did not mind getting her clothes wet because she had clothes a-plenty in her home. She didn't want to slip and fall and break a limb for her parents had nurtured her carefully and young girls are like goods on sale in the market. If she should break a limb, she would be an invalid and a burden to everyone and her parents' expectations of her would be shattered. There are four beings, she told the Brahmins that are not shown to advantage when running: A king running in his court in his royal robes, a royal elephant in all its rich caparisons, an ascetic and a woman.

The Brahmins were greatly impressed by Visākhā's reply. Moreover, while she was talking they noted the sweetness of her voice and her even teeth, dazzling like diamonds. They therefore came to a quick decision and placed on Visākhā's head the golden wreath they had been given by Migāra. She then inquired from them as to the family from whom she was receiving the honour and ascertained that they were also of the same *seṭṭhi* caste. She then asked who her young Master was and they replied "Puṇṇavaddhana". She then sat on the floor, as was the custom, perhaps, and sent a message to her father to send her a chariot as walking on foot back home would not have been proper for someone who had received a formal proposal of marriage. Her father, understanding her message, sent five hundred carriages for her and her attendants and the Brahmins. Dhananjaya received the Brahmins with hospitality and ascertained details as to the family who had sent the proposal. Although Migāra was not even half as wealthy as Dhananjaya he gave his consent.

As soon as Migāra heard the good news he made haste to come to the bride's house. Even King Pasenadi Kosala joined the bride groom's party.

It is said that Dhananjaya delegated to Visākhā the responsibility of making arrangements as to which of his houses should be assigned to her father-in-law and which to the king and which to the vice roys, etc. It is said Visākhā saw to all these arrangements to the last detail, assigning such and such houses and servants for such and such persons and even allocating stable men to take charge of the horses of the guests. Dhananjaya invited them all to stay for the rainy season of four months till Visākhā's trousseau was got ready and Sāketa was turned into a wonderful carnival for the entertainment of the guests for the entire four months.

Dhananjaya employed five hundred goldsmiths to make for his daughter the great gold creeper ornament-*Mahālatāpasādhana*- that covered her from head to the hem of her dress. He gave the goldsmiths a thousand *nikkhas* of gold, four pint-pots of diamonds, eleven pint-pots of pearls, twenty two pint-pots of coral, thirty three pint-pots of rubies to be incorporated into the design of the magnificient *Mahalatāpasādhana*. Only two other women possessed the likes of this grand costume. Mallika the wife of Bandula, king of the Mallas, and the daughter of the treasurer of Benares.

At the end of the third month, Sāketa ran out of fuel to cook food for the royal army. Dhananjaya gave orders to take the wood from dilapidated stables and old buildings and the wood therefrom lasted for a fortnight but the *Mahālatāpasādhana* was still not finished. Dhananjaya then gave instruction for the stores to be opened up and all the coarse cloth taken out, dipped in oil and used as fuel. These lasted a fortnight by which time the *Mahālatāpasādhana* was finally ready. Besides this magnificient costume Dhananjaya gave Visākhā a fabulous dowry-five hundred chariots of money, five hundred of gold dishes, five hundred chariots full of silver dishes, five hundred chariots full of copper dishes, five hundred chariots full of clarified butter, five hundred chariots full of agricultural implements such as ploughs shares, one thousand five hundred maid servants in five hundred chariots all dressed in grand cloths and a vast herd of oxen, milch cows and calves, the herd extending for more than three quarter league and eight rods wide.

Ten admonitions were given by Dhananjaya to Visākhā before she left for her bridegroom's household. They were in the form of riddles. Migāra who happened

to be in an adjoining room heard them and was baffled but Visākhā understood the riddles perfectly. She possessed a keen intellect besides wisdom. The admonitions were as follows:

1. The indoor fire is not to be taken out
2. The outdoor fire is not to be brought in
3. Give only to him who gives
4. Give not to him who does not give
5. Give to both who gives and does not give
6. Sit happily
7. Eat happily
8. Sleep happily
9. Wait upon the fire
10. Reverence the household divinities

Dhananjaya then summoned all the guilds in the territories he administered as a treasurer and in the presence of the royal army delegated the responsibility to eight elders to be his daughter's sponsors. If any charge was brought against her in her husband's household, the sponsors would have to investigate them thoroughly before convicting her of any crime. Finally, Dhananjaya had Visākhā taken round in a chariot to all the fourteen villages that were held in fiefdom by him and the villagers told that whoever wished could join the bride's retinue and reside with her as her attendants. All the villages were emptied of residents and the story goes on to say that Migāra on seeing such a multitude of people following in Visākhā's retinue was so taken aback and utterly worried as to how to feed them all, had them beaten off and chased away in spite of Visākhā's remonstrances.

The story shows that Visākhā's family was far more wealthy and powerful than Migāra's but Visākhā conducted herself with great decorum. She is seen to play respectful attention to her in-laws and no doubt to her husband for there are no complaints made against her on that score.

To all the residents of Sāvatthi who sent Visākhā wedding presents she redistributed the gifts among the senders with personal messages addressed to them as " to my mother" or my father" or "my aunt" etc., according to what was appropriate, thus including them all in her family as her kinsfolk. A salient characteristic of Visākhā was her unbounded affection for people, which quality elevated her to almost the level of a legendary figure.

When Visākhā was married into the family of Migāra, the treasurer, who was a non believer of the Buddha and Visakha was requested to serve the holy men they revered.

She was quite prepared to do so but when she found out that she had to serve naked ascetics she was repulsed by their nudity and returned to her apartments. On another occasion when Migāra was having a meal of rich rice gruel from a golden bowl seated on a costly seat and Visākhā was at hand fanning him one of the Buddha's disciples came on Piṇḍapāta and stood at the front door. Visākhā moved a little to a side so that Migāra could see him but Migāra pretended not to see him and went on having his rice gruel. Visākhā then told the bhikkhu "pass on ven'ble sir, my father-in -law is eating stale fare". This remark enraged Migāra who took her words literally and decided to send her away immediately. But Visākhā stood her ground. She pointed out that she was no guardianless common person to be thrown out (at the behest of a father-in -law as was the patriarchal custom during brahmanical times.).She brought to Migāra's attention that there were eight sponsors who had been sent by her father to look into any charges brought against her and only after these investigations were conducted and a judgement reached as to her conduct being guilty or not, would she go. So, Migāra sent for them and they held an inquiry- perhaps the first recorded family court in history Migāra brought many charges against Visākhā, one being the insolent remark she made regarding the stale food he was eating. Visākhā explained that what she meant was that he was living on the effects of his past meritorious deeds and not making new good *karma*.Migāra's next complaint was that he did not understand what Dhananjaya meant in the ten admonitions given to Visākhā before she left her home for her husband's.Visakhā explained that the first meant not to take out of doors any complaints against her in-laws. The second meant not to bring in any criticisms against her in-laws. The third and fourth instructions were in respect of loans, to give loans to those who can re-pay and not to give to those who cannot repay. The fifth and sixth instructions were to give money to poor relatives whether they are able to return it or not. Sit happily meant to sit only after the in-laws and other elders of the house-hold had sat. Eat happily meant to eat only after them, having attended on them. Sleep happily meant retire to bed after everyone else had done so. The last two admonitions meant to attend on her in –laws and to treat them as

divinities. These instructions reflect how careful a bride had to be when in her husband's house according to brahmanical law that prevailed at the time of the Buddha. Although the Buddha did not condone patriarchal law he did not denounce wifely courtesies which conduced to harmony. In fact, a verse, in the *Dhammapada* states that by respecting one's elders one obtains four rewards, long life, beauty, happiness and strength.[19]

Migāra's next complaint was that Visākhā on her wedding night went out behind the house with her maids in waiting with lighted torches.She explained that her thoroughbred mare was delivering a foal and she went to comfort the mare, to wash her with warm water and rub her down with oil and see that the foal was alright.Visākhā was absolved of all the charges brought against her. Then, Visākhā, since she was cleared of all charges said she would leave on her own accord whereupon Migāra had to beg her pardon and request her to stay.Visākhā agreed to stay on one condition that she could invite the Buddha and his Saṅgha to their home and give them alms. This meant freedom to practise one's religion.Migārā consented and Visākhā lost no time in inviting the Buddha and his disciples for *dāna* and requested Migāra to participate in it which he refused. However, he consented to listen to the Buddha's sermon behind a screen after the almsgiving which he did. He was so taken up with the Buddha's sermon. That he attained the stage of *sotāpatti*. Since Visākhā had contrived to bring him in contact with the Buddha and his doctrine, he made the announcement that henceforth Visākhā should be called his mother-Migāramātā- and that she should receive all the honours due to his mother.

All this goes to show that Visākhā possessed a very strong personality, so much so that she practically turned a patriarchal set up into a matriarchal one. It is said her mother-in-law also listened to a sermon delivered by the Buddha and attained the stage of *sotāpatti*. Unfortunately the story of Visākhā mentions nothing of her husband, Puṇṇavaḍḍhana. Throughout the story he is 'off stage' so that we have no way of knowing whether he was with Visākhā in all her charitable works or not. But we hear of no complaints from him. However, we do know that Visākhā had ten sons and ten daughters by him.

Migāra got a lighter ornamental costume made for Visākhā's daily wear as the *Mahālatāpasādhana* was too grand and heavy to wear throughout the day. He had such an ornamental costume made at a cost of one hundred thousand pieces of gold sovereigns, called *Ghanamatthakapasādhana*. On the day he presented it to her he held a festival in her honour and had her bathed in sixteen pots of perfumed water. He also had a mansion built for her, Migāramātupāsāda.

Visākhā, though a *sotapatti* at the age of seven years, was a very emotional person. It is said a grand daughter of her's, of whom she was very fond, Datta, had died20 overcome with grief she came to see the Buddha at an unseasonable time with her clothes and hair all wet. The Buddha understanding her strong maternal instincts asked her whether she would like all the residents of Sāvatthi to be her children. She answered in the affirmative. The Buddha then asked her whether she knew how many residents of Sāvatthi died every day. She replied that about ten died everyday or at least one. " Then, Visākhā" the Buddha said "You would be coming to see me every day at unseasonable times with your hair and clothes wet, would you not?" Visākhā realizing the meaning of the Buddha's words said " Enough of sons and daughters for me, Sir!"

Visākhā was also very emotional when a nephew could not obtain ordination during the rainy season. The monks refused to ordain him during *Vassa*.Because of his intense disappointement, Visākhā too was greately disappointed. According to the account she wept: " *Visākhā Migaramata ujjhāyanti, khāyanti vipāceti..*"*21* so that the monks went and reported the matter to the Buddha who maintained that the relevant Vinaya rule must not be broken. "If one should ordain anyone during the rain retreat there would be an offence of wrong doing." He said.

Everyone had so much confidence in Visākhā's good judgement that when there was a charge of misbehaviour leveled at a certain pregnant *bhikkhuni* and the Buddha gave over the investigation to be handled by Ven'ble Upāli skilled in the Vinaya,he appointed Visākhā along with some other citizens of Sāvatthi and the king to make the necessary investigations as to her guilt or innocence. The *bhikkhuni* was found innocent for she had conceived before she left her marital home to become a nun. The child she gave birth to later became a monk and his name was Kumāra Kassapa, 'Prince Kassapa, on account of the fact that he was adopted by the king

and brought up in the royal palace. The designation helped to differentiate him from other monks called Kassapa.

Visākhā had such a reputation for good fortune that was always invited to houses on festival days. She is said to have given five hundred monks alms in her house every day22. Another source puts down the number at two thousand 23.Later; she assigned her grand daughter (probably Datta) to officiate at these alms giving in her absence.

Visākhā requested eight boons from the Buddha .They were,

1.To give alms to all the monks entering Sāvatthi
2.To give alms to those monks leaving Sāvatthi
3.To give alms to all sick monks
4.To give food to those looking after sick monks.
5.To supply robes for the rainy season.
6.To supply *bhikkhunis* with bathing cloths
7.To supply rice gruel to all the Saṅgha.
8.To supply rice gruel to all the Saṅgha.[24]

The Buddha asked Visākhā why she was requesting all these boons. She gave a well reasoned out reply. She said that many monks go out of Sāvatthi to meditate in forests. Some of these monks having meditated attain various stages of the path and even become arahants.Having attained these stages some of them die. Among those monks returning to Sāvatthi, some bring the news of the passing away of certain of those monks. Then if she were to ask the monk who brought the news whether that monk who had passed away had ever come to Sāvatthi and he were to reply that he has come several times, then she would be exceedingly happy because she knew then that the monk would have benefited by her alms. She would be so filled with joy at the thought that she would experience great tranquility and happiness whereby she would be able to attain the state of *samādhi* (concentration) which is a prerequisite for deep meditation. The Buddha approved of her reasons for requesting the boons and gave her permission for them.

Visākhā wore her fabulous *Mahālatāpasādhana* lightly. No doubt, she entered Sāvatthi as a bride standing in her chariot to show off her grand costume but she did not regard it as an extension of herself. Once when she visited the Buddha on a festival day wearing the *Mahālatāpasādhana*, she removed it and gave it to her lady-in-waiting to keep aside before she went into the presence of the Buddha. This her companion did but forgot to bring it back after the visit. Visākhā gave her companion instructions to fetch it but should Ven. Ananda have kept it aside for safe keeping then she should not bring it. The next day Visākhā offered the *Mahālatāpasādhana* to the Buddha but he told her that the Order would have no use for it whereupon she took back the costume and had it valued. It was valued at ninety millions. She then had it taken around Sāvatthi in a chariot for sale at that price. No one could afford the price; therefore Visākhā bought it back at that very price and offered the money to the Buddha requesting him to say what she could do with it for the Buddha and the Order. The Buddha then asked her if she would like to build another monastery to the east of Jetavanārāmaya. She answered in the affirmative and buying a site to the east of the Jetavanārāmaya for that price she had a monastery built for a further ninety millions. Then before offering it to the Buddha and his Saṅgha she furbished it with costly carpets, couches,etc., and gave alms to the Buddha and his Saṅgha for four months, offered them costly robes, all of which cost another ninety millions and dedicated the monastery to the Buddha and the Order. After the dedication she was so happy that she circumambulated to the Buddha and the Order. After the dedication she was so happy that she circumambulated the monastery several times with her children, grand children and great grand children chanting a *gāthā*25 which went as follows:

"O when shall I a mansion give,
Plastered with mud and stuccoed o'er,
A pleasing monatery-gift?
O this my prayer is now fulfilled!

"O when shall I give household goods,
Benches and stools to sit upon,
And bolsters, pillows for the couch?
O this my prayer is now fulfilled!

"O when shall I provisions give,
The ticket-food so pure and good
Smothered in broth of various meats?
O this my prayer is now fulfilled!

"O when shall I give priestly robes,
Garments of fine Benares cloth,
And linen, cotton goods as well?
O this my prayer is now fulfilled!

"O when shall I give medicine,
Fresh butter, butter clarified,
And honey, treacle, purest oil?
O this my prayer is now fulfilled!"

The monks seeing Visākhā chanting and going round the monastery though she had taken leave of her senses and went and reported the matter to the Buddha.He then explained that " His daughter" had not taken leave of her senses, that she was exceedingly happy that she had achieved her long cherished wish and went on to explain how she had made the wish in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara to be the foremost laywoman benefactress of a future Buddha and a mother to his Order. It was on that occasion that the Buddha recited the *gāthā* that appears in the *Dhammapada* as verse 53 which unfolds the story of Visākhā in the *Dhammapada* Commentary:

"As from a heap of flowers
A garland is made
Even so, many good deeds
Should be done by one born a mortal."

Bhikkhunī Suvimālee.

References

1. *A*.I.26
2. *Dhp.A*.252
3. *A*.IV.viii 42;46;49.*D*.III 182.*A*.iii(33)
4. *A*.IV.viii 49
5. *Dhp.A*.1.251
6. *A*.IV 269
7. *A*.IV
8. *Metta Sutta.Sn.*
9. *Ambaṭṭha Sutta,D.*I.
10. *Dhp.A*.1.251
11. *Dhp*.v.109
12. *"Imāya Buddha pūjāya*
kathāya suddha cetasā
ciraṃ tiṭṭhatu Saddhammo
loko hotu sukhī sadhā"
13. According to *Viharavimanavatthu* (Vv A.189,191) Visākhā was born after death,among the Nimmanaratidevā as the deva-king Sunimmita.Like Sakka and Anatapiṇḍika who will enjoy one hundred and thirty *kappas* of happiness in the Brahma worlds before she finally passes into Nibbana (*D.A* iii 740)
14. *Mahavagga, Vinaya Piṭaka*
15. *Dhp.A* I
16. *Udāna* II 9
17. *Dhp.A*.I
18. *Mahasudassana sutta,D*.ii 169
19. *Dhp*.V.109
20. *Udāna* viii 8
21. *Vin*.I 153
22. *J*.IV 144
23. *Dhp*.A.1.128
24. *Vin*.1.290 ff
25. *Dhp*.A.250.see alsi Henry Clarke Warren,*Buddhism in Translotions*,

VISĀRADA See **VESĀRAJJA**

VISSAKAMMA. Vissakamma is a minor *deva* in the Tāvatiṃsa deva world, portrayed in Pāli Buddhist legendary tales as the artificer or, better, the architect of Sakka, king of *devas*. Always at beck and call of Sakka, he is credited in these legends with the creation of palaces for certain legendary kings as Mahāsudassana and Mahāpanāda and hermitages for the Bodhisattva in a number of *Jātaka* tales. Instances of the creation of hermitages for such personages as Vessantara, Sutasoma, Temiya, Sumedha etc. can be cited. He was sent by Sakka to prince Siddhatta on the day he renounced home life, to bathe and dress him up before he returned home from a tour of the city after hearing the news of the birth of his son. Sakka also sent him to adorn Temiya on the day he left home. He also created on the orders of Sakka the jeweled pavilion at the Gaṇḍamba mango tree where the Buddha performed the twin miracle and also the three stairways of jewels, gold and silver for the Buddha and his retinue of gods and Brahmas to descend from the *deva* world to Saṅkassa.

When, on the instructions of Venerable Mahākassapa, king Ajātasattu built a subterranean *stūpa* as a safe deposit for the relics of the Buddha, Sakka provided him the services of his artificer Vissakamma to assist him in his effort, for the safety of the relics. Just with one screw he fixed a mechanically operating wheel, attached with wooden figures brandishing crystal coloured swords, revolving at the speed of wind. This device which did not allow any one to approach the relic chamber is called a *vāla-sanghāta- yantaṃ* (*DA*.II.609 *ff*). Later, when Emperor Asoka found this secret deposit of relics, it was Vissakamma himself, sent by Sakka, who with just

one arrow shot at the screw, stopped the mechanical device to allow the emperor to reach the relics (*ibid.*614). Vissakamma is also credited with the construction of a jeweled pavilion to place the relics brought by Ven. Sonuttara, to be deposited in the Mahāstūpa at Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. He is also credited with various other services to facilitate the building of this great *stūpa* and the decoration of the whole of Sri Lanka on the day of the ceremony of the enshrinement of relics in the same *stūpa*. The golden vase, in which the Bo-sapling to be planted in Anuradhapura was conveyed to Sri Lanka, also was one of his creations. However there is evidence that the name Vissakamma was considered the designation of an office rather than the personal name of one individual (s.v. Vissakamma, *DPPN*)

The Pāli name Vissakamma is obviously from the Vedic/ Sanskrit word Viśvakarman meaning 'every action', 'accomplishing or creating every thing' which lends to the substantive ' all-maker', 'all- creator' or 'all-doer' applied to the divine artist or architect and used as a personal name or epithet of one or more gods in Vedic literature. In the Ṛgvedic hymns (x.80; 82) Viśvakarman is represented as the universal father and generator, the one all-seeing god who has eyes, faces, arms and feet on all sides. Viśvakarman is also identified with Prajāpati (Brahma), the creator of all things and architect of the universe. In later mythology he is sometimes called the son of Brahmā and identified with Tvaṣṭṛi, the carpenter of gods, who in early Vedic mythology is portrayed as a distinct god holding the office of divine architect. To Viśvakarman is also attributed the revelation of the *Sthāpana-veda*, one of the four *upa-Vedas*, dealing with the art of house building. He also presides over all manual labors as well as the sixty four mechanical arts whence artisans, the Kārus, worship him. In the Brāhmanas he is called the son of Bhuvana while in the epics he is the son of Vasu Prabhāsa and Yogasiddhā. However in the *Purāṇas* he is the son of Vāstu and the father Barhishmati and Saṃjñā in the Rāmāyana he is credited with the building of the city of Lankā for the Rākshasas and having generated the ape Nala who built for Rāma the bridge to cross over to Lankā from the mainland. The name Viśvakarman, meaning doing all acts, also seems to have been applied in early *Vedas* as an epithet to any great god as for instance Sūrya, the Sun. (s.v. Viśva-karman, Monier Wiliams, Sanskrit English Dictionary, p.994).

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VISUDDHI : *Visuddhi*, 'purity' or 'purification', is one of the important terms in the Buddhist vocabulary, since it refers, among other things, also to Nibbāna, the *Summum Bonum* of the teachings of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa, in his *Visuddhimagga*, 'the Path of Purification', explains the term *visuddhi* as *nibbāna*. "Herein," says he, "purification should be understood as *nibbāna* which being devoid of all stains is utterly pure". In the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M*.1.55*f.*) the Buddha introduces the four bases of mindfulness as the "one way for the purification of beings (*sattānaṃ visuddhiyā*), for the overcoming of sorrows and grief, for the ending of suffering and miseries, for winning of the right course and the realization of *nibbāna*". It is significant that these same words are used in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II.194 *f.*) in introducing four 'factors of exertion for purification' (*cattāri pārisuddhi-padhāniyaṅgāni*). The four purities named in this context are those of morality (*sīla*), mind (*citta*), views (*diṭṭhi*) and freedom (*vimutti*).

Here the purity of morality is defined in the following terms in the discourse " In this case a monk is virtuous, he undertakes and disciplines himself in the rules of discipline. This is called the purification of morals". The resolve to bring to perfection such a purification of morals if it is incomplete and, if complete, to supplement it here and there by wisdom, the desire to do so, the effort, exertion, endeavour, persistence, mindfulness and attention applied there to is called " a factor of exertion for the utter purification of morals". In similar terms purification of mind is defined as entering into and abiding in the four *jhānas*. By purification of views is meant the understanding as they have come to be (*yathā bhūta*) the Four Noble Truths. When one possessed of these three factors detaches one's mind from enticing conditions (*rajanīyesu dhammesu*) and releases his mind by means of conditions that release (*vimocanīyesu dhammesu*) and, in so doing, he attains perfect freedom (*sammā vimuttiṃ phusati*)

The *Dasuttara Sutta* (*D*.III.288) adds five more to this list of factors of exertion for purification to make it into a total of nine factors in all. These five additional factors are, i. Purification of crossing over doubt, ii. Purification of knowledge and insight into the path (*magga*) and what is non-path (*amagga*), iii.Purification of knowledge and insight into course of progress (*paṭipadā*), iv.Purification arising from knowledge and insight (*ñāṇa-dassana*), and v.Purity

of wisdom *(paññā)*. Of these nine factors seven forms the list of purities (*visuddhi*) in the *Rathavinīta Sutta* (*M*.1.145 *ff*.). But Buddhaghosa's explanation of some of these factors do not seem to be in full accord with the explanations given, as per above, in the *Anguttara Nikāya*. Thus by i. moral purity Buddhaghosa takes the fourfold purificating disciplines (*catu-pārisuddhi-sīla)* with the capacity to achieving purity; ii. Purity of mind are the thoroughly mastered eight attainments; (*paguṇa- samāpattiyo)* forming the basis for insight *(vipassanā)*; iii. Purity of views is the insight into name and form based on conditions (*sappaccaya nāmarūpa- dassana)*; iv. Purity of crossing over doubt is the knowledge of conditionality (*paccayākāra)*. " He crosses over doubt" says the commentator, " seeing that things roll on in all the three divisions of time according to conditions (*paccayavaseneva)*"; v. Explaining 'purity by knowledge and insight in to the path and what is non- path, the commentator states that " effulgence (*obhāsa)* is not the way. The knowledge arising and passing away (*udayabbaya)* that has entered the process (*vīthipaṭipannaṃ)* is the way. vi. Purity of knowledge and insight into the course' is according to Buddhaghosa, "insight leading to (path) ascent (*vuṭṭhānagāminī vipassanā)* in the *Rathavinīta*, but here it is the insight at a tender stage *(taruṇa-vipassanā)*; vii 'purity arising from knowledge and insight', says Buddhaghosa, refers to the Path *(magga)* in the *Rathavinīta*, but here it is the insight leading to (path) ascent; viii ' Purification by wisdom' *(paññā)* refers to the wisdom of the fruition of Arahanthood and ix. ' Purification by freedom' (*vimutti)* is the freedom of the fruition of Arahanthood (*DA*. iii. 1062).

The Seven Purifications

In the *Ratavinīta Sutta* (*M*.1.145*ff*.) is a quite absorbing discussion between the two Arahants, Puṇṇa Mantāniputta and Sāriputta, on the seven purities or purifications which mark seven stages in the path of emancipation leading to the realization of complete Nibbāna without clinging *(anupādhisesa parinibbāna)*. The nine purifications in the *Dasuttara Sutta* minus the last two, 'purification of wisdom' and 'purification of freedom', are enumerated here as the seven purifications as given by Arahant Puṇṇa Mantāniputta in reply to questions put to him by Arahant Sāriputta. The Elder asserts that none of the seven can be identified with the goal of the noble life (*brahmacariya)* he lives under the Buddha, nor can it be said his life is lived for any single one of them but only for the realization of 'complete Nibbāna without clinging'. At the same time he asserts that the complete Nibbāna without clinging is not anything apart from these states. If it were so, says the elder, an ordinary person also can be said to have attained complete Nibbāna without clinging, for an ordinary person is devoid of these seven purities. To elucidate this point the Elder Mantāniputta cites the parable of the stage coach of King Pasenadi Kosala, who, starting at the palace gate of Sāvatthi, reaches the palace gate of Saketa by a relay of seven chariots. He starts his journey by the first chariot by which he reaches the second. Changing over to the second the king reaches the third in it. With the third he reaches the fourth and, so on until he reaches the palace gate in Saketa by the seventh. Similarly with the purification of morality one reaches the purification of the mind. With the purity of the mind one reaches the purity of views and so on until the purity of knowledge and insight leads him to complete Nibbāna free from clinging. It is a graduated path. Any one of the seven purities taken singly cannot lead one to the ultimate goal. Each one of the seven has its contribution to be made for the final outcome, which is the sum total of the seven purities. Just like the absence of any one of the chariots in the relay would have cut short the king's progress to his goal at Saketa, the absence of any one of the seven purities would hamper the progress of the seeker of Nibbāna in reaching his goal.

For a more detailed study on *visuddhi*, based on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* and possibly also Upatissa's *Vimuttimagga*, see the article on *Visuddhi* in the Buddhist Dictionary by Nyanātiloka Thera

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VISUDDHIMAGGA: Visuddhimagga or "Path of Purification", is the compendium of Theravāda Buddhism, composed by the great commentator Buddhaghosācarya in the Fifth century A.C., when he arrived in Lanka, having undertaken the task of translating *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās* to Māgadhi (Pāli). As per the *Mahāvamsa*, Buddhaghosa wrote it in order to exhibit his erudition to the Mahāvihāra monks, who wanted to test his competence to undertake the vital responsibility of translating the Sīhala commentaries to Pāli.

The Mahāvamsa Account (Chapter XXXVII verse 215 f) relates the story connected to Buddhaghosa's writing the *Visuddhimagga*. According to it, he was born to a Brahamin family in the vicinity of the Bodhimaṇḍa in Jambudīpa. He was an expert in the Three Vedas and knew all the crafts and sciences (*kalā śilpa*). He was converted to Buddhism by a Mahāthera named Revata and as he possessed a profound voice similar to that of a Buddha, he came to be known as Buddhaghoṣa . Later when he wanted to write a commentary to the *Tripiṭaka* (Three Basksets of the Canon) , Elder Revata explained that only the texts (Pāli) are available in Jambudīpa (India), while the commentaries rehearsed at the "Three Councils" are preserved in the land of *Sīhalas*, which were taken there by Mahā Mahinda Thera and kept in the language of *Sīhalas*. Elder Revata requested his pupil to proceed to Sihaladesa and translate the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakatās* to Māgadhi (Pāli), which would be beneficial to the whole world.

Accordingly Buddhaghosa arrived in the island of *Sīhalas*, proceeded to the Mahāpadhāna Hall in Anuradhapura and listened to the Sīhala commentaries and Theravāda from the Elder Saṅghapāla. He became thoroughly convinced that they contained the true meaning of the Doctrine of the Buddha and requested respectfully the Saṅgha to provide him access to all their books, to translate the *Aṭṭhakathās*. But the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra were not prepared to entrust him with that responsibility without ascertaining his skill and gave him two stanzas to comment upon, to show his erudition. But the *Mahāvaṁsa* does not say what these stanzas are, but it is clear from the *Visuddhimagga* that the two stanzas are from the *Devatā Saṁyutta* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*. The first stanza being the question a certain deity directed to the Buddha and the second containing the answer given by the Buddha to the deity, which read as follows:

"*Anto jaṭā bahijaṭā jaṭāya jaṭitāpajā Taṃ taṃ Gotama pucchāmi ko imaṃ vijaṭaye jaṭaṃ*"

"*Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño Cittaṃ paññam ca bhāvayam Ātāpi nipako bhikkhū so imaṃ vijaṭaye jaṭam*"

"There are these two tangles, the inner tangle and the outer tangle. The people are enmeshed in these two tangles; and I ask thee Gotama, this question, who succeeds in disentangling these tangles."

"When a wiseman establishes well in virtue, develops his mind and attains wisdom, such a bhikkhu ,ardent and sagacious , succeeds in disentangling this tangle."

Mahāvaṃsa proceeds with the narration and says that Buddhaghoṣa summarized the Three *Piṭakas* together with *Aṭṭhakathās* and composed a treatise named *Visuddhimagga* "Path for Purification", commenting on the two stanzas.

Buddhaghosa commenced writing the *Visuddhimaga* at a spot near the Mahābodhi in Anuradhapura.

The *Mahāvamsa* further says that the deities, in order to exhibit the erudition of Buddhaghoṣa hid the original work of Buddhaghosa, but Buddhaghoṣa was not disheartened. He wrote the book for the second time and it too was concealed by the deities. When Buddhaghoṣa wrote the book for the third time the deities produced the two hidden copies and to the astonishment of all who had gathered there, all three copies were identical. Perhaps this incident may represent Buddhaghoṣa making three editions of the work before it was put into final shape as suggested by G.P. Malalasekera, (*Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 85)

Sources of the Visuddhimagga: According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Buddhaghoṣa was given access to the Mahāvihāra books or to the Mahāvihāra library, only when he proved his erudition. But it is evident from the *Visuddhimagga* that he had access to books even before, for it is clear that he has made full use of the library to write the *Visuddhimagga*. From beginning to end it is seen that Buddhaghoṣa closely followed the Three *Piṭakas* together with the commentaries. One may argue that Buddhaghoṣa knew the three *piṭakas* by heart even before coming to the island, which is not impossible and it was not necessary for him to read them in the Mahāvihāra library. But the commentaries he made use of in writing the *Visuddhimagga* were definitely from the Mahāvihāra Library. Among the books he often refers or quotes from are the *Vibhaṅga* , the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, and the *Niddesa* . Buddhaghoṣa also has utilized post canonical works like *Milinda Pañhā* and the *Peṭakopdadesa*. In addition to the written sources, he has relied on unwritten views or opinions of *Porāṇas* (ancients), and *Pubbācāriyas* (former teachers)

recognized as authorities on the subject. Some times Buddhaghoṣa merely says "so it has been said" (*vuttaṃ ti etaṃ*), but does not give any indication as to what those authorities are.

There is sufficient reason to presume that Buddhaghoṣa had studied the Mādhyamika philosophy promulgated by Nāgārjuna, influence of which is observed in the *Visuddhimagga*. Buddhaghoṣa in the *Maggāmagga Ñāṇadassana Visuddhi Niddesa* describes the impermanence (*anicca*) of *dhamma* thus:

"*Māyā marici, supinata, alātacakka, gandhabbanagara, phena, kadali ādayo viya asārā nissārā cāti pi upaṭṭhahanti*".

"They are like a mirage, like a dream, like a circle of a whirling fire brand, like a goblin city, like froth, like a plantain trunk," etc.

This appears to have a close resemblance to Nāgārjuna's following stanza in his *Mādhyamikakārikā* '*Rūpa śabdā rasā sparśā gandhā dharmā ca kevalah Gāndharva nagarākārā marici svappna sannibah*'

"Material form, sound, taste, touch smell, as well as concepts are comparable to the city of goblins and resemble mirage and dreams." (Nagarjuna's *Mādhyamikakārikā* Chapter XXXIII, Verse 8).

As evident from the *Visuddhimagga* Buddhaghoṣa was well versed in other philosophical systems, too. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* he had mastered the Three Vedas before he became a Buddhist. It is also clear from the *Visuddhimagga* that Buddhaghoṣa was conversant with other Indian Philosophical systems like *Saṅkhya, Vaiśesika* etc. However he does not refer to them by their individual names but, identify them by their philosophies or views (*Visuddhimagga* p. 518, 522, 525 etc.).

Buddhaghoṣa has often referred to the views of the residents of Abayagiri or the Abhayagiri Sect. Here too, he has refrained from identifying them as those at Abhayagiri and calls them "some" (*ekacce*), "others" (*a pare*) certain persons (keci) etc. It is with the help of the *Visuddhimaggaṭīkā* (*Paramatthamañjusā*) that it is discovered that Buddhaghoṣa is referring to those of the Abhayagiri monastery.

Style and Diction: It is evident from the *Visuddhimagga* that the standard of Pāli contained in it is of a very high standard, which shows that the author was a master of the language. His style is clear and lucid. The language resembles that of commentaries. He has successfully expanded the limited vocabulary of the canonical Pāli and made Pāli more flexible and strengthened the capacity of Pāli to express any subtle philosophical idea. He further has bravely introduced new similes and metaphors. There is no doubt that he knew almost all languages of the contemporary Indian society, specially those of the educated elite which might have helped him to strengthen his Pāli.

Often he has interspersed the lengthy prose passages with quoted stanzas and reduced the monotony. In the course of elucidating a certain point, he often cites some appropriate story. In such instances he relates episodes supposed to have taken place in the island itself, which are of utmost importance, historically and sociologically. To cite a few examples, in the chapter on *Indriya saṃvara sīla Niddesa* (Restraint of senses) he relates how a young woman quarreled with her husband and was returning to her relatives, well dressed like a nymph, who was met by Ven. Mahātissa Thera of the Cetiya Pabbata, going towards Anuradhapura, and she laughed loudly to entice the Thera. The Thera who was meditating on the foulness of the body saw her teeth which reminded him of her skeleton.

The Thera was met by her husband who was following her and inquired from the Thera, whether by any chance he saw a woman passing by. The Thera who remembered her as a skeleton replied "Yes I saw a skeleton, but I do not know whether it was a woman or a man". The Thera is reported to have attained Arahantship on the spot with that perception of foulness (*asubhanimitta*). *Vism.* page 201.

Another similar episode speaks of a Mahathera Cittagutta who was residing at a cave by name Karanduka Mahālena, walls of which were adorned with lovely paintings of the renunciations of the Seven Buddhas. But the Thera who was living there for more than sixty years did not see them, as he was thoroughly absorbed in meditation. His attention was drawn to the paintings only when some monks were appreciating them. (*Vism.* p. 30)

Visuddhimagga Kammaṭṭhānagahana Niddesa (Chapter III) described how a young monk, the

nephew of the Mahathera resident at Korakanda accepted daily alms for three rainy months at his parents house, on their request, but did not divulge himself to the parents that he was their son, who had become a monk, in spite of the fact that the parents were longing to see him for a long time, fearing it would disturb his *sīla*. (*Vism.* p. 91)

The *Visuddhimagga* contains many such stories supposed to have originated in the island of Lanka, cited as examples while elucidating a point. There is no doubt that Buddhaghosa culled them from the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās*. These stories add an indigenous flavour to the *Visuddhimagga*. It is also possible to get a glimpse of the social and religious life of the island during the early part of the Anuradhapura period. Some of the stories are supposed to have originated in the Rohana Kingdom in the South and those are valuable for historians who explore the kingdom of Rohana, of which comparatively little is known. Thus in addition to it's religious value the *Visuddhimagga* is an important source book for students of Sri Lanka's history.

At the end of each chapter of the *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghoṣa says that he composed it to gladden the hearts of the virtuous persons (*sādhujanāpamojjatthāya*). Buddhaghoṣa confines each chapter to the given topic. The whole treatise is like a well knitted garland.

Brief examination of the contents of the Visuddhimagga: It is necessary to examine briefly the contents of the *Visuddhimagga* for a reasonable assessment of it. As already stated it was written as a commentary on two stanzas from the *Devatāsamyutta* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, supposed to be the question a deity forwarded to the Buddha and the answer the Buddha gave to the deity concerned. Whether it is Buddhaghoṣa's own selection or given by the Mahāvihāra authorities, as *Mahāvamsa* says, it is an excellent selection under which the totality of the Buddha's teachings found in the Three Baskets (*piṭakas*) could be easily assembled. It contains the three main pillars on which Buddhist philosophy rests, namely virtue (*sīla*), concentration of the mind (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*). In other words all what the Buddha preached for forty five years could be accommodated under the three headings. Buddhaghoṣa comments on the three topics, drawing material or quotations mainly from the texts and the commentaries, which amounts to a discussion on the Buddhist path to purification or leading a person along the path to purification.

Thus the book has three main sections *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā* and is divided into twenty three chapters called "*Niddesas*" or Descriptions. In accordance with the stanza under taken by the author to comment upon, the first chapter describes virtue (*sīla*), the first step of the Buddhist path of purification. The fourfold virtues (*catupārisudda sīla*), *Paṭimokkha* Restraint (*pātimokkhasaṃvarasīla*), virtue of restraint of faculties (*indriyasaṃvara sīla*) , virtue of livelihood purification (*ājīvapārisuddha sīla*) and the virtue of depending on the four requisites, are subjected to a thorough discussion, citing practical problems. The second chapter on ascetic practices (*Dhūtaṅga Niddesa*) discusses the thirteen ascetic practices recommended by the Buddha for those who seek purification. The description of sila the first step of the path is concluded at the end of the second chapter.

The discussion of the second stage of the Path of Purification begins with the third chapter. After firmly establishing oneself in virtue (*sīla*), the person striving for purification has to select a suitable meditation subject for developing concentration of the mind. The Buddha has approved forty meditation subjects for this purpose. The third chapter "*Kammaṭṭhāna gahana Niddesa*" (selection of suitable meditation subjects) explains the following forty meditation subjects.

Ten *Kasinas* (Ten totalities)
Ten *Asubhas* (Ten Foulnesses)
Ten *Anussatis* (Ten Recollections)
Four *Brahmaviharas* (Four Sublime Abidings)
Four *Aruppas* (Four Immaterial States)
One *Saññā* (Perception)
One *Vavatthāna* (Definition).

When the Buddha was alive, he himself recommended suitable meditation subjects for each monk, to suit his individual disposition. The *Visuddhimagga* recommends to the meditators to seek the assistance of good worthy friends (*kalyāṇamitta*) for the purpose.

The fourth chapter is named "*Paṭhavi Kasina Niddesa*" (Earth *Kasina* Description). Before explaining the earth *kasina*, Buddhaghosa provides

guidance for those who begin the meditation. The fifth chapter deals with the remaining nine *ksasinas*. The next five chapters of the *Visuddhimagga* (sixth to tenth) are devoted to explain the meditations on Ten Foulnesses (*Dasa Asubha*), Ten Recollections (*Dasa Anussatis*), Four Sublime States (*Cattāro Brahmavihāra*), Four Immaterial States (*Cattāro Āruppa*), One Perception (*Saññā*), and One Definition (*Vavatthāna*).

The eleventh chapter named *Samādhiniddesa* "Description of Concentration of the mind" discusses meditation on the repulsive nature of nutriment, or food (*Āhārepatikkula Saññā Bhāvanā*) and concentration on the Four Elements (*Catudhātu Vavatthāna Bhāvanā*). This chapter concludes the Description of Concentration of the mind (*Samādhi*), the second phase of the Path of Purification.

The twelfth and thirteenth chapters, *Iddhividha* and *Abhiññā Niddesas*, are devoted to describe the benefits the meditator (*Yogi*) could achieve by developing concentration of the mind (*Samādhi*), namely the Five Super Normal Powers (*Pancābhiññā*).

The final stage of the Path of Purification namely the Development of Wisdom (*paññā*) is taken up for discussion from the fourteenth chapter. This chapter describes the Five categories (*Pañcakkhandhā*) in the Abhidhamma Style. The fifteenth chapter (*Āyatana Dhātu Niddesa*) contains an Abhidhammic description of twelve bases (*dvādasa āyatanas*) and eighteen elements (*aṭṭhadasadhātuyo*). This too has followed the Abhidhammic methodology . The sixteenth chapter provides a description of the twenty two faculties (*bhāvīsati indriyāni*) and the Four Noble Truths (*Cattāri Ariyasaccāni*) and this chapter has been designated as (*Indriya Sacca Niddesa*). The seventeenth chapter "*Paññābhūmi Niddesa*", the soil where wisdom grows, provides a description of "Dependent Origination" (*Paṭiccasamuppāda*). It is observed that *Paṭiccasamuppāda* is subjected to a thorough discussion for the first time, a testimony to Buddhaghosa's profound knowledge of the teachings of the Buddha.

The next chapter which is the eighteenth deals with the purification of views (*Diṭṭhivisuddhi*). There are five purifications a *yogi* has to achieve, such as "Purification of View" (*(Diṭṭhivisuddhi)*, "Purification by Overcoming Doubt" (*Kaṅkhāvitarana Visuddhi*), Purification by knowledge and vision of what is the path and what is not the path" (*Paṭipadāñāṇadassanavisuddhi*), and "Purification by knowledge and vision" (*Ñāṇadassanavisuddhi*). Here the Purification of view is described as the correct seeing of mentality and materiality (*Nāma rūpa dhammānam yathāvadassanam*).

The last chapter which isthe twenty third named (*Paññābhāvanānisamsa Niddesa*) describes the benefits of developing wisdom. It is said that the development of wisdom has many hundred benefits and however long a time were taken over it, would be impossible to explain its benefits in detail. However, its benefits in brief are (i) Removal of various defilements (*ñānakilesa viddhamanam*), (ii)Experience of the taste of the Noble Fruits (*Ariyaphalarasānubhāvanam*), (iii) Ability to attain the attainment of cessation (*Nirodhasamāpattisampajjana samatthata*), (iv) Achievement of Worthiness to receive gifts (*Āhuneyyabhāvadisiddhi*). With this the contents of the *Visuddhimagga* comes to an end.

As the concluding remarks Buddhaghosa says that he composed it after collecting the relevant expositions of the commentaries of the five *nikāyas*. Therefore it is almost free from errors and requests those *yogis* of pure wisdom, to show due respect to the *Visuddhimagga*.

Before he puts down his stylus Buddhaghosa has not forgotten to record that he composed it, accepting a suggestion of Ven. Sanghapāla of Mahāvihāra, a renown Vibhajjavādin and possessed of sublime virtues.

The Unique Position of Visuddhimagga in Pali Literature: Though *Dīpavaṃsa* appears to be anterior, the *Visuddhimagga* is the first proper Pali work written in the island. Proper Pali Literature commenced in the island with the writing of the *Visuddhimagga*. Arahat Mahā Mahinda Thera who introduced Buddhism to the island wanted the islanders to study the new religion in their own language and kept the commentaries in the Sinhala language, the language of the islanders. This tradition continued without any problem till the arrival of Buddhaghosācārya. It was he who changed the medium of the religion. Buddhaghosa in the 5th century A.C. changed the medium and inaugurated the Pāli

Literature. He inaugurated Pāli Literature with a Pali book of very high standard namely, the *Visuddhimagga*. Subsequent Pāli writers maintained the tradition of quality of Pāli and even improved upon it. Thus Sri Lanka became famous for its Pāli of high standard.

The *Visuddhimagga* is a unique work which could be appreciated in several angles. Primarily it is a commentary. It was written as a commentary on the two verses in the *Saṃyutta nikāya*. In his preamble to his *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, the *Dīgha nikāya* commentary, Buddhaghoṣa says:

"Majjhe visuddhimaggo esa catunnampi āgamānampi Ṭhatvā pakāsayissati tattha yathā bhāsitam attham (*DA.* I, p.2)

The *Visuddhimmagga* stands in the middle of the four *āgamas* (*nikāyas*) explains the meaning stated therein. Here Buddhaghosa requests the readers to get the assistance of the *Visuddhimagga*, too, to elucidate the meaning of the four *nikāyas* (of the *Suttapiṭaka*) in addition to his commentaries of the four *nikāyas*. That means the *Visuddhimagga* is a common commentary. He repeats it in his other *nikāya* commentaries also. He further says:

"Idhapana sabbaṃ yasmā visuddhimagge mayā suparisuddhaṃ Vuttaṃ, tasmā bhiyyo na taṃ vicārayissāmi (op.cit.)

"Whatever I have explained well in the *Visuddhimaga*, I am not going to explain here . (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini, op.cit.*)

In his commentaries to the four *nikāyas* Buddhaghoṣa is often seen referring to the *Visuddhimagga* and avoids repeating whatever he has already explained.

The *Visudhimagga* also could be considered as an abridged Encyclopaedia pf Theravāda Buddhism in modern terms. The Buddha was a practical teacher. He did not preach according to a set plan. But preached according to suit the audience in order to help them to end suffering. After the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha his disciples collected the teachings and preserved the teachings together with the tradition of interpretation. But did not attempt to arrange the teachings of the Buddha into a single volume according to a plan. It was Buddhaghoṣa who attempted this long felt need by writing the *Visuddhimagga*. In fact the plan of the *Visuddhimagga* was not that of Buddhaghosa. It was Buddha's own plan. Buddhaghosa followed the Buddha. The Buddha has given the plan in the *Saṃyutta nikāya* by way of the stanzas *"Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño"* etc. Buddhaghoṣa followed it. Mahāvihāra authorities have selected a genius to entrust the task of compiling an abridged volume of Theravāda Buddhaghosa who was comparable to a "Human Encyclopaedia" of Buddhism, produced an unparalleled compendium of Theravāda Buddhism. It is seen that the Mahāvihāra authorities have correctly assessed the *Visuddhimagga* by their comparing its author Buddhaghosa to Metteyya, the future Buddha. Even if the whole Theravada Tripiṭaka is lost one day, under some tragic circumstance, still the teachings of the Buddha will survive, if the *Visuddhimaga* is safe.

The *Visuddhimagga* is also a practical guide for the *yogis* who meditate to realize *nibbāna*. Buddhaghosa in his preamble says that people having ordained in the dispensation of the Buddha, fail to achieve purification they wish to achieve, in spite of their strivings, if they do not know the direct path to purification and it is for their benefit that he is composing the *Visuddhimagga*. During the days of the Buddha, the Buddha himself provided guidance for the monks who were meditating to realize *nibbāna*. After the Parinibbāna of the Buddha the competent Maha theras would have guided the young monks in the meditations. With the passage of time realization of *nibbāna* under the future Buddha Metteyya was getting precedence over the realization of *nibbāna* in the present life itself. Those who were striving to realize *nibbāna* in the present life were fast diminishing along with those who were competent to provide guidance to those who are striving to realize *nibbāna* in the present life. Under the circumstances it was found necessary to document and preserve such guidance for the posterity. Therefore Buddhaghosa is providing detail guidance for the *yogis* in his *Visuddhamagga*, perhaps for the first time in the history of Theravāda. Thus the *Visuddhimagga* could be assessed as a "Guide for Yogis".

As we have seen the *Visuddhimagga* is a document valuable in so many ways. No other work in Theravāda literature could be compared to it. It is a unique document. As James Gray (Editor of *Buddhaghosuppatti*) correctly says "If he (Buddhaghoṣa) had written nothing else, it

(*Visuddhimagga*) alone would have secured for him undying fame. (*Buddhaghosuppatti.* Introduction *PTS* 1894 p. 31).

Ancillary Works of Visuddhimagga: Several ancillary works are written around this important work. The sub-commentary (*ṭīkā*) on the *Visuddhimagga* was written by Ācārya Dhammapāla of Badaratittha and named it *Paramatthamañjusā*. The Burmese "*Gandhavaṃsa*" speaks of a *Visuddhimagga Saṅkhepa ṭīkā* (abridged sub commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*) written by a Mahā Thera resident at Mahindasoma Pirivena in the reign of King Parākramabāhu (1153-86). This book is not extant today. A Sinhala "*sanna*" (paraphrase) was written by the erudite King Parākramabahu of Dambadeniya (1236-1271). According to the Pali *Thūpavaṃsa* there has been an abridged *Visuddhimagga* (*saṅkhepa Visuddhimagga*) written before the reign of king Parākramabāhu (1153-86); but it is not extant. Burmese *Gandhavaṃsa* records the existence of a *Visuddhimagga Ganthi* (Glossary of Visuddhimagga). Its Burmese translation was written by Narindabhisiri Dhammadvaja Mahā Dhammarājādhirājaguru Thera in 1776. An English translation by Ven. Bhikkhu Ñānamoli named "Path of Purification" is existing in Sri Lanka written in 1956.The *PTS* has published an English translation by Pe Maung Tin under the title "Path of Purity. The text of the *Visuddhimagga* is published by the *PTS* , edited by Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids in 1920.

K. Arunasiri

VITAKKA, "thought", is derived from the prefix *vi* and *takka*, which stands for "reasoning". In its usage in the early discourses, *takka* often has a negative sense, representing the kind of theoretical speculation and sophistry that can lead to erroneous conclusions and wrong views, as described for example in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D.* I, 16ff).1 Hence *takka* is seen as one of several unreliable sources of knowledge (*A.* I, 189). The use of the term *vitakka*, however, does not necessarily carry a negative sense. Here it is mostly the context that decides whether a particular instance of *vitakka* should be seen in a negative or in a positive light.

This to some extent stands symptomatic for the early Buddhist attitude towards thought and conceptions, in that clear awareness of their limitations does not lead to a wholesale rejection. In fact, *vitakka* fulfils an important role in the Buddhist path, a path that eventually leads to what is beyond thought, *atakkāvacara* (e.g. *M.* I, 167). This pragmatic attitude towards *vitakka* as an important but limited tool pervades the early Buddhist analysis of its significance and manifestations. Important aspects of this analysis are the early Buddhist ethical perspective on *vitakka*, the psychological analysis of its arising, the role of *vitakka* in the context of *jhāna*, and various imageries related to the term. In what follows, these topics will be treated in turn.

The Ethical Perspective on *Vitakka*

The early Buddhist ethical perspective on *vitakka* is, according to the *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta*, a direct outcome of the Buddha's pre-awakening experiences. According to this discourse, during the time of his quest for liberation the bodhisattva developed a clear distinction between unwholesome thoughts related to sensuality, to ill-will or to harming; and wholesome thoughts related to renunciation, the absence of ill-will or harmlessness (*M.* I, 114). The rationale behind this distinction is that the former - thoughts related to sensuality, ill-will and harming - will lead to affliction for oneself and for others, and to loss of wisdom. In short, such types of M*vitakka* lead away from *Nibbāna*. Based on this clear distinction, the bodhisattva made a determined effort to overcome unwholesome thoughts as part of his progress to liberation.

It is this same distinction that informs the injunction to develop intentions of renunciation, non ill-will and harmlessness as the second factor of the noble eightfold path (e.g. *M.* III, 251). This shows the fundamental role of this ethical perspective on thoughts and intentions as a means for progress on the path. Hence one of the methods to counter the influxes, according to the *Sabbāsava Sutta*, is precisely not permitting that thoughts related to sensuality, ill-will and harming remain in the mind, firmly opposing them and removing them (*M.* I, 11). The proper attitude towards such thoughts is exemplified by the attitude of King Mahāsudassanā, who before retiring for meditation told himself: "Stay here, thoughts of sensuality, ill-will and harming, thus far only, thoughts of sensuality, ill-will and harming", *tiṭṭha kāma-vitakka, tiṭṭha vyāpāda-vitakka, tiṭṭha vihiṃsā vitakka! Ettāvatā*

kāma-vitakka, ettāvatā vyāpāda-vitakka, ettāvatā vihiṃsā vitakka (*D.* II, 186).

The early Buddhist analysis of thought does, however, not exhaust itself in treating only unwholesome thoughts. In fact, the whole purpose of the discourses preserved in the canonical collections is to encourage the development of wholesome thought and reflection. The teachings delivered by the Buddha or his disciples, originally given orally, need to be born in mind and reflected upon in order to lead to progress on the path. Such reflection constitutes one out of five spheres of liberation, *vimuttāyatana*. Here liberation of the mind takes place based on having reflected on the teachings one has heard, *yathāsutaṃ yathāpariyattaṃ dhammaṃ cetasā anuvitakketi anuvicarati* (*A.* III, 23). Through reflecting in this way, joy and gladness manifest in the mind, which lead to tranquillity and concentration as a basis for breaking through to liberating insight.

A particularly recommendable set of thoughts comprises the eight thoughts of a superior man, *mahāpurisavitakka*. According to these eight thoughts, the Buddha's teaching is for one of little desires, one who is content and secluded, energetic and mindful, concentrated and wise, and, above all, for one who does not delight in conceptual proliferation, *nippapañcarāma* (*A.* IV, 229).

The Arising of *Vitakka*

According to the analysis of thought given in the *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta*, whatever one frequently thinks about will lead to a corresponding inclination of the mind, *yaññad' eva ... bahulam anuvitakketi anuvicāreti, tathā tathā nati hoti cetaso* (*M.* I, 115). As the *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta* explains, to frequently think of sensually alluring matters or else of things that cause ill-will and irritation will strengthen the mental tendency that is responsible for the arising of such types of thought. The way out of this vicious circle of thought leading to an inclination, which then causes further thought, lies in awareness of what takes place, followed by a determined effort to not allow unwholesome thoughts to continue.

The development of insight into the nature of thought requires in particular being aware of thoughts as they arise, are present for a short while, and then pass away, *viditā vitakkā uppajjanti, viditā upaṭṭhahanti, viditā abbhatthaṃ gacchanti* (*A.* II, 45). Practising in this way leads to mindfulness and clear comprehension, *sampajañña*, and constitutes one of the requirements for the four types of analytical knowledge, *paṭisambhidā* (*A.* IV, 33).

In regard to the arising of unwholesome thoughts, an important factor is perception, *saññā*. According to the analysis given in the *Samaṇamaṇḍikā Sutta*, the arising of unwholesome thoughts and intentions is due to a corresponding type of perception (*M.* II, 27). That is, a central root of unwholesome thought processes lies in the way perception evaluates experience.

Arisen based on a particular type of perception, *vitakka* has the propensity of leading on to *papañca*, conceptual proliferation (*M.* I, 112), which in turn manifests in ever more thoughts of the same type (*D.* II, 277). As the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* clarifies, delight in conceptual proliferations and related perceptions is responsible for quarrel and litigations, for the taking up of rods and weapons, as well as for malicious words and false speech (*M.* I, 109). Thus when monks quarrel amongst each other, the conclusion can be drawn that they have not developed the three wholesome types of thoughts, and instead have been dwelling frequently in thoughts related to sensuality, ill-will and harming (*A.* I, 275). Hence be it when walking, standing, seated or lying down, unwholesome thoughts should not be allowed to continue (*It.* 115).

In fact, to keep unwholesome thoughts out of the mind requires a determined attitude. This is due to the dynamics responsible for the arising of thought, which only too often takes place without conscious deliberation. "My" thoughts and ideas on closer inspection turn out to be quite independent of "my" control. This state of affairs is familiar terrain for anyone who has attempted to practise meditation, where it will soon be discovered how difficult it is to avoid getting lost in all kinds of thoughts and reflections, daydreams and memories. All this takes place in spite of one's earlier determination to focus on a particular meditation object. To remedy this situation, the arising of *vitakka* needs to slowly be brought under more conscious control through gradual taming of the mind in meditation. Hence it comes as an expression of remarkable meditative expertise when a monk can claim that he has such control over his mind that he will only think the thoughts he really wants to think (*M.* I, 122). To teach others how to

properly direct the thinking activity of the mind therefore deserves to be reckoned a miracle in matters of instruction, *anusāsanipāṭihāriya* (*D.* I, 214).

To stop unwholesome thought from continuing can, according to the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta*, be undertaken in various ways (*M.* I, 119; see also VITAKKASANṬHĀNA SUTTA). One way is to give attention to something wholesome instead. In case this does not suffice, one might direct attention to the harmful consequences of allowing unwholesome thoughts to continue. Should this not work, one could try to completely forget about them, or else try to bring about a stilling of the mental formations responsible for them. As a last resort, one may use force of the mind to expel unwholesome thoughts.

A gradual perspective on how to deal with thought is provided in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. This discourse compares dealing with thought to the gradual refining of gold, where at first gross impurities are removed, followed by removing finer impurities (*A.* I, 253). In a similar way, when attempting to purify the mind at first the gross type of thought, related to overt unwholesome conduct, have to be overcome. Once these are removed, any type of thought related to sensuality, ill-will and harming needs to be overcome. With these gone, there still remains the task to leave behind thoughts related to this and that, such as thoughts about one's relatives, home country and reputation etc. Once these are also left behind, there still remain *dhammavitakka*, which might stand for reflections about the teachings.2 Further development of the mind then leads to one-pointed concentration.

In fact, according to the *Samaṇamaṇḍikā Sutta*, the complete cessation of unwholesome thoughts and intentions can be achieved by attaining the first *jhāna*. This points to the contribution that the development of *samatha* has to offer in relation to overcoming unwholesome thoughts. A meditation practice explicitly recommended for going beyond thought is mindfulness of breathing (*Ud.* 37).

Vitakka* and *Jhāna

The *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta* indicates that even though thoughts related to renunciation, non ill-will and harmlessness are entirely wholesome, yet, excessive thinking will tire the mind and not lead to concentration. Hence at some point even wholesome thoughts need to be left behind in order to steady the mind and lead it to deeper concentration (*M.* I, 116). However, though deeper stages of concentration will lead beyond thoughts, this does not mean that *vitakka* has no place at all in the context of early Buddhist meditation. In fact, reflective types of meditation are described in the discourses and in later literature, involving various recollections, *anussati*. These can take the Buddha, his teachings or the community as their object, or else one's own virtue or generosity, or heavenly beings (*A.* III, 312).

In the realm of mindfulness meditation proper, thought also appears to have its proper place. This much can be seen from the instructions given in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, which frequently express what is to be contemplated in direct speech, employing the particle *iti*. Thus in the case of contemplating feelings, for example, the instruction is that when experiencing a pleasant or a painful feeling, one should clearly know "I experience a pleasant feeling" or "I experience a painful feeling", *'sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmī'ti pajānāti* or *'dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmī'ti pajānāti* (*M.* I, 59). This points to the practice of mental labelling. The subtle level of mental verbalization introduced in this way helps to strengthen clarity of recognition. With more advanced levels of practice, such mental labelling can then be dispensed with.

In the context of the development of *jhāna*, *vitakka* also has an important function and will be left behind only with more advanced levels of practice that set in subsequently to the attainment of the first *jhāna*. The role of *vitakka* in regard to the first *jhāna* has been a matter of much controversy. Hence, before examining this role, a short survey of the nature of the first *jhāna* is required, as a background to the implications of *vitakka* as a *jhāna* factor.

According to the *Upakkilesa Sutta*, before his awakening the Buddha had to make quite an effort in order to be able to attain the first *jhāna* (*M.* III, 157). In the case of his disciples Anuruddha and Mahāmoggallāna, the personal intervention of the Buddha was required for them to be able to attain and stabilize the first *jhāna* (*M.* III, 157 and *S.* IV, 263). For Anuruddha and Mahāmoggallāna, who later on became outstanding among the Buddha's disciples for their concentrative abilities (*A.* I, 23), to have such

difficulties clearly indicates that the first *jhāna* stands for a level of concentration that requires considerable meditative expertise. Elsewhere the discourses indicate that during the first *jhāna* it is impossible to speak (*S.* IV. 217), and the hearing of sounds is an obstruction to its attainment (*A.* V, 135). With the first *jhāna* one has gone beyond Māra's vision (*M.* I, 159), having reached the end of the world of the senses (*A.* IV, 430).

Though these passages present the first *jhāna* as a deeply concentrated state of mental absorption, the mental factors required for its attainment include, according to the standard description, *vitakka* and *vicāra*. These two are only left behind with the attainment of the second *jhāna*.3 To understand the *jhāna* factor *vitakka* here as referring to conceptual thought conflicts with the descriptions of the first *jhāna* given in the above passages, which make it clear that the first *jhāna* is something far deeper than the type of mental condition in which conceptual thought and reflection take place.

The solution to this conundrum can be found with the help of the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*, which in a list of near synonyms for right intention includes "application of the mind", *cetaso abhiniropanā*, alongside *vitakka* (*M.* III, 73). This indicates that the range of meaning of *vitakka* goes beyond conceptual thought as such, covering also the sense of an inclination of the mind. Both nuances of *vitakka* are in fact closely related to each other, since to reflect or think on something requires an inclination of the mind towards the topic or issue at hand.

The interrelation between these two nuances of *vitakka* can also be seen in the realm of speech. Here *vitakka* is, together with *vicāra*, a formation responsible for speaking, *vacīsaṅkhāra* (*M.* I, 301). In fact when speaking, at times one may verbally express something that has already been fully formulated in the mind, fully "thought" out. Yet, at other times there may just be a general sense of direction about what one is going to say and one still has to search the right words while speaking. This general sense of direction also falls within the range of meaning of *vitakka*, not only the fully formulated thoughts at those times when one has already planned one's speech. This sense of a general direction, in the sense of an application or inclination of the mind, requires the support of *vicāra* in order to be carried through.

Just as in relation to formulating speech *vitakka* and *vicāra* express a sense of mental direction and its sustaining, so too in regard to deepening concentration these two fulfil the same role. In the case of deepening concentration, *vitakka* stands for inclining the mind, an inclining that has to go beyond conceptual thought in order to lead the mind into the attainment of the first *jhāna*. With the second *jhāna*, then, even this last vestige of mental activity through *vitakka* and *vicāra* is left behind, hence the mind reaches true inner silence (*S.* II, 273; cf. also *Th.* 650 and *Th.* 999). Such silence is not only free from conceptual thought, but also free from the 'noise' of any other deliberate mental activity.

Thus in the context of *jhāna* attainment it would be preferable to avoid rendering *vitakka* as "thought", instead of which "initial application of the mind" would be a more suitable translation. *Vicāra* could then be translated as "sustained application of the mind". The interrelation between these two is described in the *Visuddhimagga* with a set of similes. These compare *vitakka* and *vicāra* to complementary aspects of particular actions, such as striking a gong and the reverberation of the gong; or a bird that spreads out its wings and then soars up into the sky; or a bee that flies towards a flower and then hovers above it; or holding a dish with one hand and cleaning it with the other; or a potter who turns the wheel with one hand and shapes the pottery with the other hand; or drawing a circle with a pin fixed in the centre and another pin that revolves around it (*Vism.* 142). This imagery further shows the prominent implication of *vitakka* as a setting into motion of an activity, be this the mental activity of thinking and reflecting, or the mental activity of developing concentration through inclining the mind towards a particular object of meditation.

Vitakka Imagery

The nature of *vitakka* has been illustrated in the early discourses with the help of several similes. One of these compares the arising of *vitakka* to a craw that has been bound to a string and then is tossed up into the air by children (*S.* I, 207 and *Sn.* 271; cf. also the explanation at *SA.* I, 304). This imagery brings out how the movement of thought can easily give an illusion of personal freedom. But on closer inspection this turns out to be instead a condition of bondage, comparable to the craw that flies up into the air, only to fall back on the ground due to being bound by the string.

This condition of bondage manifests in particular with thoughts of an unwholesome type, and it is such types of thought with which most similes are concerned. Unwholesome thoughts are comparable to corruptions of gold that need to be removed in order for the gold to become flawless, bright and workable, fit for being fashioned into an ornament by a goldsmith (*A.* I, 253). Or else unwholesome thoughts are like a cloud of dust that should be settled, just as a shower of rain will settle any dust (*It.* 83). The images of dust and impurities bring out the obstructive nature of unwholesome thoughts and the need to overcome them in order to access the true potential of the mind.

According to the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta*, unwholesome thoughts are like the carcass of a dead snake or dog, or even of a human being, that is put around the neck of a young man or woman who is fond of ornaments (*M.* I, 119). This imagery brings out in particular the objectionable nature of unwholesome thoughts. The same is also inherent in another simile that compares unwholesome thoughts to flies that are attracted by rotting meat (*A.* I, 280). The rotting meat in this simile stands for greed and ill-will. These similes emphasize the degrading and even disgusting nature of such thoughts, and the degree to which they can defile the mind.

The *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* also compares unwholesome thoughts to a gross peg, which a carpenter removes with the help of a finer peg (*M.* I, 119). The employment of the finer peg here stands for giving attention to something wholesome in order to overcome unwholesome thoughts. To successfully remove unwholesome thoughts then compares to the ability of a king's elephant to successfully overcome an enemy in battle (*A.* II, 117). The need to restrain unwholesome thought is similar to a cowherd who has to beat his cows in order to prevent them from straying into the ripe crops (*M.* I, 115). These images draw out the importance of confronting unwholesome thought. This importance is related not only to mental culture as such, but also to the fact that thought eventually leads to action. This relationship is brought out in yet another simile, according to which *vitakka* is like smoke at night, in the sense of representing the planning activity of the mind, whereas the implementation of these plans compares to fire during the day (*M.* I, 144).

These various illustrations of the nature of *vitakka* highlight in particular the problem of unwholesome thoughts and the need to overcome them. The same is also the theme of a couplet of verses in the *Dhammapada*, which contrast those who are in bondage, due to being unable to control thought, to those who master thought and thereby go beyond bondage.

Vitakkapamathitassa jantuno,
tibbarāgassa subhānupassino,
bhiyyo taṇhā pavaḍḍhati,
esa kho daḷhaṃ karoti bandhanaṃ.
For a person overwhelmed by thought,
Who, strongly impassioned, looks [at things] as beautiful,
Craving grows ever more,
He, indeed, makes strong [his own state of] bondage (*Dhp.* 349).

Vitakkūpasame ca yo rato,
asubhaṃ bhāvayati sadā sato,
esa kho vyantikāhiti,
esa checchati Mārabandhanaṃ.
Who delights in calming thought,
Ever mindful develops [perception] of the absence of beauty,
He will remove [craving],
He will cut Māra's bondage (*Dhp.* 350).

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References

1 For a more detailed treatment of the *takkikas* cf. Jayatilleke: *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, Delhi 1980: 263ff.

2 Ñāṇaponika & Bodhi: *Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*, Delhi 1999: 289 note 70, offered as an alternative to the commentarial explanation according to which *dhammavitakka* stands for the ten corruptions of insight (*AA.* II, 362).

3 On the intermediate stage when *vitakka* has already been left behind but *vicāra* is still present see UPAKKILESA SUTTA.

VITAKKASANṬHĀNA SUTTA, the discourse on "stilling thoughts", is the twentieth discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* I, 119). A parallel to this discourse has been preserved in the Chinese *Madhyama Āgama* (*T.* I, 588a). 1 The title of the *Madhyama Āgama* version is "discourse on the higher mind", which would correspond to *Adhicitta Sutta* in Pāli. This title takes up the purpose of the altogether five methods for overcoming unwholesome thought described in both versions, which is to develop the higher mind, *adhicitta*.

The significance of the exposition offered in the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* and its Chinese parallel lies in these five methods for dealing with unwholesome thought (see also VITAKKA). The first of these recommends that, in case unwholesome thoughts arise, one should give attention to something wholesome instead in order to be able to develop one-pointedness of the mind. To illustrate this approach, the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* describes how a carpenter removes a coarse peg with a finer peg.2 This simile conveys the sense of a gradual procedure. Just as the carpenter is not able to simply pull out the coarse peg, so the arising of unwholesome thoughts at times cannot simply be stopped. By way of a gradual approach, instead of attempting to stop thought one tries to change the object of thought, directing the flow of thoughts in the mind from what is unwholesome to what is wholesome. This will eventually lead to a stage where it is possible to leave behind wholesome thoughts as well in order to develop concentration, comparable to the carpenter taking out the fine peg, after it has performed its function of removing the coarse peg.

In case this first method does not work, the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* recommends to reflect on the danger inherent in allowing unwholesome thoughts to continue. This approach can be compared to a beautiful young man or woman, fond of ornaments, who finds that the corpse of a snake or a dog, or even of a human being, has been hung around his or her neck. This vivid imagery conveys the sense of urgency and also of shame that is appropriate in regard to the unbefitting nature of what is going on in a mind overwhelmed by unwholesome thoughts.

The third method, in case the earlier two have not been successful, is to just forget about these thoughts. This involves a conscious effort to set aside the issue that is agitating the mind, comparable to someone who does not want to see something and therefore just closes the eyes or simply turns away.

The fourth method is to give attention to stilling the thought formations, *vitakkasaṅkhārasaṇṭhāna*. The implications of this expression require some interpretation, based on the simile given to illustrate this particular method. This simile describes someone who is walking fast. On reflecting, this person might wonder why he or she is walking so fast and decide to rather walk in a slow manner. Further reflection might lead to the decision to stand still, or even sit down, or to lie down. The point of the simile seems to be that through becoming aware of what is taking place, this person is able to let go of the strain of unnecessary activity and abandon an uncomfortable posture for a more comfortable posture. Applied to the case of the recurrent arising of unwholesome thoughts, this would then imply giving attention to how these thoughts agitate the mind. Clear awareness of this would lead on to inquiring why these thoughts are being entertained, comparable to wondering why one is walking so fast. That is, the volitional driving force behind those thoughts is being given attention and being put into question. Clear awareness of the thought process, *vitakka*, and the volitional driving force behind it, *saṅkhāra*, enables to calm both and bring about their stilling, *saṇṭhāna*.

Should all these methods prove to be unsuccessful, as a last resort the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* recommends the use of force of the mind to expel unwholesome thoughts, comparable to a strong man who takes hold of a weak man and overpowers him. Notably, the same method is describes elsewhere among a set of practice that the Buddha tried out before his awakening, but which did not lead him to liberation (*M.* I, 242). This makes it clear why the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* presents this forceful approach only as a last resort, when all the other methods have failed to overcome the recurrent arising of unwholesome thoughts. Even though forceful restraint of the mind on its own will not lead to awakening, it has its proper place at the present junction since the unwholesome thoughts are evidently so strong that the mind is completely overwhelmed. To stop them through the use of force will at least ensure that these unwholesome thoughts will not spill over into some unwholesome activity. To use a modern example, the forceful method is somewhat like an emergency brake. Though an

emergency brake will certainly not lead to actual progress in one's journey, it has its proper place in order to avoid an accident.

A noteworthy difference between the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* and its Chinese parallel occurs at the very end, where the Pāli version concludes its description of mastery over thoughts by indicating that in this way an end of *dukkha* has been reached and craving has been eradicated, *acchecchi taṇhaṃ ... antam-akāsi dukkhassa* (*M.* I, 122). In the otherwise similar Chinese conclusion, this statement is not found at all (*T.* I, 589a8). Closer inspection of the Pāli passage brings to light a grammatical inconsistency, in that the overcoming of craving etc. are formulated in the past tense, whereas the earlier described mastery over one's thought is in the future tense (*yaṃ vitakkaṃ ākaṅkhissati, taṃ vitakkaṃ vitakkessati*). For the removal of craving to stand in a meaningful relation to mastery over thought, the use of the tenses should be in the opposite way. This suggests that the ending of the Pāli version may have suffered from some error during oral transmission.

In fact, mastery over unwholesome thoughts on its own would not suffice for reaching awakening, for which a more extended training of the mind through the development of insight and tranquility is required. Mastery over unwholesome thought, for whose development the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* offers a graded series of five methods, stands in its proper place as what provides the necessary foundation for the path that will eventually ripen in liberation.

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References

1 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

2 The Chinese version at *T.* I, 588a14 instead speaks of a carpenter drawing a straight line on a piece of wood and then cutting the wood straight.

VIVĀDA stands for "quarrel" and "disputation". The causes that lead to quarrel and disputation are analysed in several discourses. One such analysis lists altogether six roots of disputation, *vivādamūlāni* (*D.* III, 246; *M.* II, 245 and *A.* III, 334). According to these six roots of disputation, quarrelling can arise when someone is angry and scornful; or else when someone is hypocritical and malicious; envious and mean; cunning and crafty; with evil desires and wrong views; or when someone stubbornly and dogmatically clings to his or her own view.

An example for the last case can be found in the *Bahuvedaniya Sutta*, which reports two disciples of the Buddha unable to come to an agreement on how many types of feeling the Buddha had taught. When informed of how each of them had insisted on his particular interpretation, the Buddha clarified that both were correct in as much as he had taught both ways of reckoning feelings. At the same time, both disciples were wrong in that they had dogmatically insisted on their particular interpretation instead of acknowledging the appropriateness of the presentation made by the other, an attitude that was bound to lead to conflict, litigation and disputation, *vivāda* (*M.* I, 398).

Disagreements or even misrepresentations of the teachings have a considerable potential of leading to disputation (*A.* V, 77). *Vinaya* matters could also lead to *vivāda*, such as when a monk declares that an offence is not an offence, or presents what indeed is not an offence as an offence, or else when the seriousness of a particular offence is being misrepresented (*A.* V, 78).

The degree to which *Vinaya* matters can lead to quarrel can be seen in the case of the monks from Kosambī, where a relatively minor offence committed by a monk led to such strife among the local monastic community that even a personal intervention by the Buddha was unable to settle the matter (*Vin.* I, 337ff). According to the *Kosambiya Sutta*, the Buddha pointed out that for the Kosambī monks to quarrel in this way was for their own detriment as well as for the detriment of others, enjoining them to instead dwell with loving kindness by way of body, speech and mind towards each other (*M.* I, 321). In addition to loving kindness, generosity in sharing one's material gains, maintenance of flawless moral conduct and noble view are factors that conduce to living together in harmony and peace.

A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* further expands on this topic. This discourse also takes its occasion from a group of monks that had been engaged in quarrelling and disputation. Rebuking them for their unbefitting conduct, the Buddha recommended several qualities that lead to communal harmony (*A.* V, 89).

These comprise various good qualities of a monk such as being virtuous, learned, energetic, content, mindful and wise. In addition to these, communal harmony will be fostered if a monk associates with good friends, is easy to speak to, feels inspired by the teachings and is capable at things to be done for the sake of his companions in the holy life.

The contrast set in these discourses between quarrelling and living together in harmony recurs in another discourse, which distinguishes a harmonious assembly, *samaggā parisā*, from a discordant assembly, *vaggā parisā* (*A.* I, 70). The discordant assembly is one that engages in disputing and quarrelling, "stabbing at each other with verbal daggers", *aññamaññaṃ mukhasattīhi vitudantā viharanti*. This expression quite vividly brings out the difference between quarrelling and plain criticism, in that *vivāda* is an expression of anger and often accompanied by a wish to harm or hurt the other.

Thus to avoid *vivāda* does not imply mere quietism. According to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the Buddha quite explicitly indicated that he did not recommend to just totally refrain from criticism of others. Instead, one should criticize on those occasions where this is appropriate (*A.* II, 101). According to the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, if someone speaks dispraise of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* or the community, a disciple of the Buddha should stay free from anger and at the same time point out as untrue what is untrue, *abhūtaṃ abhūtato nibbeṭhetabbaṃ* (*D.* I, 3). The importance of criticism at the proper time is also reflected in the *Pavāraṇā* regulation, where a formal occasion is set apart when the members of a monastic community will invite each other for criticism (*Vin.* I, 159). According to the background story to this regulation, a group of monk had made a vow of silence in the deluded belief that to spend the rainy season retreat in this way will be the best way of avoiding *vivāda*. The Buddha compared this to the behaviour of dumb sheep. This makes it clear that, even though the Buddha was very much in favour of seclusion and silence (see TUṆHĪBHĀVA and VIVEKA), he considered criticism at the proper time as an important aspect of the path to liberation.

Vivāda, however, should certainly be avoided. The early Buddhist disdain for *vivāda* finds its expression in a *pācittiya* regulation that even makes it an offence if a monk eavesdrops on other monks that are engaged in *vivāda* (*Vin.* IV, 150). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* then lists the dire results that await a monk who causes quarrel and strife in the community. Such a monk will be obstructed in his meditative development and lose what he has already reached, his reputation will suffer, he will pass away in a confused state of mind and be reborn in an inferior condition (*A.* III, 252).

The *Pāsādika Sutta* and the *Sāmagāma Sutta* report that after the death of their leader, quarrel and disputation had arisen among the Jains (*D.* III, 117 and *M.* II, 243). The *Saṅgīti Sutta* takes its occasion from the same event, which motivated Sāriputta to deliver an outline of central elements of the Buddha's teaching in the hope of averting similar quarrel in the Buddhist community (*D.* III, 210).

While quarrel and litigation among laity arise mainly on account of sensual pleasures (*M.* I, 86), *vivāda* among recluses has its most prominent cause in views (*A.* I, 66). The *Pasura Sutta* depicts how some recluses would hold up their view and dispute with others, claiming that 'this is truth', *diṭṭhiṃ uggayha vivādiyanti*, *'idam eva saccan' ti ca vādiyanti* (*Sn.* 832). From the Buddha's perspective, however, one should not take part in such disputes, as it will not lead to purity, *na vivādayetha, na hi tena suddhiṃ* (*Sn.* 830). That is, at least from an early Buddhist perspective, disputing and debating is not a tool for progress on the path, but rather an obstruction.

Disputation and debate always involves an attempt to win, to subdue the opponent in order to win applause (*Sn.* 826). Those who lose will be upset and dejected (*Sn.* 827), those who win will be exited and fall prey to conceit (*Sn.* 829). Disputing inevitably involves holding things as dear, *piyā pahūtā kalahā vivādā* (*Sn.* 863), and therefore obstructs progress to freedom from bondage. Hence one should leave all debating and disputing behind, as no advantage will be gained from it (*Sn.* 828).

A discourse in the *Udāna* illustrates the predicament of *vivāda* among recluses with the famous simile of the blind men and the elephant (*Ud.* 68). Just as the blind men ended up quarrelling in defence of their respective opinions about the nature of an elephant, opinions based on their having only touched different parts of the elephant, without being able to see it in its entirety, so too recluses engaged in quarrel

and disputations about there respective views are simply blind.

In contrast to such blindness as a cause of disputatiousness, the Buddha had nothing to debate with the world, it was only the world that was trying to debate with him, *nāhaṃ ... lokena vivadāmi, loko ca mayā vivadati* (*S.* III, 138). The same discourse illustrates the Buddha's aloofness from disputation with the help of the imagery of a lotus that, though born in water, rises above it. In short, one who is liberated will not enter into any dispute, *vimutto na vivādam eti* (*Sn.* 877).

Sakaṃ hi dhammaṃ paripuṇṇam āhu
aññassa dhammaṃ pana hīnam āhu,
evam pi viggayha vivādiyanti
sakaṃ sakaṃ sammutim āhu saccaṃ.
Calling their own doctrine superior,
And the doctrine of others inferior,
Quarrelling in this way they dispute
Calling their own opinion 'truth'. (*Sn.* 904)

Ekaṃ hi saccaṃ na dutiyam atthi,
yasmiṃ pajā no vivade pajānaṃ.
The truth is one, there is no second,
A person who knows this would not dispute (*Sn.* 884).

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VIVEKA, "seclusion", sometimes also referred to as *paviveka*, is highly esteemed in early Buddhism. According to the eight thoughts of a superior man, *mahāpurisavitakka*, the Buddha's teaching is for one who is secluded, not for one who delights in company, *pavivittassāyaṃ dhammo, nāyaṃ dhammo saṅgaṇikārāmassa* (*A.* IV, 229). Whatever leads to seclusion instead of company should be considered categorically as the true teaching of the Buddha, *pavivekāya saṃvattanti no saṅgaṇikāya ... ekaṃsena ... dhāreyyāsi 'eso dhammo, eso vinayo etaṃ satthu sāsanaṃ'* (*A.* IV, 280). The emphasis given in these statements to a secluded life style has its poetic counterpart in the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, which offers a touching depiction of the beauty of a solitary life (*Sn.* 35-75).[1]

The *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* reports that some of the Buddha's disciples would only come to join the community every fortnight for the recital of the *pātimokkha* (*M.* II, 9). Monks who live secluded and encourage others in the same quality are praiseworthy indeed (*A.* V, 130). The wish for seclusion is the proper rationale for dwelling in a forest (*A.* III, 219). A verse in the *Sutta Nipāta* emphatically instructs that one should dwell in seclusion, which is [reckoned] supreme among noble ones, *vivekaṃ yeva sikkhetha, etad ariyānam uttamaṃ* (*Sn.* 822). Even just to talk about seclusion is commendable, since such a topic for conversation will lead onwards to the final goal (*M.* III, 115).

Hence a monk who does not dwell in solitude, *paṭisallāna*, nor praises such dwelling, had little chance in early Buddhism of being liked and respected by his companions (*A.* V, 166). Even for a monk in higher training seclusion is important, since if he is engaged in many activities and neglects seclusion, decline is to be expected of him (*A.* III, 116). Particularly blameworthy is neglect of seclusion when one's teacher is devoted to a secluded living style. Such blame applies to elder disciples as well as younger ones, in that they do not emulate the example set by their teacher (*M.* I, 14).

To set an example was in fact a prominent reason why the Buddha would live in seclusion himself, in addition to the pleasure he found in secluded dwelling (*M.* I, 23 and *A.* I, 60). The discourses report that after his awakening the Buddha still went regularly on solitary retreat, at times for two weeks (*Vin.* III, 68; *S.* V, 12 and *S.* V, 320), and at other times even for a period of three months (*Vin.* III, 230; *S.* V, 13 and *S.* V, 325).2 Other discourses indicate that distinguished visitors were not allowed to approach the Buddha even when he was only in his daily retreat (*D.* I, 151 and *D.* II, 270).

If the Buddha felt being too crowded in by disciples and visitors, he would simply walk off on his own to stay somewhere else in solitude and seclusion (*Ud.* 41). A similar action would also be undertaken by some of his senior disciples, who on one occasion left even without taking their leave of the Buddha in order to avoid a crowd of visitors that had come to see the Buddha (*A.* V, 133). On being later informed about their departure, the Buddha wholeheartedly approved of their action.

The secluded living style of the Buddha was a natural expression of his realization, so much so that

the two thoughts a *Tathāgata* frequently has in his mind are thoughts of peace and of seclusion (*It*. 31). In fact, to live a secluded life style is, according to the *Udumbarikasīhanāda Sutta*, a characteristic of all those who have reached awakening (*D*. III, 54).

Yet, to dwell in seclusion is not an easy task, and one who is bereft of concentration will not be fit for this life style (*A*. V, 202), just as a small animal is not fit to imitate the behaviour of an elephant. The *Bhayabherava Sutta* lists several other qualities that will make it difficult to live in seclusion, such as lack of moral purity, or else being under the influence of the five hindrances or of other unwholesome mental states (*M*. I, 17). What appears to be implicit in these passages is made explicit in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which indicates that to live in community is only a second-rate alternative, recommended to those who do not find solace in seclusion.3 Thus dwelling in seclusion is an expression of having reached some degree of maturity in one's practice of the path. Such maturity can, however, arise at a rather early stage in one's practice. The *Vinaya* recognizes this, as it gives a special allowance for a newly ordained monk to be exempted from the otherwise obligatory need to live in dependence on a teacher if he finds solace in living in seclusion in a remote forest dwelling (*Vin*. I, 92).

Seclusion also comes up in the context of a simile that employs various parts of an elephant to represent praiseworthy qualities. Here seclusion is represented by the elephant's tail (*A*. III, 346). The commentary explains that just as the tail of an elephant will keep off flies, so seclusion will keep off contacts with laity or other wanderers (*AA*. III, 373). In another imagery that takes up the parts of a war chariot, seclusion is one of the weapons of this chariot, together with the absence of ill-will and harmlessness (*S*. V, 6). According to a verse in the *Theragāthā*, living alone in the seclusion of a forest, as praised by the Buddha, is very pleasant indeed, once before and behind no one else is found (*Th*. 537-538).

For one who does not delight in seclusion, it will be impossible to come to grips with the mind and develop concentration (*A*. III, 423). The *Mahāsuññata Sutta* clarifies that delight in company will obstruct experiencing the happiness of seclusion, which the commentary explains to intend the happiness that is secluded from sensuality (*M*. III, 110 and *MA*. IV, 158). Such seclusion from sensuality, *vivicc' eva kāmehi*, is a necessary condition for attaining *jhāna*. In fact, the happiness experienced through *jhāna* attainment is none other than the happiness of seclusion, *pavivekasukha* (*M*. I, 454). The theme of seclusion comes up also in relation to the practice of insight, as the factors of awakening should be developed in dependence on seclusion, *vivekanissita*, in order to lead to liberation (*M*. III, 88).

In this way, bodily seclusion builds up the basis for developing mental seclusion. In fact, as a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* points out, bodily seclusion alone does not suffice. According to this discourse, a monk who lives a very solitary life should also make an effort at mental solitude by leaving behind past and future, and by dwelling free from desire in the present (*S*. II, 283). The need to supplement bodily seclusion with mental seclusion is also the theme of a set of three similes in the *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* (*M*. I, 240). This set of similes employs the imagery of a piece of wood that cannot be used to kindle a fire as long as the wood is still wet. This holds true when the wood is still lying in water, but also when the wood has been taken out of the water but is still wet. Only a piece of wood that has become dry is fit for the fire. Here the need for bodily withdrawal from sensuality corresponds to the need of taking the wood out of the water. Yet, just as the wood also needs to be dry, so too, the mind needs to withdraw from thoughts related to sensuality. As a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* points out, one who lives in secluded spot but still entertains unwholesome thoughts is only bodily subdued, but lacks being mentally subdued (*A*. II, 137).

Hence based on having heard the teachings, one should dwell bodily as well as mentally withdrawn in order to develop wisdom (*A*. IV, 152). Such withdrawal is a recurrent feature in the description of a monk who, after having received an enigmatic teaching from the Buddha, dwells alone and withdrawn, *eko vūpakaṭṭho*, and thereby reaches liberation (e.g. *S*. III, 36). The Buddha would encourage his disciples to undertake such secluded practice, for the simple reason that one who lives in seclusion will come to know things as they truly are (*S*. III, 15 or *S*. IV, 80). The things to be known as they truly are while dwelling in seclusion are the impermanent nature of the five aggregates or the six senses. In this way, practice in seclusion will lead to coming to know the true nature of oneself.

It could well be for the same reason that the *Dhamma* is said to be realized by the wise each for themselves, that is, singly, *paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi* (e.g. *D.* II, 93). "The way of the crowd is the way of *saṃsāra* ... against the centripetal attraction of *saṃsāra* ... a tangent directly away from the enveloping vortex into calmness ... this is *kāyaviveka*". Such bodily seclusion then is the basis for developing mental seclusion, "*cittaviveka* ... that gradual journey [away] from the *saṃsāra* within that fuels the outer" *saṃsāra*. Hence "only by solitude ... can one truly approach the Dhamma in its immediacy".4 With liberation, then, the highest level of seclusion in early Buddhism is reached, when the mind attains perpetual seclusion from defilements.

A survey of different types of seclusion can be found in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which distinguishes between three levels of *vivekā* (*A.* I, 241). The first of these is seclusion from unwholesome deeds through virtuous conduct. Next comes seclusion from wrong view through attainment of right view. The third level of seclusion, then, is seclusion from the influxes through final liberation. For an *arahant*, to be intent on seclusion will then be the most appropriate expression of his or her total seclusion from defilements, *khīṇāsavo ... khayā rāgassa vītarāgattā pavivekādhimutto hoti, khayā dosassa ... khayā mohassa vītamohattā pavivekādhimutto hoti* (*A.* III, 377).

According to an explanation given in the *Niddesa*, three progressive levels of seclusion could be distinguished (*Nd.* I, 140). The first and most basic level is bodily seclusion, *kāyaviveka*, through living alone and in a secluded place. Based on bodily seclusion, *cittaviveka* as mental seclusion can be developed by abandoning the mental hindrances and attaining *jhāna*. The third level then is *upadhiviveka*, seclusion from substrata in the sense of seclusion from defilements and the aggregates of clinging,5 a level of seclusion attained with final liberation.

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* offers a more detailed breakdown of the type of seclusion to be experienced with breakthrough to liberating insight. This work lists altogether five types of *viveka* applicable to each factor of the eightfold noble path (*Ps.* II, 220). These five types of *viveka* cover seclusion by suppression; seclusion by [substitution] of opposites; seclusion by cutting off; seclusion by tranquilization; and seclusion as escape. Here seclusion by suppression, *vikkhambhanaviveka*, stands for the suppression of the five hindrances. Seclusion by [substitution] of opposites, *tadaṅgaviveka*, refers to the substitution of wrong path factors through their right counterparts. Seclusion by cutting off, *samucchedaviveka*, represents the cutting off of defilements through the supramundane path. Seclusion by tranquillization, *paṭippassadhiviveka*, refers to the tranquillization experienced with the supramundane fruit. Finally seclusion as release, *nissaraṇaviveka*, stands for *Nibbāna* itself.

Pavivekarasaṃ pitvā,
rasaṃ upasamassa ca
niddaro hoti nippāpo
Dhammapītirasaṃ pivaṃ.
Having savoured the taste of seclusion,
And the taste of [inner] peace,
[One who] is free from anxiety and evil,
Savours the joyful taste of the *Dhamma* (*Dhp.* 205 or *Sn.* 257).

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References

1 A Gāndhārī fragment version of this discourse can be found in Salomon: *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra*, Seattle 2000.

2 Cf. also the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, Rome, 2, 1978: 204.

3 *S.* I, 154: "Dwell in remote lodgings, practice for freedom from the fetters, [but] if one does not find satisfaction therein, [then] dwell in the community, protected and mindful", *sevetha pantāni senāsanāni, careyya saṃyojanavippamokkhā, sace ratiṃ nādhigacchaye tattha, saṅghe vase rakkhitatto satimā.*

4 Hudson: "Note on Solitude/Inwardness", *Pali Buddhist Review*, 1.1, 1976: 103-104.

5 A somewhat different sense of *upadhiviveka* can be found at *M.* I, 435, where it stands for seclusion from sensuality as a pre-condition for attaining the first *jhāna*.

VOHĀRA can stand for "worldly affairs" and "transactions", or else for a "commonly used way of speech".1 *Vohāra* in the sense of worldly affairs occurs, for example, in the *Potaliya Sutta*, where a householder visiting the Buddha claims to have given up all worldly affairs, *sabbe vohārā samucchinnā* (*M.* I, 360). The topic of the present entry, however, is the other sense of *vohāra* as common or worldly parlance.

Early Buddhism distinguishes between noble types of *vohāra* and their ignoble counterparts. The noble types of commonly used ways of speech, *ariyavohāra*, are statements made in accordance with what one has indeed seen, heard, experienced or come to know (*D.* III, 232; *A.* II, 246; *A.* IV, 307). Their ignoble counterparts are when statements do not accord with what one has seen, heard, experienced or come to know. Such *anariyavohāra* could either involve claiming to have seen something one has not seen etc., or else claiming to have not seen something one has seen etc.

The implications of *ariyavohāra* would thus be truthfulness and empiricism. Truthfulness in the sense that on ethical grounds early Buddhism strongly censures falsehood (see also VAC*KAMMA). Empiricism in the sense that early Buddhist epistemology emphasizes direct observation. Several discourses criticize views proposed by some of the Buddha's contemporaries on the ground that they are not based on actual observation. An example in case is the humorous criticism voiced in the *Caṅkī Sutta* of truth claims made by Brahmins. Since these truth claimes are not based on actual experience, they can be compared to a file of blind men that follow each other, with none of the men in the file knowing the proper direction (*M.* II, 170). A criticism of Jain asceticism in the *Devadaha Sutta* similarly points out the lack of any personal experience that would provide an empirical ground for maintaining that ascetic practices are the means to overcome karmic retribution for past deeds (*M.* II, 214). In considering empirical observation as a characteristic of early Buddhism it needs, however, to be kept in mind that extrasensory means of observation are considered as valid as the physical senses. Hence teachings on rebirth and karmic retribution fall within the scope of propositions made on the basis of observations, as according to early Buddhism both principles are accessible to direct and personal experience by means of developing recollection of past lives and the divine eye.

While *vohāra* should be truthful and based on actual observation, early Buddhism acknowledges that language is simply a means of communication. That is, *vohāra* is merely the outcome of perception, in the sense that a particular way of perceiving will then be expressed in speech, *vohāravepakkāhaṃ ... saññā vadāmi, yathā yathā naṃ sañjānāti, tathā tathā voharati 'evaṃ saññī ahosin 'ti* (*A.* III, 413).

For the purpose of communicating his discovery of the path to liberation, the Buddha had to rely on conventional terminology. A passage in the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* clarifies that the *Tathāgata* simply employs appellations, expressions, ways of speech and designations commonly used in the world without holding on to them, *loka-samaññāloka-niruttiyo loka-vohārā loka paññatiyo yāhi Tathāgato voharati aparāmasaṃ* (*D.* I, 202). In a similar vein, the *Dīghanakha Sutta* indicates that even though a liberated one will employ the conventional terminology of the world, this takes place without holding on to such conventions, *yañca loke vuttaṃ tena voharati aparāmasaṃ* (*M.* I, 500). The same detached and pragmatic stance towards words and language also underlies an injunction given in the *Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta*, according to which one should not insist on using a particular terminology, but instead be willing to adopt ones mode of speech to local customs and circumstances (*M.* III, 234; see also LANGUAGE).

This pragmatic stance in regard to matters of speech is quite significant, in that the Buddha would never overstep the boundaries of common logic. In the thought world of early Buddhism, "consistency is regarded as a criterion of truth".2 Thus, from an early Buddhist perspective, any lack of consistency can indeed be questioned and there is no indication that to do so should be considered a sign of one's spiritual immaturity and incapability to bear the ultimate vision conveyed by contradictory propositions. Just as in matters of ethics, in matters of language and epistemology early Buddhism did not recognize double standards.

The theory of two levels or even two types of truth is a later development that does not appear to be found in the early discourses.3 The only instance that might bear some relation to this theory is a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which distinguishes between statements that require further explanation and those

that do not require explanation, *neyyattha* and *nītattha* (*A.* I, 60). A more commonly used distinction in the discourses is between a succinct statement, referred to as *uddesa*, and a more detailed explanation, usually called *vibhaṅga*. The above *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourse might simply intend the same distinction, in that certain statements are in need of a further explanation in order to be properly understood, while others have, quite literally, their meaning already drawn out. Notably, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourse does not treat one of these two as superior to the other, but simply indicates that a misrepresentation of the teaching occurs when one is confused with the other.

According to the commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourse, however, the distinction between *neyyattha* and *nītattha* involves the notion of "ultimate" truth, *paramattha* (*AA.* II, 118).4 The commentary indicates that when the Buddha uses a term like "person", *puggala*, it should be explained that from the perspective of ultimate truth no person exists. Other commentaries then set the notion of "ultimate truth" against "common" truth, *sammuti*, concluding that the Buddha taught two levels of truth, *duve saccāni akkhāsi, sambuddho vadataṃ varo, sammutiṃ paramatthañca* (*MA.* I, 138). This proposal is not easy to reconcile with the dictum in the *Sutta Nipāta* that there is only a single truth, *ekaṃ hi saccaṃ, na dutiyaṃ atthi* (*Sn.* 884).

Applied to the theme of *vohāra*, the early Buddhist attitude towards language need not be interpreted in the light of the theory of two truths. That is, truth would not depend on the type of language used to express it. Though truth can be expressed in words, it cannot be found in words alone. Words can only act as a means to point to the path, or to the truth that has to be realized. In doing so, commonly used ways of speech can certainly be utilized. As a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* clarifies, an *arahant* will still employ expressions such as 'I speak' or 'they speak to me', since skilfully knowing the appellations commonly used in the world, he or she would just be employing commonly used way of speech, *'ahaṃ vadāmī'ti pi so vadeyya, 'mamaṃ vadantī'ti pi so vadeyya, loke samaññaṃ kusalo viditvā vohāramattena so vohareyya* (*S.* I, 14). That is, there is nothing untrue or false in using such expressions.5 The same *Saṃyutta Nikāya* discourse makes it clear that to employ such terminology should not be mistaken as a sign of a remnant of conceit still found in the mind of one who uses such expressions, *pahīnamānassa na santi ganthā, vidhūpitā mānaganthassa sabbe ... 'ahaṃ vadāmī'ti pi so vadeyya, 'mamaṃ vadantī'ti pi so vadeyya*.

Moreover, the use of ultimate truth terminology, such as speaking of the four elements of earth, water, fire and air, *pathavī-kāyo, āpo-kāyo, tejo-kāyo* and *vāyo-kāyo*, or reckoning a person to consist only of these four elements, *cātummahābhūtiko ayaṃ puriso*, were according to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* part of the views put forth by Pakudha Kaccāyana and Ajita Kesakambalī (*D.* I, 56 and 55). This goes to show that the usage of 'ultimate truth' language does not guarantee that a statement is anywhere nearer the truth than a statement couched in 'I' and 'mine' language. Far from being in itself a guarantee for the truth of a proposition, 'ultimate truth' terminology can form part of what from a Buddhist perspective is an entirely wrong and mistaken view.

Hence *vohāra* as common worldly parlance can certainly be employed to express truth. Though "one might distinguish ... between the scholastic and the wayward in phraseology, ... one has to remember that as concepts they are all one. Nor should one seriously regard some concepts as absolute and inviolable categories in preference to others, and pack them up in water-tight cartons labeled '*paramattha*".6 That is, language is but "one of the means by which we gain experience of the world and share that experience with others. It is one that should not be enthroned as an ultimate reality or rejected as being meaningless".7

Hence in regard to matters of language and the use of worldly parlance, early Buddhism falls neither into the trap of reifying concepts and language, treating them as something real on their own account, nor does it go for the opposite extreme of attempting to demolish concepts altogether. Both extremes miss the middle path of making use of language and ways of speech in accordance with worldly customs, without grasping at them by either affirmation or wholesale rejection.

An example in case is the famous chariot simile, employed by the nun Vajirā to illustrate the true nature of a being. Just like the word 'chariot' stands for an assembly or parts, so too the appellation of a 'being' simply stands for the [continuity of the five] aggregates, *yathā hi aṅgasambhārā, hoti saddo 'ratho' iti, evaṃ khandesu santesu, hoti 'satto 'ti sammuti* (*S.*

I, 135). That is, to speak of a 'chariot' does not refer to a substantial entity apart from the parts of which the chariot is composed. Yet, the term 'chariot' is certainly meaningful and there is nothing wrong or false about it. The parts of the chariot by themselves, if just spread out on the ground, do not make up a chariot. Only the functional assembly of these parts that makes it possible to drive becomes a 'chariot'. Thus the term 'chariot', or else a 'being', can perfectly well be used to express truth, provided one does not fall into the two extremes of either reifying it as a substantial entity or else believing that such concepts need to be entirely dispensed with.

As part of its pragmatic use of *vohāra* as commonly used ways of speech, early Buddhism also recognizes that there are limits to what can be expressed through the medium of spoken words. When questioned after the counterpart to *Nibbāna*, the nun Dhammadinnā made it clear that such a query goes beyond what can be given an answer, since *Nibbāna* is the final goal (*M.* I, 304). In a similar vein, when asked about the future destiny of an awakened one, according to a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta* the Buddha explained:

Atthaṅgatassa na pamāṇam atthi,
yena naṃ vajju taṃ tassa n' atthi,
sabbesu dhammesu samūhatesu,
samūhatā vādapathā pi sabbe.
"There is no measure for one who has gone out,
That by which one could speak of him no longer exists,
When all phenomena have come to an end,
Then all pathways for speech have also come to an end." (*Sn.* 1076).

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References

1 For an examination of these two senses in Sanskrit and Chinese texts see Bapat: "Vohāra, Vyāhāra, Vyavahāra", *Sanskrit and Indological Studies*, Delhi 1975: 27-33.

2 Jayatilleke: *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, Delhi 1980: 334.

3 Kalupahana: *The Buddha's Philosophy of Language*, Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha 1999: 81-82 explains that "the conception of two truths, the conventional and the ultimate ... in spite of the total absence of such a dichotomy in the early discourses, the interpreters ... who relied heavily on the commentaries of Buddhaghosa have continued to attribute two truths to the Buddha himself".

4 According to Kalupahana op.cit.: 83, "these two types of discourses have nothing to do with conventional and ultimate truths".

5 Thus in the thought-world of early Buddhism there seems to be little basis for the distinction drawn by Ñāṇatiloka: *Guide through the Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, Kandy 1983: 2 between "philosophically incorrect 'conventional' every day language (*vohāra-vacana*)" and the *Abhidhamma* which employs "terms true in the absolute sense (*paramattha-dhamma*)". In fact, even the commentary to the *Kathāvatthu* recognizes that *sammutikathā* is as true as *paramatthakathā*, *KvA.* 36. Hence, as pointed out by Jayatilleke op. cit.: 365, the notion that the former is somehow wrong is a late development.

6 Ñāṇananda: *Concept and Reality*, Kandy 1986: 44.

7 Kalupahana op.cit.: IV.

VOSSAGGA, stands for "letting go", in the sense of relinquishing, forsaking, or renouncing. Similar to the closely related *paṭinissagga*, "giving up", (which will also be discussed in the present article), *vossagga* has a considerable scope of activity in early Buddhism. Both terms can be seen to throw into relief a central theme that underlies the path to liberation from its outset to its final completion, namely the need to quite literally "let go" of any clinging whatsoever.

Vossagga in a relatively mundane sense is part of a set of recommendations given in the *Siṅgālovāda Sutta*, according to which a householder should hand over authority to his wife, *issariyavossagga* (*D.* III, 190), and grant leave to his workers at the right time, *samaye vossagga* (*D.* III, 191). These practical instructions already involve at a deeper sense of *vossagga*, since in both instances what has to be let go off is control, whether this is in household affairs by handing over authority to the wife, or in labour matters by allowing the workers to take their leave. The desire to control that might render such letting go a difficult task is simply a particular prominent manifestation of clinging to a sense of 'I'. Hence even with such mundane types of *vossagga*, as in the

present instance, a step is already taken in the direction of what according to early Buddhism needs above all to be given up: clinging to a sense of 'I'.

A correlate to clinging to an 'I' notion is the sense of ownership towards people, goods and possessions by grasping these as 'mine'. To gradually undermine this sense of ownership, *vossagga* is repeatedly recommended in the early discourses. Letting go of grasping at one's possessions leads to generosity, which manifests by "delighting in letting go", *vossaggarato*, in the sense of "delighting in giving and sharing", *dānasaṃvibhāgarato* (*S.* V, 395). To be willing to let go in this way will become a source for a good reputation (*A.* I, 226) and lead to a heavenly rebirth (*A.* IV, 266). Having undertaken such letting go in the form of generosity in an earlier life was one out of the factors due to which *Sakka* was reborn as the ruler in the heaven of the Thirty-three (*S.* I, 228). The same form of letting go through generosity is also a clear token of faith for a Buddhist disciple (*A.* I, 150), in fact such generosity even features in listings of the four aspects of stream-entry, *sotāpattiyaṅga*, (*S.* V, 397). Having undertaken such letting go of one's possessiveness can then also be turned into an object of meditation, when one practices recollection of one's own generosity (*A.* III, 287).

This does not yet exhaust the relevance of *vossagga* to meditation practice. According to the canonical definition of the faculty of concentration, *samādhindriya*, it is by "having made letting go the object" of one's mind that "one gains concentration and one-pointedness of the mind", *vossaggārammaṇaṃ karitvā labhati samādhiṃ, labhati cittassa ekaggataṃ*. (*S.* V, 198). The passage that offers this definition continues with the standard description of the four *jhānas*, thereby indicating that the benefits of such letting go cover the whole gamut of concentrative depth of the mind.1 In relation to the development of concentration, to let go would stand for letting go of concern with the world of the senses, first of all, and at more progressive stages of the practice also for letting go of the subjective sense of 'I', since it is only when this sense of 'I' goes into abeyance, allowing for a subjective experience of a merger between observing subject and observed meditative object, that entry into *jhāna* becomes possible. Preconditions for developing such letting go into deep meditative absorption are faith, energy and mindfulness (*S.* V, 225).

Vossagga also has a significant contribution to make in regard to the development of insight. This role comes to the fore in those passages that describe how the seven factors of awakening, *bojjhaṅga*, are to be developed in order to lead to knowledge and liberation. Such development of the factors of awakening should be undertaken based on seclusion, dispassion and cessation, culminating in letting go, *vossaggapariṇāmiṃ* (e.g. *M.* III, 88). The same set - being based on seclusion, dispassion and cessation, and culminating in letting go - is relevant not only for the development of the seven factors of awakening, but also for developing the five faculties, *indriya*, the five powers, *bala*, and for the practice of the noble eightfold path (e.g. *S.* IV, 365-368).2

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* enumerates five types of *vossagga* developed in regard to each factor of the noble eightfold path with the break-through to liberating insight (*Ps.* II, 221):

(1) letting go by suppression, *vikkhambhana-vossagga*,
(2) letting go by substitution of opposites, *tadaṅgavossagga*,
(3) letting go by cutting off, *samucchedavossagga*,
(4) letting go by tranquillization, *paṭippassaddhi-vossagga*,
(5) letting go as an escape, *nissaraṇavossagga*.

The first of these, letting go by suppression, stands for the suppression of the hindrances; letting go by substitution of opposites stands for replacing the factors of the wrong path with those of the noble eightfold path; letting go by cutting off stands for cutting off defilements with the supramundane path; letting go by tranquillization refers to the supramundane fruit; and letting go as an escape represents *Nibbāna*.

In addition to distinguishing between these different types of *vossagga* related to the culmination point of the path, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* also depicts the compass of *vossagga* in relation to the previous stages of the path of meditative development. According to its description, the theme of 'letting go' is relevant to each of the hindrances, which should be let go of by developing their opposites. Thus renunciation, for example, is the way to let go of sensual desire, *nekkhammena kāmacchandaṃ vossajjatīti vossaggo* (*Ps.* II, 245). Implementation of the same basic principle of 'letting go' then is of continuous

relevance for the development of the four *jhānas*, of the four immaterial attainments, for the growth of insight into impermanence etc., and for attaining the four supramundane paths, where with the attainment of the path of *arahant*-ship one lets go of all defilements, *arahattamaggena sabbakilese vossajjati*.

In this way, the discourses and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* highlight in complementary ways the continuous relevance of *vossagga* in regard to any stage of the path. The same appears to be the case for *paṭinissagga*, "giving up". Before exploring the range of implications of *paṭinissagga*, however, it needs to be noted that a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* makes a point of specifying that not all forms of 'giving up' are recommendable. The type of giving up that leads to an increase in unwholesomeness should be avoided, and only the giving up that leads to an increase in wholesomeness should be undertaken (*A.* V, 192). The same is certainly also the case for 'letting go', *vossagga*. This much can be gathered from the *Vibhaṅga's* definition of heedlessness, *pamāda*, which speaks of 'letting go' of the mind in regard to the five strands of sensual pleasures, *pañcasu kāmaguṇesu cittassa vossaggo* (*Vibh.* 350). Evidently, such 'letting go' is not recommendable. Thus neither 'letting go' nor 'giving up' are to be practiced indiscriminately. Instead, both should be combined with a clear understanding of their purpose: increase in wholesome qualities and removal of unwholesome qualities.

While the term *vossagga* occurs more frequently in recommendations to let go of material possessions through practising generosity, *paṭinissagga* makes its appearance often in relation to the need to give up views. Thus various views about the past and the future are better given up (*M.* II, 235); and the whole of the *Sallekha Sutta* sets out on the theme of giving up certain views, *etāsaṃ diṭṭhīnaṃ paṭinissaggo* (*M.* I, 40); a theme also prominent in the treatment given to views in the *Dīghanakha Sutta* (*M.* I, 499). The profundity of this injunction becomes apparent in the concluding section of the *Dīghanakha Sutta*, according to which Sāriputta reached full liberation on realizing that the Buddha's recommendation implied giving up all those things through penetrative insight, *tesaṃ tesaṃ kira no Sugato dhammānaṃ abhiññā paṭinissagam āha* (*M.* I, 501).

A company where righteous speech prevails, *dhammavādinī parisā*, is one whose members are able to 'give up' their views instead of insisting on them dogmatically (*A.* I, 76). Those who dogmatically hold on to their views, *sandiṭṭhiparāmāsī ādhānaggāhī*, will find it difficult to implement such giving up, *duppaṭinissaggī* (e.g. *M.* I, 96). The importance of being able to 'give up' one's view is also reflected in several *saṅghādisesa* and *pācittiya* regulations in the *Vinaya*, which deal with monks or nuns who hold on to views that are mistaken or even have the potential of leading to a schism.[3]

In the context of actual meditation, *paṭinissagga* makes its appearance as the last in the altogether sixteen steps of mindfulness of breathing, preceded by contemplation of impermanence, fading away and cessation, *anicca*, *virāga* and *nirodha* (*M.* III, 83). A similar series of progressive steps in the development of insight can, on being applied to feelings in general, lead to freedom from clinging to anything in the world and hence to liberation (*M.* I, 251). In relation to pleasant feelings such *paṭinissagga* will lead to overcoming the underlying tendency to lust, *rāgānusaya*, in relation to painful feelings to overcoming the underlying tendency to irritation, *paṭighānusaya*, and in relation to neutral feelings to overcoming the underlying tendency to ignorance, *avijjānusayo* (*S.* IV, 211). Hence whatever feelings are experienced, the task is to contemplate their impermanence and eventually 'give up' all involvement with and attachment to them.

Not only in relation to feelings, but anything in the world of experience is best faced with *paṭinissagga*. This can be seen in the *Rāgapeyyālas* in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which list an impressive range of practices that are related to the basic principle of giving up, *paṭinissagga*. After enumerating a fairly comprehensive set of defilements, the *Rāgapeyyālas* indicate that to 'give up' these defilements can be undertaken through developing:

- *samatha* and *vipassanā* (*A.* I, 100);
- emptiness, signless and undirected concentration (*A.* I, 299);
- the four establishings of mindfulness (*A.* II, 256);
- the four right efforts (*A.* II, 256);
- the four roads to [spiritual] power (*A.* II, 256);
- the five faculties (*A.* III, 277);
- the five powers (*A.* III, 277);
- the six recollections (*A.* III, 452);
- the seven factors of awakening (*A.* IV, 148);

- the noble eightfold path (*A.* IV, 348);
- the four *jhānas* (*A.* IV, 465);
- the four *brahmavihāras* (*A.* V, 360);
- the four immaterial attainments (*A.* V, 360);
- the eight spheres of transcendence (*A.* IV, 348);
- the eight liberations (*A.* IV, 349);
- the attainment of cessation (*A.* IV, 465);
- and through various types of insight related perceptions (*A.* III, 277; *A.* III, 452; *A.* IV, 148; *A.* IV, 465; *A.* V, 310).

Hence *paṭinissagga*, similar to *vossagga*, spans the whole scale of meditative development. Perfecting giving up, then, requires giving up all craving, whereby the mind will be thoroughly liberated, *taṇhā ... paṭinissaggā cittaṃ suvimuttan'ti vuccati* (*S.* III, 13). Such giving up is the theme of the third noble truth, according to which the eradication of *dukkha* requires 'giving up' craving, *taṇhāya ... paṭinissaggo* (e.g. *S.* V, 421). It was through such 'giving up' of craving and of any sense of 'I' and 'mine' that the Buddha reached supreme awakening, *tathāgato sabbaso taṇhānaṃ ... paṭinissaggā anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho* (*M.* I, 6); *tathāgato ... sabba-ahaṃkāramamaṃkāramānānusayānaṃ ... paṭinissaggā anupādā vimutto* (*M.* I, 486).

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* distinguishes between two types of *paṭinissagga* in relation to the break-through to liberating insight: giving up through relinquishment, *pariccāgapaṭinissagga*, and giving up through leaping forward, *pakkhandanapaṭinissagga* (*Ps.* I, 194). A similar distinction in relation to *vossagga* is found in the commentaries, which speak of letting go through relinquishment, *pariccāgavossagga*, and letting go through leaping forward, *pakkhandanavossagga* (*MA.* I, 85). Whether it be 'letting go' or 'giving up', *pariccāga* refers to relinquishing all aspects of existence, while *pakkhandana* stands for the mind that leaps forward to the experience of *Nibbāna*.

In sum, then, *vossagga* and *paṭinissagga* can be seen to highlight the same theme from complementary perspectives, in that 'letting go' and 'giving up' are of continuous relevance to progress towards liberation. The final goal of such progressive 'letting go' and 'giving up' is but a culmination of the same, as can be seen from one of the epithets used to describe the goal as *sabbūpadhipaṭinissaggo*, the "giving up of all substrata" (e.g. *M.* I, 436). Hence 'letting go' or 'giving up', if practised wisely in such a way that it results in a growth of wholesome qualities, could be considered a succinct way of representing the central thrust of the teachings of early Buddhism.

... ādānapaṭinissagge,
anupādāya ye ratā,
khīṇāsavā jutimanto,
te loke parinibbutā.
Giving up acquisitiveness,
And delighting in not clinging,
[With] influxes destroyed and brilliant [with wisdom],
These have attained *Nibbāna* in this world (*Dhp.* 89).

Anālayo

References

1 Keeping in mind that the immaterial attainments do not differ from the fourth *jhāna* in terms of concentrative depth of the mind, but only in respect of having more refined objects.

2 Cf. in more detail Gethin: *The Buddhist Path to Awakening*, Leiden 1992: 162-168.

3 *Vin.* III, 173; *Vin.* III, 175; *Vin.* III, 178; *Vin.* III, 184; *Vin.* IV, 135; *Vin.* IV, 218; *Vin.* IV, 236; *Vin.* IV, 238; *Vin.* IV, 239; *Vin.* IV, 241; *Vin.* IV, 294. Another regulation concerned with *paṭinissagga* is when monks are enjoined to give up taking meals at improper times (*M.* I, 448).

VYĀPĀDA, sometimes spelled *byāpāda*, I stands for "ill-will". The negative repercussions of *vyāpāda* are treated from a set of related angles in early Buddhism, wherefore *vyāpāda* makes its appearance in a fair number of categories that describe unwholesome states or tendencies. The present article will begin by surveying occurrences of *vyāpāda* in these categories, followed by turning to its arising, its consequences and the way to overcome it.

Vyāpāda as a Manifestation of Wrong Intention

Vyāpāda is one of the three types of wrong intention, which are the intention of sensuality, *kāmasaṅkappa*, the intention of ill-will, *vyāpādasaṅkappa*, and the intention of harming, *vihiṃsāsaṅkappa* (e.g. *M.* III, 73; see also VIHIṂSĀ). These three types of intention stand in direct

opposition to progress on the path to liberation. Their counterparts - intention of renunciation, non-ill-will and harmlessness - constitute right intention as part of the noble eightfold path. A mind free from the three types of wrong intention is a mind of pure or undisturbed intentions, *anāvilasaṅkappa* (*A.* V, 31). To stay free from ill-will and harmlessness is of such importance for progress on the path that it can be compared to the weaponry of a war chariot (*S.* V, 6). Hence, as the *Sallekha Sutta* enjoins, though others may be full of ill-will, one should make a determined effort to remain free from it oneself (*M.* I, 42).

Vyāpāda as an Underlying Tendency

In a set of five underlying tendencies, *anusaya*, described in the *Mahāmaluṅkya Sutta*, *vyāpāda* forms the last in the series (*M.* I, 433). It thus replaces in this discourse the more usual *paṭigha* found in the standard listing of seven underlying tendencies (e.g. *D.* III, 254). The *Mahāmaluṅkya Sutta* explains that a small infant already has the underlying tendency to ill-will, even though a newborn child would not yet have the perception of a 'being', making it impossible for *vyāpāda* against beings to actually arise in the child, *'sattā' ti pi na hoti, kuto pan' assa uppajjissati sattesu vyāpādo* (*M.* I, 433). Thus *vyāpāda* is part of the basic emotional set up of unawakened beings, independent of whether such a being is already mature enough to experience actual manifestations of *vyāpāda*. The presentation in the *Mahāmaluṅkya Sutta* also indicates that the objects of ill-will are usually beings. These could either be other beings or else oneself, since ill-will can also manifest as self-hatred.

Vyāpāda as a Fetter

Vyāpāda is also the last of the five lower fetters, *orambhāgiya saṃyojana* (*D.* III, 234). These five lower fetters are what quite literally fetters mankind to transmigration in those realms of *saṃsāra* that are still related to sensuality. While the first three lower fetters are overcome with stream-entry, the fetter of sensuality and the fetter of ill-will are completely left behind only with non-return. Hence the total removal of ill-will takes place only at a rather advanced stage of progress along the path.

Vyāpāda as a Pathway of Action

In a listing of altogether ten pathways of action, *kammapatha*, *vyāpāda* comes as the ninth in the series, preceded by covetousness. The *Sāleyyaka Sutta* explains that such *vyāpāda* involves the wish for other beings to be killed, slaughtered, annihilated, destroyed, and come to be non-existent, *ime sattā haññantu vā vajjhantu vā ucchijjantu vā vinassantu vā mā vā ahesuṃ vā* (*M.* I, 287). This series of wishes reflects the degree to which ill-will can narrow down one's perception of a particular being as the culprit for a problem or situation, leading to the assumption that to eliminate this being is the only viable solution. As a pathway of action, such *vyāpāda* is a way of undertaking things that is bound to result in future *dukkha* (*M.* I, 313).

Vyāpāda as a Bodily Tie

In a group of altogether four bodily ties, *kāyagantha*, *vyāpāda* occupies the second position (*D.* III, 230). In this listing *vyāpāda* comes after covetousness, *abhijjhā*, which also precedes it in the ten pathways of action and which is similar in kind to the sensual desire, *kāmarāga*, that precedes *vyāpāda* in the listings of wrong intentions, underlying tendencies and lower fetters. This pattern also recurs in relation to occurrences of *vyāpāda* in another two schemes, the hindrances and the mental defilements, where *vyāpāda* again follows sensual desires or the related covetousness.

This recurrent pattern of listing *vyāpāda* after sensual desire or covetousness need not be a matter of chance, but could point an underlying relationship between the two. Both are comparatively gross defilements of the mind that need to be overcome in order to progress on the path. Moreover, the two are to some extent related to each other, in as much as ill-will easily arises as a consequence of frustrated desire. This is reflected in an analysis given in the *Sakkapañha Sutta*. This discourse takes up the question why beings who wish to be free from ill-will nevertheless succumb to it (*D.* II, 276). In an intriguing analysis of a series of conditions, the *Sakkapañha Sutta* traces the arising of ill-will to selfishness, holding things as dear, desires, thoughts and conceptual proliferations. The way out of this predicament, according to the same discourse, is to pursue only such types of joy, *somanassa*, that do not have unwholesome consequences. Hence ill-will does indeed seem to stand in a close relationship to desires.

Vyāpāda as a Mental Defilement

Vyāpāda comes in second place after covetousness in the context of a whole series of mental defilements, *upakkilesa*, listed in the *Vatth gpama Sutta* (*M.* I, 36). The *Vatth gpama Sutta* compares the presence of any of these mental defilements in the mind to stains on a cloth that make it impossible to properly dye the cloth. According to the *C ɛ ɲa-assapura Sutta*, as long as *vy ɲ ɲda* is not brought under control a monk is not really engaging in the path that makes him worthy of being reckoned a recluse, *sama ɲa* (*M.* I, 281). The same is illustrated in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which indicates that a monk under the influence of ill-will has missed out becoming a true recluse and also lost out on the possible enjoyment of instead living the household life. His predicament is comparable to a piece of wood from a funeral pyre that is burnt at both ends and in the middle smeared with dung, thus being in a condition where it cannot be put to any other use whatsoever (*S.* III, 93).

Vyāpāda as a Hindrance

Vyāpāda is also the second of the five hindrances (e.g. *D.* III, 234; see also N*VARAṆA), where it comes after sensual desire, *kāmacchanda*, or else in some alternative listings after covetousness, *abhijjhā*. As a hindrance, *vyāpāda* could be either "internal", in the sense of arising within oneself, or else "external", in the sense of being present in others (*S.* V, 110). Both perspectives should, according to early Buddhism, be given importance, since not only is *vyāpāda* within oneself a blameworthy quality, but also to encourage ill-will in others and to approve of it should be avoided (*A.* I, 299).

In the context of a set of similes that describes the nature of the hindrances with the help of a bowl full of water, used as a mirror to see the reflection of one's face, *vyāpāda* is similar to the water being heated up and boiling (*S.* V, 122). Such a condition would evidently make it impossible to use the water as a mirror. The imagery of boiling water aptly illustrates the effect of *vyāpāda* on the mind, an effect reflected also in the common parlance that someone is "boiling with anger". *Vyāpāda* quite literally heats up the mind. Moreover, one who succumbs to this hindrance is in a predicament quite similar to boiling water, which needs to be handled with extreme care in order to avoid that it spills over and harms those who are close to it.

Another simile compares the presence of the hindrance *vyāpāda* in the mind to copper as a corruption of gold. Due to such corruption, the gold will be brittle and unfit for being employed by the goldsmith, as it has lost its malleability and radiance (*S.* V, 92 and *A.* III, 16). This imagery draws out in particular the loss of workability of the mind due to the presence of ill-will. A similar nuance underlies another imagery, according to which *vyāpāda* compares to the effect of a particular strangling fig, whose effect is to encircle a tree, bend it and eventually split it apart (*S.* V, 96). Just as such a creeper weakens the tree its overgrows, so too the hindrance of ill-will weakens wisdom when it overgrows the mind.

In contrast, the mental condition when *vyāpāda* has at least temporarily been overcome is comparable to recovery from a physical illness (*M.* I, 275). According to the *Samaṇamaṇḍika Sutta*, intentions related to ill-will cease completely with *jhāna* attainment (*M.* II, 27). The *Visuddhimagga* explains that it is in particular the *jhāna* factor of joy, *p ti*, that stands in direct opposition to *vyāpāda*. (*Vism* 141).

The Arising and Consequences of *Vyāpāda*

A prominent cause for the arising of *vyāpāda* is unwise attention to the sign of irritation, *paṭighanimitta* (*A.* I, 3). Once ill-will has arisen, the mind tends to return again and again to the particular issue, event or person that has initiated the arising of *vyāpāda*. In this way, the *paṭighanimitta*, the "sign of irritation", can be become quite literally the "nutriment", *āhāra*, for ill-will (*S.* V, 64).

Based on the presence of the element of ill-will in one's mind, *vyāpādadhātu*, perceptions related to ill-will arise, *vyāpādasaññā* (*S.* II, 151). These in turn lead to intentions, desires, passions and quests under the influence of ill-will, *vyāpādasaṅkappa*, *vyāpādachanda*, *vyāpādapariḷāha*, *vyāpāda-pariyesanā*. The final results of this conditioned sequence are bound to be misdeeds by body, speech and mind under the influence of *vyāpāda*.

The presence of *vyāpāda* in the mind obstructs knowing what is beneficial for oneself and for others (*A.* III, 63), or keeping in mind what has been memorized for a long time (*S.* V, 122). According to the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga Sutta*, ill-will and anger conduce to being reborn ugly, or even to rebirth in hell

(*M.* III, 204). These future karmic results of ill-will reflect the effects that ill-will has even here and now, since an angry face, distorted by the tension of ill-will, is inevitably an ugly face.

The *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* provides the complementary perspective on the karmic consequences of *vyāpāda*, as it indicates that due to being free from anger and ill-will during previous existences, the Buddha was endowed with a beautiful complexion and a skin of a colour resembling gold (*D.* III, 159). The degree to which the absence of ill-will can affect countenance is also reflected in a passage in the *Mahāsaccaka Sutta*. According to this passage, the debater Saccaka was rather surprised to find that, when being addressed offensively, the Buddha's skin would brighten and his countenance become clear, *chavivaṇṇo c' eva pariyodāyati mukhavaṇṇo ca vippasīdati* (*M.* I, 250). Thus someone who does not react with ill-will and anger will not only be reborn endowed with beauty (*M.* III, 204), but even be more beautiful here and now, since the face of one who is forgiving, kind and patient, as illustrated in the *Mahāsaccaka Sutta*, will become more beautiful. Thus to endeavour to remain free from ill-will could even be considered a highly recommendable form of beauty care.

Beauty is, however, not the real reason why one should better avoid ill-will. A more serious consequence of being overwhelmed by ill-will is that one will do what one should not do and fail to do what should be done (*A.* II, 67). The dire consequence of allowing *vyāpāda* to remain in the mind are that the influence of ill-will on the mind leads on to words and deeds driven by the same unwholesome state of mind, *citte vyāpanne kāyakammam pi vyāpannaṃ hoti, vac·kammam pi vyāpannaṃ hoti* (*A.* I, 262). This is comparable to a house whose roof is not properly thatched, as a consequence of which the peak, the roof beams and the walls of the house will be affected.

To withdraw into solitude in the forest will be of little benefit for someone who is still under the influence of *vyāpāda* (*M.* I, 18); in fact to meditate with the mind overwhelmed by hindrance of *vyāpāda* is a form of mis-meditating, a way of practice that did not meet with the Buddha's approval (*M.* III, 14). The repercussions of *vyāpāda* are such that they can even contribute to a gradual deterioration of living conditions in general. Thus according to the *Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta* it is only when beings decide to leave *vyāpāda* and other unwholesome actions and mental conditions behind that, after a long period of continual decline, living situations begin to improve again (*D.* III, 74).

How to Overcome *Vyāpāda*

A foundation for overcoming *vyāpāda* is moral conduct, since by keeping the five precepts incumbent on a lay-follower of Buddhism one makes, as it were, a gift of fearlessness, non-anger and non-ill-will to other beings, *abhayaṃ deti averaṃ deti avyāpajjhaṃ deti* (*A.* IV, 246). A set of discourses in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* succinctly explains that to overcome thoughts of ill-will, perceptions of ill-will, or the element of ill-will in the mind requires quite simply to develop thoughts of non-ill-will, perceptions of non-ill-will and the element of non-ill-will, *avyāpāda* (*A.* III, 446).

In order to undertake this task, an important prerequisite for overcoming *vyāpāda* is clear recognition of its presence. The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* describes such clear recognition, followed by developing an understanding of what has lead to the arising of this hindrance, what will lead to its removal, and how a future arising of *vyāpāda* can be prevented (*M.* I, 60). Such clear recognition as the first step in dealing with *vyāpāda* is of considerable importance. Instead of immediately reacting, the task is to allow mindfulness the time and space to clearly recognize that *vyāpāda* is present in the mind, and to see what has caused its arising. It is only when this first step of clearly assessing the situation has been carried to its completion that removal of *vyāpāda* comes in its proper place. This two-step approach is mentioned explicitly in the *Itivuttaka* as a characteristic quality of the Buddha's teaching, which instructs to recognize evil as evil, *pāpaṃ pāpakato passatha*, followed by overcoming it, *pāpaṃ pāpakato disvā tattha nibbindatha virajjatha vimuccatha* (*It.* 33). Such overcoming, then, is the task of right effort, namely to arouse energy and strive in order to prevent the arising of ill-will and to overcome any ill-will that has already arisen (e.g. *M.* II, 11).

For the actual removal of *vyāpāda*, the above-mentioned comparison of a mental condition free from *vyāpāda* to recovery from a physical disease provides a helpful indication (*M.* I, 275). Together with the listing of *vyāpāda* as a bodily tie, *kāyagantha*, this

draws attention to the bodily tension and quite literal dis-ease that the arising of *vyāpāda* can bring about. This bodily tension and the mental boiling up of *vyāpāda* augment each other. Thus, at times, a brake can already be put on this vicious circle by consciously relaxing the body, by quite literally taking a deep breath. Shortness of breath, clinching of teeth and tensing of shoulders are easily detectable bodily indicators of the presence of *vyāpāda* in the mind, and to consciously counteract them by relaxation can have quite surprising effects on the mental condition.

Intentional relaxation can also have quite substantial results if applied directly to the mind itself. Here the point is that ill-will inevitably involves a narrow perspective, usually a focussing on the irritating and displeasing aspect of a situation or a person at the exclusion of other aspects that do not reinforce the irritation. This narrow vision can escalate so much that, as described in the context of *vyāpāda* as a pathway of action, the only possible solution seems to be the elimination of the being in question. Once *vyāpāda* has successfully narrowed down the scope of perception in this way, from a subjective perspective the annihilation of the other becomes the only way out, as due to the narrowness of vision any alternative way out of the situation is no longer apprehended.

Here a conscious broadening of the scope of perception can go a long way in undermining the foundations of *vyāpāda*. The nuance of broadening of the mind comes up explicitly in a description of how ill-will in regard to disagreeable sense objects leads to a narrow state of mind, *appiyarūpe rūpe vyāpajjati ... parittacetaso* (*M.* I, 266). If, however, covetousness and ill-will are overcome, then the mind becomes broad and boundless, *abhijjhāpi vyāpādāpi ... tesaṃ pahānā aparittañca me cittaṃ bhavissati, appamāṇaṃ subhāvitaṃ* (*M.* II, 262).

True broadening of the mind then comes about through the development of loving kindness, whose meditative radiation is quite literally "boundless", *appamāṇa*, as well as being free from anger and ill-will, *avera* and *avyāpajjha* (e.g. *D.* I, 251). Through the development of *mettā*, any ill-will will be removed, *mettaṃ ... bhāvayato yo vyāpādo so pahīyissati* (*M.* I, 424). A verse in the *Itivuttaka* indicates that for those under the influence of ill-will, who burn with the fire of anger, the way to extinguish this fire is *mettā* (*It.* 92-93). In fact, loving kindness is the antidote par excellence for ill-will, so much so that it is impossible for *vyāpāda* to invade and persist in a mind that has developed *mettā* (*D.* III, 248).

Additional tools for overcoming *vyāpāda* are to consciously ignore the negative qualities of a person that is experienced as irritating and to instead direct attention to whatever positive qualities can be found in him or her (*A.* III, 186). In case one is unable to find anything positive, then the occasion has come for developing compassion, *karuṇā*, as a person bereft of any positive quality should indeed call up our compassion and pity. In addition to *mettā* and *karuṇā*, equanimity can help to overcome irritation, trying to forget about the issue that has caused irritation, or reflecting on the fact that all beings are the heirs of their own deeds (*A.* III, 185).

The Pāli commentaries mention, in addition to loving kindness and reflection on the karmic consequences of one's deeds, repeated wise consideration, association with good friends and suitable conversation as means for overcoming *vyāpāda* (*MA.* I, 283). The reference to associating with good friends receives a complementary perspective in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which points out that those under the influence of ill-will tend to associate with others who have the same inclination (*S.* II, 168). Hence frequenting those who are free from ill-will will support one's own struggle against *vyāpāda*.

For one who has reached final liberation, *vyāpāda* has forever been left behind. A *Tathāgata* is one who delights and rejoices in the absence of ill-will (*It.* 31). As the *Jīvaka Sutta* points out, the Buddha's establishment in *mettā* was well grounded indeed, since he had forever eradicated any defilement of the mind that might lead to *vyāpāda* (*M.* I, 369).

Mettvihārī yo bhikkhu
pasanno Buddhasāsane
adhigacche padaṃ santaṃ
saṅkhārūpasamaṃ sukhaṃ.
A monk who dwells in *mettā*,
And is devoted to the Buddha's teaching,
Shall attain the path of peace,
The happiness of the calming of [all] formations
(*Dhp.* 368).

Anālayo

References

1 For the sake of consistency, in this article the reading *vyāpāda* will be adopted throughout, though the texts at times may read *byāpāda* instead.

WAR AND PEACE will be treated in the present article predominantly from the perspective of the Pāli canon,[1] examining the existence of warfare at the time of the Buddha; the problem of killing through actively engaging in war; Buddhist conceptions of victory gained by peaceful means; the Buddha's attitude to contemporary kings engaged in warfare; the establishment of communal peace; and the development of mental peace.

Warfare at the time of the Buddha

From a historical perspective, the period of ancient Indian history that saw the rise of Buddhism was characterized by an incipient political centralization. As is common in political history all over the world, the early stages of such political centralization are often marked by a ruthless push to power among petty kings and rulers. Thus various forms of violence related to warfare appear to have been common at the time of the Buddha and as such form a recurrent motif in the thought world of the early discourses (see also VIHIṂSĀ).

Awareness of the fragility of peace appears to be reflected in a description of the questions someone would ask about his hometown, from which he had been absent for some time. These questions begin with the inquiry if the inhabitants of his hometown are still living in peace and safety, *khemattañca ... puccheyya* (*M.* II, 253). Fear of war seems to also underlie some of the prognostications that were given by contemporary Brahmins, which include a prediction about whether peace will prevail (*D.* I, 11).

The actual conditions of war are reflected in the *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta*, which focuses on the suffering that human beings inflict on each other through warfare. This discourse describes how after "having taken up sword and shield, having girded on bow and quiver, both sides charge into battle with arrows and spears flying and swords flashing. There they are wounded by arrows and spears, their heads are cut off by swords, whereby they incur death or deadly suffering ... they charge up slippery bastions ... there they are ... splashed with boiling liquids, crushed under heavy weights ... whereby they incur death or deadly suffering" (*M.* I, 86). Paradoxically enough, according to the *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta* the underlying driving force for engaging in war, with all its resultant suffering, is none other than the wish to obtain sensual pleasures.[2]

The occurrence of war is referred to in the Vinaya and in the discourses. The Vinaya records King Bimbisāra at war with the Licchavīs (*Vin.* III, 108), and King Pasenadi setting out for battle (*Vin.* IV, 104). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* begins by reporting that King Pasenadi came to visit the Buddha after returning from a victorious fight;[3] and two consecutive discourses in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* depict King Pasenadi engaged in repeated battle with King Ajātasattu (*S.* I, 82-85; cf. also *Jā* II, 403 and *Jā* IV, 343).

Probably taking into account King Pasenadi's familiarity with warfare, on one occasion the Buddha explained to him the fruitfulness of giving to those who are virtuous with the help of an example taken from the battlefield, contrasting a trained and courageous warrior's performance in combat to one who is untrained and fearful (*S.* I, 99). The imagery of a valiant warrior is in fact a recurrent motif in the discourses in order to illustrate recommendable qualities (e.g. *A.* I, 284; *A.* II, 170; *A.* II, 202; *A.* III, 89; *A.* III, 93), and the *Padhāna Sutta* frames the struggle for awakening of the Buddha-to-be in terms of a battle between the bodhisattva and the army of Māra (*Sn.* 436-443).

War and the problem of killing

However much the imagery of a valiant worrier may have been used in the discourses in a positive sense, active participation in warfare is, from an early Buddhist perspective, certainly not commendable. This is so above all because active participation in warfare is incompatible with the keeping of the first precept against killing. Thus, much against the ancient Indian ideal of the warrior who dies on the battlefield in fulfilment of his duty,[4] according to the Buddha to be active as a soldier in battle can only have negative karmic repercussions (*S.* IV, 308; see in more detail YODHĀJĪVA SUTTA).[5] The importance of not encouraging warfare is also reflected in the early

Buddhist conception of right livelihood, according to which a Buddhist should not engage in trade in arms (*A.* III, 208). Thus it seems as if "the Buddha's attitude to war was absolute, context-independent and non-negotiable".[6]

The need to avoid violence at all cost goes to the very heart of early Buddhist ethics. The importance of not retaliating when having to face violence is vividly expressed in the famous simile of the saw in the *Kakacūpama Sutta*. According to this simile, even if cut to pieces by bandits a true disciple of the Buddha will react with *mettā* (*M.* I, 129). The message of this passage is that to react with violence can never be the solution, as violence itself constitutes the problem that needs to be solved. Therefore, to respond to violence with violence merely perpetuates the real problem.

A different perspective emerges in later literature. According to the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa*, several monks (presumably *arahants*) comforted King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, who was in sorrow on account of the killings caused by a war he had fought. They told him that he had killed only one and a half human beings, since only one had taken refuge and another one had taken the five precepts. Others who had died were mere beasts, as they were of wrong view and without virtue, *diyaḍḍhamanujā c' ettha, ghātitā manujādhipa, saraṇesu ṭhito eko, pañcasīlepi cāparo, micchādiṭṭhi ca dussīlo, sesā pasusamāmatā* (*Mhv.* 25: 109-110).[7]

This passage is difficult to reconcile with the canonical stance of early Buddhism. The precept against killing does not intend to only prevent killing other Buddhists, but covers killing any human as well as other living beings. Here the *Mahāvaṃsa* seems to be influenced by a type of reasoning that makes its appearance in attempts to legitimate warfare and violence throughout human history and in various cultures, where the enemy is divested of his or her status as a fellow human being in order to feel justified in depriving him or her of life.

In the history of Buddhism, the *Mahāvaṃsa* is certainly not the only instance of a change of attitude towards the issue of killing. Another example would be the *Mahā-Upāyakauśalya Sūtra*, which reports that in a former life the Buddha-to-be was travelling in a company of five-hundred men. A group of robbers, planning to ambush the travellers, had sent a man ahead to act as a scout. This scout was an old friend of the bodhisattva and thus warned him of the impending danger. The bodhisattva, realizing the evil that would accrue for perpetrators and victims if the planned ambush should be carried out, decided to kill his former friend in order to prevent the planned raid (*T.* III, 161c4).[8] The bodhisattva carried out his decision without hesitation, even though his former friend had just giving him a warning in order to save his life. The evaluation given to this deed in the *Mahā-Upāyakauśalya Sūtra* does not take the rather treacherous act of the bodhisattva towards an old friend into consideration, but instead provides a positive evaluation of his willingness to commit a major breach of conduct in order to prevent others from performing evil.

Another example for a re-evaluation of the precept against killing can be found in the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. This discourse reports that, in a former life as a king, the Buddha-to-be had some Brahmins put to death merely because they were slandering *Mahāyāna* teachings (*T.* XII, 434c18). As the same discourse explains, such killing is not really an offence, but should be seen as comparable to felling a tree or cutting grass (*T.* XII, 460b15). In fact, to protect the Dharma one should not be concerned about the five precepts, but should be willing to take up sword and bow (*T.* XII, 383b22). In short, one who disregards the five precepts for the sake of protecting the Dharma is indeed a follower of the *Mahāyāna* (*T.* XII, 384a24).[9]

Though these two discourses do not explicitly speak of war, the latitude they give to killing can easily be applied to the context of warfare. In fact, the stance taken in the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* on the demerit incurred by killing follows the same pattern of reasoning as the above passage from the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

Victory by peaceful means

In contrast to the latitude given in later texts to killing, victory by peaceful means through the power of righteousness alone is an essential part of the early Buddhist conception of a *cakkavatti*, who rules without any violence. The canonical descriptions of such a *cakkavatti* ruler present non-violence as an integral aspect of his righteousness, indicating that the *cakkavatti* exercises his rule over the whole earth

without resorting to rod or sword, solely by the power of righteousness, *adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya ajjhāvasati* (*M.* II, 134). Though one of the endowments of a *cakkavatti* is his possession of an army, to engage in an actual battle would defeat the *cakkavatti's* nature of being a righteous ruler, since it would imply that he resorts to rod or sword establishing or maintaining his reign. Thus, for the *cakkavatti* to be in the company of his fourfold army appears to be just an aspect of his majestic appearance in public. This much could be deduced from the circumstance that he would take this army along even when he goes for a pleasure outing (*M.* III, 176). Instead of engaging in actual fighting, the *cakkavatti* deals with opponents by instructing them in keeping the precepts, first and foremost in abstaining from killing (*M.* III, 173).[10]

Several discourses report that regular fighting took place between the *devas*, headed by Sakka, and the *asuras*.[11] Since in the thought world of the early discourses Sakka often assumes the role of an exemplary Buddhist lay disciple, one might wonder how far such accounts convey an implicit acceptance of the need to engage in warfare. Closer inspection brings to light, however, that references to such battles are introduced as something that happened in a bygone past, *bhūtapubba*.[12] According to the *Sakkapañhā Sutta*, Sakka had attained stream-entry during his first meeting with the Buddha (*D.* II, 288). As a stream-enterer, he would have firmly kept the precept on abstaining from killing, so that his warrior activities must indeed belong to the bygone past, before his conversion to Buddhism. Sakka's change of perspective appears to be reflected in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which reports how he approached the Buddha and asked what type of killing the Buddha would approve. In reply, he was told that he should kill his own anger (*S.* I, 237). Thus the way the ancient Indian warrior god Indra/Sakka was integrated into the Buddhist pantheon appears to be yet another expression of early Buddhism's clear stance against war and killing.

The same is also reflected in the *Mahāsīlava* and *Seyya Jātakas*, which record how in former times the Buddha-to-be as a king was not willing to let himself be drawn into violence even to the extent of giving up his kingdom to an enemy, instead of resisting an attack (*J.* I 263 and *J.* II, 401). Though it remains open to question to what degree such accounts should be interpreted as realistic recommendations, the set of values they convey is pronouncedly pacifistic.

A discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* reports the Buddha reflecting on the possibility of ruling without killing and causing others to kill (*S.* I, 116). The discourse continues with Māra suggesting that the Buddha should exercise such rule, since his possession of the four roads to [spiritual] power would enable him to do so. The Buddha does not deny this, so that one has the impression that he would indeed have been able to rule in such a non-violent manner. Yet, for one who has seen *dukkha* and its cause, he comments, it is impossible to become involved again with what pertains to the world of sensual pleasures and acquisitions. That is, though early Buddhism has a conception of righteous rule carried out without resorting to violence, it sees freedom from bondage as a more important and worthwhile goal. With such freedom attained, the root cause for violence and warfare has forever been overcome.

The Buddha and contemporary kings

This priority of the goal of liberation over social and political concerns also provides the background for the Buddha's relationship with contemporary kings. The canonical sources do not report the Buddha delivering teachings on the need to abstain from warfare to the kings whom he met. To give such advice to a king would probably have been inappropriate for a wandering ascetic in the ancient Indian setting, where the role of political advisor was rather in the hand of the Brahmins. Thus, instead of directly addressing kings on the evil of warfare, the Buddha apparently took a more indirect approach.

An example for such an indirect approach can be found in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. According to this discourse, on being informed that Ajātasattu had the intention of waging war on the Vajjīs, the Buddha described to Ajātasattu's minister the sources of the strength of the Vajjīs (*D.* II, 73). The minister thereon drew the conclusion that the Vajjīs could not be defeated in battle, but had to be overcome through other means. Thus it seems as if in this instance the Buddha's pronouncement prevented a war.[13]

According to the *Dhammapada* commentary, the Buddha once directly intervened to avert a battle between the Koliyans and his own clan, the Sakyans

(*DhpA.* III, 254). The quarrel had started at a time of drought over the right to use the water of a river that ran between the territories belonging to the two parties. To bring the two contending factions to their senses, the Buddha inquired if the water was worth more than the lives of their kinsmen. Since both parties had to concede that this was not the case, a way of settling their conflict could be found without bloodshed or violence.

Another such instance involves again the Sakyans, who were under threat of being attacked by the newly crowned king of Kosala, the successor to Pasenadi. According to the account given in the *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhpA.* I, 357; cf. also *Jā.* IV, 152), for altogether three times the Buddha intercepted the approaching army and, through indirect means, was able to induce them to turn back. But on a fourth occasion the king proceeded and all the Sakyans were killed. Thus, according to this account the Buddha also prevented a war, though in this case his intervention did not have a lasting effect. Independent of the historical reliability of this report,[14] it indubitably presents the Buddha as a peacemaker and thereby makes desire for peace and abstention from violence exemplary qualities for those who follow his teaching.

Communal Peace

Clear awareness of the need to go to the very root of what causes warfare pervades the early Buddhist treatment of the complementary theme of peace. Most of the discourses related to peace deal with the development of the mind, with only few instances turning to the more mundane aspects of peace. One of these is the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, which sets forth the conditions by which a ruler can ensure that peace prevails in his realm (*D.* I, 135). According to its account, by giving proper wages to government employees and material support to those engaged in trade and production, prosperity will spread and lead to peaceful living conditions throughout the realm.

A complementary perspective on how to ensure peace in the realm can be gathered from the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta*, which reports how, due to the king inflicting capital punishment on theft, a general increase in violence occurred throughout the realm (*D.* III, 67). Thus another factor for ensuring communal peace would be an impartial and compassionate administration of law and punishment.

Other passages indicate that for establishing peace within the monastic community the ordained disciples of the Buddha should have recourse to a set of seven methods for settling a litigation, *adhikaraṇasamatha* (*M.* II, 247 and its parallel *T.* I, 754a21; cf. in more detail *Vin.* II, 73ff). These set out proper ways to deal with an allegation, stipulate how a monastic can be cleared or else should be further interrogated, and indicate how to settle a quarrel between two factions of a community. The last of these methods is literally called "covering over with grass", *tiṇavatthāraka*, and the principle it proposes is that, in order to put an end to disputation, both sides make a summary confession and then consider what has happened earlier as settled for good.

The *Cūḷagosiṅga Sutta* describes the peaceful cohabitation of a group of monks who dwell together "blending like milk and water", *khīrodakībhūtā*, interacting with each other as if, though having different bodies, they had a single mind, *nānā ... kāyā ekañca pana maññe cittaṃ* (*M.* I, 206). According to this discourse, central factors that led to such peace were the monks' practice of loving kindness towards each other and their willingness to set aside their own desires in order to comply with the wishes of the others. Acting in this way would indeed lead to the establishment of communal harmony, which then becomes a source of happiness for all members of that community, *sukhā saṅghassa sāmaggī* (*Dhp.* 194), and thereby provides the ideal condition for their progress on the path to liberation and therewith to true mental peace.

Mental peace

The main factor for ensuring peace, from an early Buddhist perspective, is to remove the causes for quarrel and fighting in one's own mind and thereby establish the conditions for true and lasting peace of mind within. As a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta* succinctly proclaims, pacification should be carried out within, instead of searching for peace elsewhere, *ajjhattam eva upasame, nāññato bhikkhu santim eseyya* (*Sn.* 919). Thus, when challenged by a visitor to proclaim his teachings, according to the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* the Buddha replied that what he teaches leads beyond quarrelling with anyone in the world (*M.* I, 108). Asked by one of his monks to explain further, the Buddha pointed out that by overcoming unwholesome qualities

in the mind, the root cause for resorting to rods and weapons will be left behind.

Just as a rain cloud settles all dust, so the noble eightfold path pacifies all unwholesome states (*S.* V, 50), and thereby pacifies all *dukkha* (*Dhp.* 191). Therefore, the four noble truths are a peaceful refuge indeed, *saraṇam khemaṃ* (*Dhp.* 192).

The development of peace within then leads to the ability to patiently bear hostilities. An inspiring example of such ability is described in the *Puṇṇovāda Sutta*. According to this discourse, after initial hesitation the Buddha gave his monk disciple Puṇṇa permission to go and live in a part of India inhabited by fierce people. The permission was given since through a series of questions the Buddha had been able to ascertain the degree of inner control and peacefulness, *damupasama*, with which Puṇṇa was endowed (*M.* III, 269).

This series of questions had begun by asking Puṇṇa what he would do if others were to abuse him. Puṇṇa replied that if he were to meet with abuse, he would reflect on the kindness of the people in as much as they did not give him a blow. The Buddha continued by asking Puṇṇa how he would react if they were to give him a blow, to which Puṇṇa replied that he would bear it by keeping in mind that they did not throw a clod at him. Their exchange continues in the same manner, with Puṇṇa mentioning each time a worse alternative he would reflect on in order to maintain patience, followed by the Buddha inquiring what he would do if that worse alternative should happen. This exchange takes up the possibility that Puṇṇa might have a clod thrown at him, or be hit with a stick, or be attacked with a knife, or even be deprived of life. In case he should be deprived of life, Puṇṇa explained that he would still be able to consider this in a positive light, as other disciples had to go searching for means to commit suicide, whereas he would be achieving the same result without having to do any searching. This exchange throws into relief how, even in the most adverse circumstances, someone possessed of true inner peace will be able to avoid reacting with violence.

Notably, the *Puṇṇovāda Sutta* reports that Puṇṇa's attainment of liberation took place only at a later point in time, so that at the time of this exchange he was not yet an *arahant*. This goes to show that the principle of not retaliating can be put into practice even at stages of development that fall short of the attainment of supreme peace within. To endeavour one's best at remaining peaceable when confronted with the anger of others is thus the proper course of action for a disciple of the Buddha, a course of action that will be for one's own benefit as well as for the benefit of the other party, *ubhinnam atthaṃ carati, attano ca parassa ca, paraṃ saṅkupitaṃ ñatvā yo sato upasammati* (*S.* I, 162).

The theme of mental peace also pervades the context of meditation practice. Here a mind that has been internally calmed and pacified, *ajjhattaṃ vupasanta citta*, is free from the hindrance of restlessness (*D.* I, 71). Mental peace is also related to overcoming the hindrance of doubt, whose removal is comparable to the experience of a traveller who, after crossing a dangerous desert, reaches a village that is safe and at peace, *khema* (*D.* I, 73). Removal of all five hindrances then leads to progressive stages of calmness and mental pacification. With the first *jhāna*, speech has been stilled and pacified, *vūpasama*, followed by the pacification of initial and sustained application of the mind with the second *jhāna*, pacification of rapture with the third *jhāna*, and stilling of the process of breathing with the fourth *jhāna* (*S.* IV, 217). Hence the happiness experienced with the four *jhānas* can be reckoned the happiness of pacification, *upasamasukha* (e.g. *M.* I, 454).

Based on having pacified the mind to such a degree, the peaceful immaterial liberations, *santa vimokkha*, can be developed, which require the progressive pacification, *vūpasama*, of perceptions of form, of space, of boundless consciousness etc., until finally feeling and perceptions are also pacified with the attainment of cessation. The peak of pacification in its true sense, however, requires the complete destruction of the influxes, whereby lust, anger and delusion are forever pacified (*S.* IV, 217).

The pacification of these three unwholesome roots in the mind constitutes a supreme and noble form of peace, *paramo ariyo upasamo* (*M.* III, 246). Hence peace, *khema*, is a synonym for the final goal, wherefore the whole range of meditation practices that conduce to this goal can be reckoned as leading to peace, *khemagāmin* (*S.* IV, 371). Besides, pacification can itself become an object of meditation as *upasamānusati*, recollection of peace (*A.* I, 42). An instance of such practice can be found in a discourse

in the *Udāna*, which describes Sāriputta seated in meditation and reviewing his achievement of peace within (*Ud* 46).

One who, being free from anger, has become peaceful, *khemin*, deserves to be reckoned a sage (*Dhp.* 258). Hence it comes as no surprise that thoughts related to peace, *khemo vitakko*, are the type of thoughts that a Buddha will frequently engage in (*It.* 31). The door to the deathless opened up by the Buddha for mankind conduces to peace, *vivaṭaṃ amatadvāraṃ khemaṃ* (*M.* I, 227), and the final goal is a "state of peace", *santipada* (*Sn.* 208), also referred to as the "supreme peace", *paramaṃ santiṃ* (*Thag.* 364 and 434 etc.). Such happiness of [true] peace is superior to any other type of happiness, *n'atthi santiparaṃ sukhaṃ* (*Dhp.* 202).

Jayaṃ veraṃ pasavati,
dukkhaṃ seti parājito,
upasanto sukkhaṃ seti,
hitvā jayaparājayaṃ (*Dhp.* 201).

Victory produces enmity
[And] the defeated one dwells in suffering.
[But] a peaceful one dwells in happiness,
Having left behind [concern with] victory and defeat.

Anālayo

References

1 For additional perspectives on war and peace that take into account a broader range of sources, the reader is kindly invited to consult some of the publications mentioned in the notes below.

2 Besides sensual pleasures, Harvey: "War and Peace", *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*, Cambridge 2000: 239-240, lists the desire for power, attachment to material possessions, grasping at views, and investing one's sense of identity in 'my country', 'my community', or 'my religion' as causes for war.

3 *A.* V, 65 indicates that this was a sham fight, though according to the commentary *AA.* V, 28 it was a real fight.

4 Zimmerman: "War", *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, New York 2004: 893 notes that the Buddhist position stands "in sharp opposition to the dominant view of the time, according to which it was the particular duty of a kṣatriya, a member of the warrior caste, to fight and, if at all possible, to die on the battlefield".

5 For a more detailed study of the Theravāda position that an act of killing is inevitably unwholesome cf. Gethin: "Can Killing a Living Being Ever Be an Act of Compassion?", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 11, 2004: 167-202.

6 Maitrimurthi: "The Buddha's Attitude to Social Concerns", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 22.1, 2005: 41.

7 Schmithausen: "Aspects of the Buddhist Attitude to War", in *Violence Denied: Violence, Non-Violence and the Rationalization of Violence in South Asian Cultural History*, Leiden 1999: 57, comments that perhaps "the argument of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī story in the *Mahāvaṃsa* was stimulated by ideas documented, one or two centuries earlier, in some Mahāyāna texts", where "transgression of the precepts, including the precept not to kill living beings, is declared to be allowed or even required in certain exceptional situations".

8 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

9 Cf. in more detail Demiéville: "Le Bouddhisme et la Guerre", *Choix d'Études Bouddhiques*, Leiden 1973: 292.

10 However, as Zimmermann: "Only a Fool Becomes a King", *Buddhism and Violence*, Lumbini 2006: 217, notes, the description of a *cakkavatti* "offers very few concrete guidelines on what to do if crimes *do* take place and the stability in the country is *not* maintained" and thus "avoids a realistic discussion of the possible need for the application of punishment" or of warfare.

11 *D.* II, 285; *M.* I, 253; *S.* I, 218; *S.* I, 221; *S.* I, 222; *S.* I, 224; *S.* I, 227; *S.* IV, 201; *S.* V, 447; *A.* IV, 432.

12 Tanabe: "Some Remarks on the Stories Beginning with the Word Bhūtapubbaṃ", *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori*, Nagoya 2003: 44, explains that *bhūtapubba* is mostly used to refer to events that took place before the lifetime of the Buddha.

13 McFarlane: "Buddhism", *World Encyclopedia of Peace*, Oxford 1986: 99 concludes that "the Buddha is described effectively averting a major military conflict". Schmidt-Leukel: "Das Problem

von Gewalt und Krieg in der Buddhistischen Ethik", *Dialog der Religionen*, 6.2, 1996: 132, notes that the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* not only begins with an episode where a war is averted, but also ends with a similar type of event, when the Brahmin Doṇa prevents a clash regarding the Buddha's relics by reminding the contending parties of the Buddha's teaching on patience (*D.* II, 166). According to ibid., the positioning of this two events at the beginning and end of the discourse that reports the Buddha's *parinibbāna* highlights the importance of the teaching on the need to abstain from violence and killing, be it before or after the passing away of the Buddha.

14 Bareau: "Le Massacre des Śākya, Essai d'Interprétation", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 69, 1981: 69 points out that the credibility of this account of the wholesale destruction of the Sakyan clan suffers from the fact that, according to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D.* II, 165), after the Buddha had passed away the Sakyans were still powerful enough to be one of the groups who demanded a share of the relics. Lamotte: *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988: 320 notes that the *stūpa* constructed by the Sakyans was discovered in 1898 in a Nepalese village, thereby lending support to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* account and making it even less probable that already during the Buddha's lifetime the Sakyans had been exterminated in the way described in the *Dhammapada* commentary.

WAT SRĀKET. Wat Sraket (**SRAKEŚA**), in Bangkok, is noted for its Golden mount which towers above the avenue linking the Grand Palace to the Throne Hall. During festivals it is the central point of illuminations in the palace area. The *cetiya* on the summit contains the best authenticated sacred relic in Thailand. During the 1800's the cremation facilities of this *wat* were much used, particularly during epidemics, because of its location outside the city wall.

In April 1782 the commander of the Thai armed forces, Cao Pya Cakri, returning from a military campaign in the east, stopped at this monastery for a purification ceremony in which lustral water was poured over his head. After he ascended the throne as Rāma I, and established his capital in Bangkok, he began repairs on this and other monasteries on the Bangkok side of the river. Using prisoners of war he extended the Bang Lamphu canal along the west side of Sraket and dug the Mahanak canal along the north side. Smaller canals placed along the other two sides of the monastery completed the encirclement by water. The Mahanak canal bears the name of a monk at the Golden Mount Monastery near Ayudhya who had dug a canal in 1459 A.C. to defend the old capital.

In November 1801 Srakae, for such was the original name of this *wat*, celebrated its restoration. King Rāma I attended the seven-day consecration ceremonies, took the monastery under royal patronage, and altered the name to Sraket, (*sra* - pouring water; *ket* or *keśa* - hair) to commemorate the ceremony held in 1782 which preceded the king's accession to the throne.

In 1818 in this monastery was planted a cutting form the Bodhi tree at Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka. In March 1822 the chief monk of this monastery, Somdech Pra Vanaratana (Don), became "Supreme Patriarch of the Monastic order and took up residence at Wat Mahādhātu. He held office for twenty years.

During the reign of Rāma III (1824-1851) this monastery acquired most of its present features. Dwellings (kuṭi) for 300 monks were constructed of brick. The *uposata* hall (*bōt*) was restored and embellished.

The principal image in this building is that of Buddha seated in the posture of meditation. In the surrounding gallery are 163 seated images, and at each of the four corners a standing figure of Buddha. West of this *bōt* the king erected a vihāra of great height. He placed in the south chamber a bronze standing Buddha over 9 metres high. It is known as the Pra Attharasa Buddha, and it was brought to Bangkok about 1829 from Wat Vihāra Tong, Pisnulok. In the north chamber is a bronze Buddha, brought from Wat Dusit when that monastery was razed to make room for the Throne Hall. West of this *vihāra* is a pavilion for holding funeral ceremonies, and behind that is the crematorium.

Dominating all the buildings is the nearly seventy-five metres high Golden Mount, named after the great structure bearing that name near the old capital of Ayudhya. King Rāma III commissioned Pya Sri Vivaḍhana to erect a gigantic tower (*prāng*) with a

dodecagonal base 100 metres long on each side. This was to be faced with brick, the centre to be filled with earth and stone. During construction the central mass of material sank eighteen metres into the alluvial subsoil. As subsidence continued the project was abandoned for a number of years. King Rāma IV (1851-1868) authorized Pya Sri Vivaḍhana to resume work on the shapeless mass and to make of it an artificial hill. It was completed early in the following reign and was so covered with brick and grey stucco as to resemble a steep Stone Mountain adorned with numerous shrines, small cetiyas, alcoves containing images, and memorials to the honoured dead. Its official name is Paramaparvata. Two stairways wind about it to the top. One starts at the base on the south side, the other on the north side. For many decades the platform at the top afforded the best view obtainable of Bangkok and environs. During the Wat Fair held each November the two stairways are thronged with climbers who come to venerate the sacred relic in the cetiya at the summit.

The sacred ashes came from a ruined stūpa at Piprāwā, near the border of Nepal and also the site of ancient Kapilavatthu. During the partial excavation by Peppe in January 1898 (*Revealing India's Past*, p. 119) was discovered a sandstone box which contained jewels, ornaments, and small urns was discovered. There was an ancient early Brāhmī inscription which has been translated:

"These relics of the Lord Buddha have been presented by the supreme Sakya Lord together with his grandchildren, son and wife." (Sir Charles Elliott, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 23)

The British government presented the relics to king Chulalongkorn, who sent Cao Pya Yomarāja to receive them. Portions of the relics were also given to representatives from Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Japan, and Siberia. The rest was enshrined in the cetiya on the Golden Mount, Bangkok, 23 May 1899.

Tropical rain and vegetation continually attack the surface of the Golden Mount and after a period of years cover it with green shrubbery. In 1954 it was again restored and the cracks cemented up. It is a royal *Wat*, second grade. The height of the Golden Mount is 77 metres. More recently a two-storey school building for monks and novices has been erected near the *uposatha* hall (bōt).

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K.E. Wells.

WAXING SYLLABLES is a principle that determines the sequence of terms in oral Pāli literature (See also VĀCĀ). According to this principle, words with fewer syllables in a series of terms are followed by words with an equal or greater number of syllables.

An example for a string of synonyms arranged according to the principle of 'waxing syllables' is *bhīto saṃviggo lomahaṭṭhajāto* (*D*. II,240), where the three terms used to express the same basic meaning of "fear" follow each other with a syllable count of 2+3+6. Other examples are, *daḷiddo assako anāḷhiyo* (*M*. I, 450), where the three terms used to describe the theme "poor" have a syllable count of 3+3+4; or *aḍḍho mahaddhano mahābhogo* (*S*. III, 112), three terms that refer to the opposite quality of being "wealthy", and which have a syllable count of 2+4+4. Such strings can be quite long at times, ass for example when the theme "old" is treated with altogether five synonyms, *jiṇṇo vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo-anupatto* (*D*. II, 100), resulting in a syllable count of 2+2+4+4+6.

The same principle can also be applied to verbs, such as when the practice of meditating is criticized, *jhāyanati pajjhāyanti nijjhāyanti apajjhāyanti* (*M*. I, 334), where the syllable count is 3+4+4+5; or when the *Saṅgha* is described as worthy of worship *āhuṇeyyo pāhuṇeyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇeyyo* (*D*. III, 5), following a syllable count of 4+4+4+7. If a particular list of terms becomes too long, however, the principle of waxing syllables is applied to subunits within the listing. An example in case is the description of various types of talks that are unbefitting and should better be avoided (e.g. *M*. I, 513). This description covers talking about "king, robbers, ministers", *rājakathaṃ, corakathaṃ, mahāmattakathaṃ* (4+4+6); "armies, dangers, battles, food, drink, clothing, beds", *senākathaṃ, bhayakathaṃ, yuddhakathaṃ, annakathaṃ, pānakathaṃ, vatthakathaṃ, sayanakathaṃ* (4+4+4+4+4+4+5); "garlands, perfumes,relatives, vehicles, villages, towns, cities,

counties", *mālākathaṃ, gandhakathaṃ, ñātikathaṃ, yānakathaṃ, gāmakathaṃ, nigamakathaṃ, nagarakathaṃ, Janapadakathaṃ* (4+4+4+4+4+5+5+6); and "women, heroes, streets, wells, the dead", *itthikathaṃ, sūrakathaṃ, visikhākathaṃ, kumbhaṭṭhānakathaṃ, pubbapetakathaṃ* (4+4+5+6+6).1

The crescendo effect that results from the application of the principle of waxing syllables is a typical feature of the early discourses. The function of this principle is predominantly to facilitate recall of the passage in question, as "It is surely easier to remember a sequence of words arranged in this manner according to syllable length". 2Though the principle of waxing syllables has had a considerable influence on the present shape of early Pāli literature, it is not implemented invariably, especially when doctrinal reasons militate against it. This is the case, for example, when the seven factors of awakening, *bojjhaṅga*, are listed, or the factors of the noble eightfold path. Here the doctrinal significance of listing the respective terms in a particular order is of more importance than concern about arranging them according to syllable count. Thus the awakening factors are listed as *sati, Dhamma-vicaya, viriya, pīti, passaddhi, Samādhi,* and *upekhā*, resulting in a rather irregular syllable count of 2+5+3+2+3+3+3. Since according to the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* each factor of awakening arises in dependence on its predecessor(s) (*M*. III, 85), the order of terms is doctrinally important and could therefore not accommodate the principle of waxing syllables. Similarly in the case of the noble eightfold path, where according to the exposition in the *Mahācattarīsaka Sutta* a comparable dependence of each factor on its predecessor(s) obtains (*M*. III, 76). The actual listing of *sammā –diṭṭhi, sammā-saṅkappa, sammā-vācā, sammā-vāyāma, sammā-sati*, and *sammā-samādhi* then indeed results in an irregular syllable count of 4+5+5+4+5+4+5.

Nevertheless, the principle of waxing syllables appears to be responsible for the order of terms found in a number of listings, standard expressions and compounds. An example in case would be *Dhamma-vinaya* (e.g. *M*.I, 284), where the reason for Vinaya to stand in second position may well be the fact that Vinaya has three syllables, and thus according to the principle of waxing syllables should stand after the two-syllable term Dhamma. Another such case would be a *pācittiya* regulation according to which a monk should not teach more than "six or five" words in particular circumstances, *cha-pañca*, where the sequence of the numerals seems to follow the principle of waxing syllables against their natural order (*Vin*. IV, 21). Yet another example is *itthi vā puriso vā* (*M*. I, 32), also found in the compound form *itthi-purisa* (*Ja*. V, 461), where for the "woman" come before the "man" stands in contrast to the subordinate position of women in ancient Indian patriarchal society. In fact, once the syllable count is the same, the male usually precedes the female, cf. e.g. *devo vā devi vā* (*D*.II, 26); *yakkha-potako vā yakkha-potikā vā gandhabbo vā gandhabbī vā* (*D*. III, 203); *kumārakā vā kumārikā vā* (*M*. I, 234), *upāsakā ca ... upāsikā ca* (*M*. I, 493).3 Hence in the case of listing *itthi vā puriso vā*, the reason for adopting this sequence would be the respective syllable count, *itthi* having 2 and *purisa* 3 syllables.

The same principle occurs also in Jain scriptures, where the series *naccam, gītaṃ, vāditaṃ* (e.g. *D*. I, 6) has its counterpart in *naṭṭa, gīa, vāiya*.4 In fact, to arrange words in an increasing syllable count appears already in Vedic texts, and is recognized by Pāṇini as a rule of *dvanda* compounds.5

Analayo

References

1 Cf. Allon : "The Oral Composition and Transmission of Early Buddhist Texts". *Indian Insights*, London 1997:48.

2 Allon: *Style and Function, A study of the dominant stylistic features of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts and their mnemonic function*. Tokyo 1997: 252.

3 An exception to this pattern is *mātā vā pitā vā* (e.g. *D*. II, 26). *The Saddanīti* (Burm. Ed./ I, 73) explains that in this case the sequence is due to euphonic reasons.

4 Von Hinuber: *Untersuch ungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten*, Stuttgart 1994: 33.

5 Caland: " A rhythmic law in language" *Acta Orientalia*, 9, 1931:59-68, quotes Pāṇini 2.2.34 and then provides a series of examples where due to following the law of waxing syllables the compound members in a *dvanda* come in a sequence that is in opposition to their natural order (cf. esp. p. 62 the examples strīpumāṃsu and Kanyākumārau).

WEALTH. Generally known in Pāli by such terms as *dhana, bhoga, sāpateyya* etc., wealth is broadly divided into two in Buddhism as material (*āmisa*) and spiritual (*dhamma A*.I.92). In the case of the members of the Saṅgha the commentator (*AA*.II.160) interprets these terms as the enjoyment of the four basic requisites, viz. robes,food,dwellings and medicaments, and the enjoyment of the *dhamma* respectively. However, on a wider application of the term, material wealth could include all forms of property as lands, cattle, houses, corn, food, money, precious things etc. Wealth of a universal monarch, for instance, is described in the following terms " Rich is he, of great fortune, of great wealth, full is the treasure house, of much gold and silver, of many goods, coins and corn". But the spiritual wealth of a Buddha is described as, " rich is he, of great fortune, of great wealth. And this is his plenteous currency, 'faith, morality, discretion, learning, renunciation and wisdom'. This sevenfold spiritual treasure is also called the 'sevenfold noble treasure' (*satta ariya-dhana* D.III.163)

Place of Wealth in the Life of Man.

Wealth in some form or other is needed by every person including the world-renouncing members of the Saṅgha, as shown above. The most basic need of all living things is food as aptly illustrated by the saying " all beings subsist on food" (*sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā A*.V.50) where food includes material nourishment, basically needed by all living beings to sustain their life, body and mind. Therefore the acquisition, protection and the judicious enjoyment of wealth is given a highly important place in Buddhist lay social ethics. Poverty is never held up in Buddhism as an ideal for the home-dweller, nor is the pauper the ideal person to be emulated due to his poverty. Any person has the liberty to choose between the holy life (*brahmacariya*) of a home- renouncer or the worldly life of a home-dweller who should devote his youth for the acquisition of wealth. One who neglects both these, as two *Dhammapada* (155-156) stanzas point out, almost raising a cynical smile to the end of the lips, would have to, in their dotage, pine away like old herons at a pond devoid of fish or lie like old bows sighing after the past. It is clear that wealth is regarded in Buddhism as a *sine qua non* for a home-dweller's life.

Possession of wealth is included among five kinds of prosperity (*bhoga sampadā*) while the loss of wealth (*bhoga-vyasana*) is classed as one of the five losses (D.III,235). Increase in poverty due to the failure of the state to alleviate poverty of its people by the distribution of wealth among them, would lead to an increase in theft, which in turn could lead to a chain of disastrous reactions ultimately ending up even with the breaking down of the whole social order (*ibid*.64f). Another discourse (*ibid* I. 135 *f*.) also shows that social upheavals, crimes, and even rebel groups taking the upper hand in a country, resulting from poverty cannot be put and end to by mere punishment but by a thorough economic plan which could provide job opportunities and economic growth within all stratas of society. Such economic rehabilitation would lead to a happy and contented people, free from fear and anxiety, living as if with open doors.

How Wealth Should be Acquired:

Uṭṭhāna, (literally 'standing up' or waking up'), 'industry', is the quality most recommended in Buddhism for both spiritual and economic growth. Thus the *Ālavaka sutta* says, One who acts appropriately and toils hard acquires wealth through industry (*uṭṭhātā vindate dhanaṃ*. *Sn*.187). But on the other hand one who is prone to sleep, loves company, lazy, irascible and unindustrious (*anuṭṭhātā*) is at the gate of decline(*ibid*.96). Lack of industry, says an *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourse (IV.195) is a stain on home life (*anuṭṭhāna- malā gharā*). Naturally lack of industry and energy and the resultant economic decline adversely affect the material quality of an householder's life.

But this industriousness of a layman has to be necessarily coupled with high ethical norms. The capacity to acquire riches and the capacity to know what is right and wrong are compared to the two eyes of a person. " Herein a certain person has not the eye to acquire wealth unattained, or the wealth one has to increase. He has not the eye fit to see states that are blameworthy and praiseworthy, states mean and exalted, resembling light and darkness. This O monks is called a blind man"[1]. The person who has the capacity to acquire wealth but not to know what is right and wrong is the one-eyed one who acquires wealth through fair and foul means, added with tricks, frauds and lies and, lose the world beyond death. The two-eyed person who has all the opposite qualities of the first one, is the best of all the three. He is the one to be emulated, for the home into which he is born is

blessed and free from sorrow. One should by all means keep aloof from the blind and the one-eyed (*A*.I.128 *f*.). It is this ideal of the two-eyed one that is aptly illustrated with the simile of the honey-gathering bee

"To him amassing wealth, like roving bee Its honey gathering (and hurting naught) Riches mount up as ant-heap growing high[2] (*D*.III.188)

The significance of the bee gathering honey is that the busy industrious bee never harms the colour or the scent of the flower from which it sucks up the honey. But it, bit by bit through untiring effort fills up a large honey comb (*DA*.III. 951, *Dhp*.49). It is also emphatically stated that while a person with moral discipline, heedfully engaged in work, acquires a mass of riches one lacking in moral discipline, being heedless in his activities, comes to a great loss of wealth (*A*.III. 252*f*.)

Wealth as an Accomplishment of Life

In answering a query by a lay follower, the Buddha once enumerated four accomplishments as conditions for a layman's advantage and happiness here and now. Significantly all the four are related in some way to wealth. The first of these is the already seen industry (*uṭṭhāna-sampadā*) which is spelt out in more detail here as to how it should operate. " In whatever profession". Says the Buddha, "a layman is engaged for his living, whether it be agriculture, trading, cattle-breeding, archery or royal service or any other craft, he is deft and tireless, gifted with an inquiring turn of mind into ways and means, he is able to arrange and carry out his job". The second is the accomplishment of wariness (*ārakkha-sampadā*) which is the capacity of a person to protect and ward one's righteous earnings from any form of calamity, from whatever source it may arise. Once again the definition given here to 'righteous earnings' (*dhamma-laddha)* is significant. It is the wealth put together with work and zeal (*uṭṭhāna-viriya)*, by the strength of one's arms, the sweat of one's brow, justly and lawfully, that is described as righteous wealth. Association of noble friends *(kalyāṇamittatā)* is the third accomplishment that would be an asset to one's worldly life. Only those young or old, endowed with qualities of faith, virtue, charity and wisdom, whose positive qualities one should endeavor to emulate, should be associated as friends. Naturally such friends would never lead one into negative forms of conduct that would bring ruin to one's economic or spiritual life. The fourth accomplishment of an 'even life' (*samajīvitā*) is to lead a balanced life to suit one's earnings without tipping the balance either way. On the one hand he should not be a fig-tree glutton (*udumbarakhādaka)* who would shake the economic fig-tree to pick up only the ripe fruit and allow the rest to go waste. Nor should one die like a niggardly starving *(ajaddumārika)* who would just stack away one's earnings and lead a niggardly life (*A*.IV.281 *ff*.). One should be the master of one's wealth but never its slave.

The *Sigālovāda Sutta* (*D*.III.180 *ff*.) which is almost a handbook on social ethics for the Buddhist lay disciple, gives an important place to the earning of wealth, its proper use and the causes that lead to its dissipation. In stanzas summing up the manner in which one's earnings should be put into use, the discourse provides the following broad guide lines.

"When the good layman wealth has so amassed
Able is he to benefit his clan.
In portions four let him divide that wealth
So binds he to himself life's friendly things

One portion let him spend and taste the fruit
His business to conduct let him take two
And portion four let him reserve and hoard
So there'll be wherewithal in times of need.[3]

These stanzas give in brief that while one spends one's earnings in fulfillment of one's personal, domestic, social and religious duties one also has to be mindful of the possibility of adverse circumstances that could arise in the future. Hence the instruction to deposit the fourth portion to be used in the future. But what is even more significant is the instruction to re-invest half of one's earnings in business, which emphasizes the need to keep avenues of the inflow of wealth into one's coffers wide open. In fact reinvestment of a portion of one's earnings also obviates the necessity to fall into debt through loans and keeping at a minimum one's spending on enjoyment etc.

Wealth-Related Satisfaction and Happiness

Wealth becomes a source of happiness for its possessor. One discourse (*A*.II.69 *f*.) lays down four types of satisfaction and happiness related to wealth. An house dweller, an enjoyer of sense pleasures, who

has amassed a certain amount of wealth righteously, with one's personal effort, derives there from satisfaction and happiness with the thought " I have wealth" (*atthi- sukha*). When the one who has righteously amassed riches put them into use for both mundane and meritorious purposes he derives satisfaction and happiness based on the thought " I enjoy the wealth and do meritorious work as well" (*bhoga- sukha*). A layman who has earned adequate for one's mundane and extra –mundane activities and thereby does not fall into debt, great or small, to anyone, derives satisfaction and happiness based on it with the thought "I owe no debt, great or small to any one" (*anana-sukha*). The last and, according to the text, the highest of all the four, is the satisfaction and happiness derived from being blameless (*anavajja-sukha*) by a person who has not committed any fault in body, word or mind in one's household activities. It is apparent this happiness is also related to a person's economic activities, for the purpose of the discourse is on how to earn one's living within the bounds of ethically good conduct. Summing up the reflections of a layman who has earned a living righteously and accomplished all the purposes of his economic activities are given in another discourse (*ibid*. 68 *f*)

" I have enjoyed my wealth. Those serving me
And those dependent on me have escaped
From dangers. I have made the best of gifts
Nay, done the oblations *(bali)* five. The virtuous
Composed, who live the good life, I've supported
That aim the which to win householders wise
Should long for wealth, I've won. I've done a deed
Never to be regretted,— pondering thus
A mortal man in Ariyan dhamma firm Is praised
in this world, then in heaven rejoices[4]".

Gates of Dissipation of Wealth

Wealth earned righteously with one's personal effort has to be spent in the proper manner. One discourse gives four proper avenues for the spending of one's lawfully earned wealth; viz i. one's own comfort and happiness and the comfort and happiness of one's parents, wife and children, servants and workers, friends and comrades; ii .To make oneself secure against all misfortune that could come from any source; iii. The performance of the five offerings *(bali)*, viz offerings to relatives, guests, the dead, the rulers, and deities; iv. Making gifts to well-deserving religieux bent on kindness and forbearance, who tame oneself, calm oneself, and cool oneself. Wealth spent outside these four causes is described as spent improperly without proper reason and unlawfully (*A*. II,68;*AA*.III.99)

As already pointed out, discourses refer to a number of causes leading to the dissipation of wealth. Sometimes the number is given as four but, at times, two more are added to make the number six. The *Sigālovāda Sutta* giving the number as six goes into great detail to show the manner in which one's wealth could diminish in vain due to these six causes. The six given are addiction to intoxicating liquor, frequenting streets at unseemly hours, haunting fairs, being infatuated by gambling, associating evil friends and laziness (*D*.III.182 *f*.). For each one of them six reasons are given showing why they become gateways to dissipation of one's wealth.

Warning against Over-Liberality

Charity is one of the most basic of all virtues expected from all Buddhist lay followers. A devout lay follower is often described as a person "who dwells at home free from the taint of stinginess, who is open-handed, pure-handed, delighting in giving up, one to ask a favour of, one who delights in sharing gifts with others" (*A*.1.226). There are legendary tales of rich laymen, especially those aspiring to be a future Buddha, who would throw open the doors of one's store houses and treasuries to the public to take away anything they wish. But these are extreme cases. But in reality, as shown above, one is instructed to use only one fourth of one's earning for one's personal use, fulfilling duties and charitable work. In an interesting story we find a rich man, tending to be over-liberal, warned to be more careful in charity. He is admonished to " be liberal, but guard your wealth as well" for over- liberality could ruin a family.

"Both non-giving and over-giving are not praised by the wise Therefore, above giving wealth itself is better He should steer a middle course, who is of resolute nature *(PV*.II. 9.43-44) The commentator (*SHB. PvA*.95 *f*) regards the advice given here to the liberal minded Ankura as a view of experts in law (*nīti-cintakā or nītinaya-kusalā*). Perhaps economic experts are meant. However Ankura, who loves to give, does not heed. But the commentator does not reject it. He even quotes from the Sigālovāda Sutta in support.

Dangers from Wealth
Riches ruin the fools, but
Not those in quest for the Beyond
Through thirst for riches, the
Ignorant man ruins himself as others5 (*Dhp*.355)

In the teachings of the Buddha wealth is regarded as a double-edged sword, which could be an asset to the prudent man but a scourge to the fool. One discourse which gives in detail the right and false avenues open to the enjoyer of sense pleasures, viz. a layman, for the acquisition and the enjoyment of wealth, also gives a warning of the pitfalls entailed. Thus the discourse warns that wealth should be used "without greed and longing, without infatuation, and not being heedless of the dangers from it and not being blind to one's own salvation" (*A*v. V. 176 *ff*.). Greed for wealth could lead a person to disregard all bounds of principles and ethically good conduct, thereby ruining others and even oneself. Riches won even by fair means could make one to loose one's bearings, forgot one's beginnings or kick the ladder by which one climbed to the top. A person in riches could neglect one's parents who have passed their youth and are worn out (*Sn*.98). The *Vasala Sutta* makes such a person an outcaste (*ibid*.124). Being infatuated with wealth, birth or clan one could despise one's poor relatives (*ibid*.104). A stingy person who enjoys one's wealth without sharing it with others is at the door of defeat (*ibid*. 102). Thus wealth has to be used prudently without making it a source of one's ruin.

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WIPULASĀRA, MĀPALAGAMA. Venerable Māpalagama Wipulasāra thero was a unique personality who adorned the Buddhasāsana in Sri Lanka in the twentieth century (1925- 2000). His lay name was Wijedasa Ganewatta, the eldest son of Siyadoris Ganewatta, the village Headman of Aluttānāyamgoda in Māpalagama in the southern province of Sri Lanka, and his mother was Leelawathī Gunasekera Hāmine from the same locality.

Wijedasa Ganewatta evinced talent in colour painting and art from his childhood and he never missed any religious ceremonial occasion at the village temple, where he volunteered to assist workmen in painting and decorating the temple.

The chief incumbent of the Paramadhammacetiya Vihāra and Pirivena in Ratmalāna, Venerable Walāne Saṭṭhissara Mahāthera, on one of his visits to the Gangārāma temple in Māpalagama requested his friend and colleague, Venerable Niyāgama Sārānanda thera, the chief incumbent of the vihāra, to find a suitable boy from the village of Māpalagama, to be ordained and trained under him, to succeed him as the incumbent of Paramadhammacetiya Vihāra and Pirivena. Niyāgama Sārānanda thera conveyed this idea to the village Headman Siyadoris Ganewatta, a supporter (dāyaka) of the temple who lived closest to the temple. When Siyadoris Ganewatta conveyed this idea to his family, Wijedasa Ganewatta, his eldest son, volunteered to be ordained as a novice (*sāmanera)* under Saṭṭhissara Mahāthera. Subsequently Wijedasa Ganewatta was ordained on an auspicious moment as a novice by Saṭṭhissara Mahāthera on 14th July 1940. Wijedasa Ganewatta was fifteen years old at that time, and he was given the religious appellation Māpalagama Wipulasāra. The novice Wipulasāra received his initial religious education at the Paramadhammacetiya Pirivena and subsequently at the Patirāja Pirivena in Agalawatta and Vidyodaya Pirivena in Maligākande. In 1946 he received his Higher Ordination *(upasampadā)*.

Young Wipulasāra thero devoted much of his time to develop his inborn talents in painting and art work, while not neglecting his routine duties as a trainee monk. Venerable Saṭṭhissara thero desired to see his successor to grow up as a fully accomplished erudite monk, conversant in the *Tipiṭaka* and other allied subjects, but young Wipulasāra thero could not wean himself away from his inborn talents of moulding figures, painting and other aesthetic activities.

Professor G.P. Malalasekera, the doyen of Oriental studies and reputed Buddhist leader, on one of his visits to theParamadhammacetiya Vihāra, saw some of the paintings of young Wipulasāra thero and was deeply impressed by them. Professor Malalasekera

realized that if he is given proper guidance and encouragement, the young thera would end up one day as a renowned Sri Lankan artist-cum- moulder. Professor Malasekera did not stop at that. With Saṭṭhissara Mahāthera's permission, he introduced Wipulasāra thero to Mr.J.D.A. Perera, the principal of the government college of Fine Arts which was then called "Hey Wood". In Hey Wood, Wipulasāra thero engaged himself strenuously in a comprehensive course in water-colour and oil painting, sculpture and moulding, and left that institute as a budding art genius. Wipulasāra thero was fortunate enough to receive a special training during his period of study at Hey Wood, under Mr. A.C.G.S. Amarasekera, the reputed water colour expert at that time.

After the demise of his teacher and mentor Venerable Saṭṭhissara Mahāthera, Wipulasāra thero was unanimously elected by a representative meeting of Bhikkhū elders of the Kelaniya Fraternity of the Syāmopāli Nikāya, presided over by Venerable Kalukondayāve Paññāsekera Mahāthera as Saṭṭhissara Mahāthera's successor to the incumbency of the Paramadhammacetiya Vihāra and Pirivena. Incidentally, Paramadhammacetiya Pirivena founded by Venerable Walāne Sri Siddhārtha Mahāthera, had earlier produced eminent Buddhist prelates of the caliber of Venerable Hikkaḍuwe Sri Sumangala (q.v.), the founder of the Vidyodaya Pirivena and Venerable Ratmalāne Dhammārāma (q.v.), the founder of the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena which institutions played leading roles in the resurgent Buddhist educational and cultural activities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Sri Lanka.

Wipulasāra thero's immediate task after assuming duties as the Chief Incumbent of the Paramadhammacetiya Vihāra and Pirivena was to vitalize the staggering Paramadhamma cetiya Pirivena to its former vibrant state. This, he could achieve within a short time with the assistance of his energetic and willing "dāyakas" (supporters) and his own extraordinary organizing ability, personal charm and suavity in dealing with people.

Many leading educated and progressive bhikkhus of the day such as Venerable Halyāle Sumanatissa Mahāthero of the Asgiriya chapter of the Syāmopāli nikāya, Venerable Nāttandiye Paññākara thero of the Vidyalankāra Pirivena, Venerable Dr. Kotagama Vācissara thero of Ananda College, the dedicated human rights activist Venerable Udakändawela Saranankara thero— and prominent, educated and cultured laymen teamed up with Wipulasāra thero and founded the Sri Lanka Bauddhamahāsammalanaya in 1960 in the Paramadhammacetiya premises, to facilitate the performance of urgent religious, educational and cultural activities for the advancement of the Sri Lankan society. Though all wished to elect Wipulasāra thero as its founder President, he opted to function as a joint secretary of the Sammelanaya. But, in 1972 Wipulasāra thero was unanimously elected as the President of this prestigious Sammelanaya, which position he held continuously until his death in the year 2000. It is interesting to note here that when Wipulasāra thero was elected President of the Bauddhamahāsammelanaya in 1972, a young and energetic graduate teacher of Ananda College in Colombo, Venerable Diviyāgaha Yasassi thero was elected as Secretary of the Sammelanaya, who continuously functioned in that position, tremendously supporting the nationally and internationally significant Buddhist and cultural activities initiated by Wipulasāra thero through the Sri Lanka Bauddhamahāsammelanaya.

Another major task of Wipulasāra thero was the establishment of the Bhikkhu Training Centre adjoining the premises of the Paramadhammacetiya Vihāra, in association with Professor G.P. Malalasekera, President of the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress (ACBC.) which institution was later recognized by the Department of Education in Sri Lanka as a training centre for Pirivena Teachers.

Wipulasāra thero's expertise in sculpturing and moulding Samādhi Buddha statues and his skill in traditional Buddhist painting and art work became well known throughout the country in no time and many temples and instituitions desired to accommodate a Samādhi Buddha statue sculptured by the thero in their temple shrine rooms or shrine rooms in their institution. Ananda College in Colombo in its main shrine room accommodates a magnificent and inspiring massive Samādhi Buddha Statue sculpted by the Thero. Likewise the North Colombo General Hospital, the Lady Soysa Maternity Hospital, Nālanda College, Insurance Corporation, Sambuddhāloka Vihāraya in the heart of the Colombo Fort and the President's house accommodate Samādhi statues sculpted by Wipulasāra thero.

Wipulasāra thero was a widely travelled monk, mostly on invitation by Theravāda and Mahāyana Buddhist Organizations. Shrine rooms in temples in several Buddhist countries have accommodated in their temples Samādhi Buddha statues sculptured and presented by Wipulasāra thero to those temples. When Venerable Nāradha Mahāthera of Vajirārāma went to the United Kingdom as the Chief incumbent of the London Buddhist Vihāra, Wipulasāra thero, on the request of Nāradha Mahāthera sculptured a magnificent Samādhi statue for the shrine room of that temple. Likewise Wipulasāra thero sculptured the serene recumbent Buddha statue for the Yokohama temple in Japan. He also turned out in fibre glass a massive replica of the famous standing Avkana Buddha statue to decorate the entrance of the Sri Lanka Pavilion at the Expo exhibition held in Spain.

The government Archaeological Department of Sri Lanka sought Wipulasāra thero's guidance and assistance regarding several of its ancient Buddhist artefacts. For many years the famous Samādhi Buddha statue in the Mahāmeghavana in Anuradhapura had an awkward artificial nose affixed in place of the original nose of the statue broken by vandals.

Wipulasāra thero removed the monstrosity of the face of the image by repairing the nose, thereby restoring the original serenity of the Buddha image.

Wipulasāra thero was also associated with the Archaeological Department and the Sri Lanka Ports authority in raising the fallen massive standing Buddha image at Māligāvila (Paṭimā vihāra) to its original position. The statue was badly damaged and broken to parts due to its fall a longtime ago. With great skill, the fallen statue was raised to its original position by a team of engineers of the Ports Authority and Wipulasāra thero gave the finishing touches to the statue very skillfully. Wipulasāra thero's expert artistic talent and expertise was again utilized by the Department of Archaeology in planning and executing the protective structure in bricks over the head of the ancient standing Buddha image at Avkana.

Reference should also be made to another sculpture executed by Wipulasāra thero, namely the imposing seated statue of Venerable Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala thero, the founder of the Vidyodaya Pirivena at Māligākanda in Colombo, which subsequently developed itself as the Vidyodaya University (now Sri Jayawardhanapura University). The sculpture is sited in front of the entrance to the main building of Sri Jayawardanapura University in Gangodawila in Nugegoda.

The unique seated Buddha statue in the samādhi mudrā at the entrance to the Vihāramahādevi park, facing the Colombo Municiple Council, is another significant creation of Wipulasāra thero in bronze for the centenary celebrations of the Colombo municipal council.

When Sri Lanka became a free nation in 1972, severing all links it had with the British Monarchy, Wipulasāra thero was the obvious choice of the Sri Lanka government to design the official emblem of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. Wipulasāra thero with his aesthete experience designed the national emblem with the sun and the moon, the Dharmacakra and the Punkalasa, depicting the national aspirations of the whole nation. The official flag of the first Executive President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, too, was designed by Wipulasāra thero in 1978.

The peak of Wipulasāra thero's illustrious life dawned with his appointment in 1985 as the Secretary General of the Mahābodhi Society of India founded by Anagārika Dharmapala.

The Mahābodhi society of India had become somewhat inactive after the demise of Ven. Neluwe Jinarathana Nayaka thero, Wipulasāra thero's immediate predecessor as the Secretary general. However, Wipulasaāra thero was able to infuse life once again to the society within a short period, inspite of numerous obstacles he had to face.

Many are his achievements in this regard. He was instrumental in providing the needed facilities for monks who were in charge of the Buddhist shrines coming under the supervision of the Mahābodhi Soceity. He organized and developed libraries, provided free medical centres and orphanages and recommenced the publication of the Mah ābodhi Journal.

The crowning event in this period of service of Wipulasāra thero is the holding of the Centenary Celebrations of the Mahābodhi Soceity of India which fell in the year 1991. Wipulasāra thero was able to

hold this celebration on an international scale and win the applause of the Buddhists, the world over.

In recognition of the wide and in-depth artistic skill and organizing ability displayed by Wipulasāra thero during a period of over five decades, the government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka conferred on him the prestigious honorific title *kalā sūri* (expert in aesthetic activities).

The Korean Buddhist fraternity chose him as a Secretary General of the world Thathāgata followers, with Headquarters in Korea and Sri Lanka.

The Taiwan based world Saṅgha Council elected him as the Vice President and the President of its Sri Lanka Branch.

The Illan Bator (Mongolia) based Asian Buddhist Council for Peace, elected him as its Vice President.

Before Wipulasāra thero relinquished his position as the President of the Mahabodhi Society of India, he paved the way for the Japanese Buddhist. Prelate, the most Venerable Kyuse Enshinjo to succeed him as President of the Mahābodhi Society of India.

(The above biographical sketch of Wipulasāra thero is based on the *Pictorial Biography of Ven. Māpalagama Wipulasāra*, posthumously published by Paramadhamma Buddhist Institute of Sri Lanka in the year 2000.). See PLATES XLIII – XLVIII.

W. G. Weeraratne.

WOMEN IN BUDDHISM. Women comprise two of the fourfold assembly (*catuparisā*) of disciples of the Buddha. These two, viz. the *bhikkhunīs*, the nuns, and the *upāsikās*, the female lay followers, are described appreciatively almost in identical terms as their male counterparts, the *bhikkhus* and the *upāsakas*, by the Buddha in a *Digha Nikāya* (III.125 *f*) discourse seems to have been delivered close to his demise. In it the Buddha describes his senior (*therī*) nuns in the following terms; " And senior sisters now are there, Cunda, disciples of mine, wise and well trained, ready and learned, who have won the peace of the Arahant, who are able to propagate the good norm, who, when others start opposed doctrines, easy to confute by the truth, will be able in confuting it to teach the Norm and its saving grace[1]. There are also ,says the Buddha, nuns of middle age (*majjhimā*) and newly ordained ones (*navakā*) similarly qualified. Of the female lay devotees there are two grades, viz " White–clad female lay disciples living the pure life" (*brahmacāriniyo*) and white-clad female lay disciples, enjoyers of sense pleasures" (*kāmabhoginiyo*). In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*ibid.*II.105*f*), Māra is said to have drawn the attention of the Buddha, who was advanced in years, of a statement he is supposed to have made on an earlier occasion about the time of his passing away. He is said to have stated that his passing away will take place only when his fourfold assembly of disciples have reached a certain high standard of development. They have now reached that standard and, hence, says Māra, the time for his passing away has come. Here, by the words attributed to the Buddha, both the *bhikkhuni* and the *upāsikās* are described in identical terms as the monks and the male lay followers. " The brethren and sisters of the Order and the lay disciples of either sex have become true hearers (*sāvakā*), wise and well trained, ready and learned, carrying the doctrinal books in their memory, masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrines, correct in life, walking according to the precepts — and they, having thus themselves learned the doctrines shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear— until they, when others start vain doctrines, easy to be refuted by the truth, shall be able in refuting it, to spread the wonder-working truth abroad"[2]. This assessment of his female disciples attributed to the Buddha in the closing period of his career shows, if not anything else, the esteem with which they were held by the early custodians of the Buddhist scriptures, who undoubtedly were, by and large, Buddhist monks.

In confirmation of this assessment of the place given to female disciples in the early Buddhist tradition one can also cite the *Mahāvacchagotta Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1.490 *f.*) which refers to the numerical strength of the spiritually advanced female disciples of the Buddha during his life time. Here, queried by Vacchagotta, the wandering ascetic, the Buddha vouch that the number of his disciple nuns, who have "by the destruction of cankers, having here and now realized by their own super-knowledge the freedom of mind and the freedom through intuitive wisdom that are cankerless, entering on them and abiding in them"[3] may exceed even a five hundred. What is important here is the number given for monks

with similar attainments is the same. Speaking of his white-clad female lay followers, who have destroyed the five lower fetters, are followers of the pure life (*brahmacariya*), liable to spontaneous birth after death and attain *nibbāna* in that world and, therefore, not liable to return from that world, the Buddha says the number could again exceed five hundred. Similar numbers are given of lay followers of both sexes, who, as enjoyers of sense pleasures are of a lower status spiritually, but are "doers of instructions, who accept exhortation, who have crossed over doubt and perplexity, fare in the teacher's instruction, won to conviction and are not relying on others". While the former is a reference to non-returners (*anāgāmins*) this could be a reference to stream-winners (*sotāpannas*). All these instances show the esteem with which female disciples were held in the early Buddhist tradition as recorded in canonical Pāli literature. But with all this evidence from the early Buddhist tradition for an almost equal status given spiritually to female disciples with their male counter sparts, various scholars have, quoting other instances, either misread or misinterpreted or disregarding the context and the socio-religious atmosphere in which these instances are located, try to throw doubts on the important place given to women in Buddhism.

Origin of the Woman

The Buddhist myth of origin in the Aggañña Sutta (*D*.III.84 *ff*.) traces back the origin of gender differences among human beings to the primordial human society of the present world-cycle. As the new earth started to form on the surface of the ocean at the beginning of the world-cycle, beings passing away in the Ābhassara world were reborn spontaneously on the newly emerging earth, which was still not completely out of water. As such the first set of beings, not yet given a specific designation, moved about in the atmosphere. They were asexual, had mind-made bodies, were self-luminous and were nourished simply by joy (*pīti*) alone like the *Abhassara Devas*. As the earth started to dry up, they descended on to it and took their first material nourishment, the essence of the earth (*rasa-paṭhavi*) which caused the disappearance of their luminosity and the solidification of their bodies. With the gradual appearance of vegetation, their eating habits also changed from the fine to coarser and coarser materials .First mushroom and then *badālatā* creepers and, finally wild rice became their food. Taking coarser and coarser food their bodies also became coarser and differences in complexion appeared among them. It was when they had adopted wild uncooked rice as their staple diet that gender differences first started to appear in these asexual beings with the development of distinctive female and male features in them. Thus both man and woman originated from the same stock of primordial beings. Adopting the same description of the appearance of the four castes given in the discourse (*ibid* 93), we could say justifiably that Buddhists believed the woman to have originated "from among those very beings and no others, like unto themselves and not unlike" as the male of the species. It is quite clear that Buddhists, as in the case of the four castes (*ibid* 97) regarded females qualified as the males for spiritual development and final emancipation. Therefore, if any differences between these two sectors of humanity were pointed out they are not to be regarded as inherent, or due to a punishment imposed by the fiat of a creator god, but caused mainly through various external factors.

Significantly the Buddhist myth also gives importance to the origin of sexual contact between the human male and female. As the gender differences emerged, the male and the female developed an urge to contemplate each other closely, giving rise to passion and a burning sensation in their bodies, finally giving way to their lusts. Here the urge to contemplate each other is mutual. It is not the woman seducing the man. It is also the spontaneous (*opapāta*) birth system giving way to the viviparous birth (*jalābuja*). It is the Buddhist mythical presentation of what is accepted as the process devised by nature for the continuity and preservation of the human species. In fact, not only the physical features, including the external appearance, peculiar to the two genders and various mannerisms, and what may be termed the wiles peculiar to the male and the female, could be devices of nature to attract a male to the female and vice versa. The Buddha says that he sees no other form (*rūpa*), sound (*sadda*), scent (*gandha*), savour (*rasa*) or touh (*poṭṭhabba*) by which a man's heart is so enslaved as it is by those of a woman. Then he adds that it is the same with regard to a man's form etc. to a woman. It is mutual (*A*.1.1*f*.).Contact between a man and a woman finally leads to the generation of a new life. It is the natural order of things. But the Buddha calls the path he has discovered 'a swim against the current of a stream' (*paṭisotagāmi*) which leads to the end of the process of rebirth. Probably this is why some of his contemporary religious teachers called him 'a destroyer of life' (*bhunāhu*) (*M*.1.502). At first the Buddha

himself was reluctant to make known his *dhamma* to others because he was aware of the human nature which would make it difficult for the common man of either sex to comprehend it and follow it.

Māra, the Evil One, who personifies, in Buddhism, the process of *saṃsāra* and all the obstructions of the way to the ending of *saṃsāra*, is also called 'the lord of the sphere of sensual pleasures' (*Kāmāvacarissara)*. After all his attempts at preventing the ascetic Gotama from realising his goal failed, Māra is represented as admonishing the Buddha that, if he has recognized a safe path to the deathless, he should follow it alone without trying to instruct others. But the Buddha rejects Māra's advice. He would instruct any one who wishes to know the way beyond to the land of the deathless (*S*.1.123). Women are sometimes represented as a snare of Māra (*mārapāsa)* as they can very easily lead the heedless monks away from their religious goals (*A*.III.68). The discourses in the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* (*ibid*.128 *ff*.), on the other hand, show how Māra attempts unsuccessfully to disturb the mental peace achieved by a number of *bhikkhunīs*. Probably what is represented here symbolically as acts of Māra are references to actual problems Buddhist nuns had to face from pleasure-seeking males. In fact the nun Uppalavaṇṇā is asked by Māra whether she tears not sedusers (*dhuttakā)*. " No, not even a hundred thousand sedusers can frighten me" retorts the nun (*Thig*.231). The verses of Therī Subhā illustrate how nuns were harassed by young sedusers (*Thig*. 367 *ff*.). Thus as women are a danger to the pure life of monks, men are a danger to that of nuns. The Buddha had to prohibit nuns from living in forests as they were liable to be raped by unscrupulous men (*Vin*.II.278).

Place of Women in Society and her Duties

Prof. Dheerasekera[4] has drawn attention to the grossly unfair criticism of Buddhism by certain modern scholars who have misrepresented the Buddha as having devoted very little attention to the duties and ideals of lay women or that he showed indifference to or contempt of women. For instance, speaking of Buddhism and Jainism, Altekar says, " Both these were ascetic religions, and they have not devoted much attention, and they have not devoted much attention to the duties and ideals of lay women. The founders and leaders of both these movements showed indifference to, or contempt of women, which is almost universal among the advocates of the ascetic ideal".

Obviously this scholar has either paid scant attention to the discourses where the duties of women have been highlighted or misunderstood, those where weaknesses of women and dangers to the life of monks that could come from too close an association with women, are shown. It is a misnomer to say the Buddha held women in contempt for he has quite clearly accepted their spiritual capabilities and the height they can reach in society. Repudiating the contempt in which the non- ascetic brahamins held women, the Buddha once told king Pasenadi Kosala, who was agitated by the news of the birth of a daughter to one of his queens—

"A woman child, O lord of men, may prove
Even a better offspring than a male.
For she may grow up wise and virtuous,
Her husband's mother rev'rencing, true wife.
The boy that she may bear may do great deeds
And rule great realms, yea,such a son
Of noble wife becomes his country's guide[5]

Here the Buddhist ideals of woman as a mother and wife are succinctly introduced. A woman holds a dignified place in the household and therefore in society, where she has to play a very important role. As a faithful wife she attends to the comforts of his husband and begets children and, as a loving mother, raises and guides her children in their formative years. A mother's love for her single child is always held up by the Buddha in illustrating the ideal of loving kindness (*mettā)* that one should cultivate for all beings. Mother, together with father,is compared to Brahma, the creator God of Brahmanism. They are the first teachers (*pubbācariyā)* of a child, worthy of their children's gifts *(āhuneyyā)* and, they have compassion for their progeny (*A*.II.70). Charity, kind words, beneficial acts and equality in treatment are the four acts of sympathy (*sagahavatthūni)* which, like a lynchpin of a car, bind-together the parents with their children. Lacking in them a mother would not be respected merely for her motherhood and similarly a father for his fatherhood *(ibid*.32)

Mutual duties of parents and children and wife and husband are given in the *Sigālovāda Sutta* (s.v). A husband and wife who abstain from killing, stealing, indulgence in wrongful sense pleasures, lying and taking intoxicants which causes sloth, are virtuous, of a lovely nature (*kalyāṇadhammā*), live the home life with a heart freed from stinginess and does not abuse

recluses and brahmins, are compared to a god (*deva*) living with a goddess (*devi*). (*A*.II 57 *ff*.). In another instance the Buddha has given seven types of wives, three with negative qualities and four with positive qualities, viz slayerlike, robberlike, mistresslike, motherlike, sisterlike, companionlike and handmaidlike. The first three of these display negative qualities while the last four have positive qualities (*ibid*.IV. 91 *ff*.). In view of the statements of some scholars like Altekar it is worth making a special note of the fact that the Buddha expected a husband to treat his wife by 'honoring' (*sammānanāya*), by 'respect' (*avimānanāya*) and, by 'handing over authority'(*issariya-vossaggena* (*D*.III.190) to her.

Ethical qualities the Buddha expected his lay disciples to cultivate and the moral precepts he expected them to keep are common to both males and females. For instance the observation of the five precepts (*pañca sīla*), regarded as the regular moral discipline of the laity or the observation of the eight moral precepts, especially meant for the sabbath day, are common to both sexes. But there are instances where some of these ethical qualities are specially mentioned as applicable to the moral life of a woman. For instance a woman endowed with the five positive qualities of abstention from killing, stealing etc. is said to dwell at home with confidence (*visāradā* *S*.IV.250). A long discourse to Visākhā on the observation of the sabbath (*uposatha*) day is for both males and females (*A*.1.205 *ff*.). In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (iv.238 *ff*.) a whole section, called the *Mātugāma saṃyutta*, is devoted to the elucidation of positive and negative qualities of women as well as instructions specifically applicable to women. Following virtues are pointed out as leading to a happy birth in heaven after death and, therefore, fruitful in this life as well to a woman who possess them,viz confidence (*saddhā*), shame and fear (*hiri, ottappa*), not given to anger (*akkodha,anupanāha*),not jealous (*anussuka*) not niggardly (*amacchera*),chaste (*anaticāri*), learned (*bahussuta*), zealous (*āraddhaviriya*),mentally alert (*upaṭṭhitasati*) and wise (*paññavā*) (*ibid*.244*ff*.). The same section deals with the negative aspects of these leading to negative results (*ibid*.240 *ff*.). A virtuous lay woman growing in confidence, moral discipline, wisdom, charity, and learning accomplishes the essential of one's life in this very existence (*ibid*.250).

Coupled with these positive ethical virtues, a woman, especially a married woman, endowed with four qualities is said to be victorious in this world, viz. efficient in the management of her domestic work (*susaṃvihita-kammanto*), treats her domestic servants with concern (*saṅgahitaparijjano*), strives to please her husband (*bhattu manāpaṃ carati*) and, takes good care of his earnings (*sambhataṃ anurakkhati*). Of these the textual explanation of the first one is quite interesting: "whatever her husband's home industries, whether in wool or cotton, therein she is skilled and efficient, gifted with an inquiring turn of mind into all such undertakings she is efficient to manage all her household work". The *Sigālovāda Sutta* has added a fifth to the four factors given here which is obviously drawn from this explanation ,viz skilled and efficient (*dakkhā analsā*) in the discharge of all her work (*sabba-kiccesu*). Thus a woman, victorious in this world, becomes victorious in the world beyond with four other virtues, viz confidence (*saddhā*), virtue (*sīla*), kindness (*vadaññū*) and liberality or absence of stinginess (*vītamaccharā*) (*A*.iv 269 *ff*.). Thus a housewife's duties as seen in early Pāli texts make her a lovable and capable social being,wise and learned, usefully engaged in the management of her husband's economic activities and above all the keeper of her husband's purse. Quite a heavy responsibility.

Some of the views on women expressed in Buddhist discourses are undoubtedly based on current social conventions or, biological realities while still others are based on Buddhist religious views. The status of a wife in a family is said to be decided by five factors, viz. her beauty (*rūpa*), riches (*bhoga*),kin (*ñāti*), children (*putta*) and morals (*sīla*).Possessed of these five factors, called the five powers of a woman, it is asserted, she lives with confidence in the household and is able to get the better of her husband. But a husband can on the contrary take the better of his wife by one single factor viz. authority (*issariya*). It is this authority, significantly, which a good husband is expected by the Buddha to hand over to his wife, may be at certain specific instances only. Among these five powers of a woman, it is said, the most important place is given to the power of morals, for a woman lacking in morals can be overthrown and ousted from the family even when the other four are present. Buddhism would naturally agree with this superiority given to morals for it is stressed that only it can assure a woman heavenly happiness after death (*S*.iv.246 *ff*.)

It is also said that a woman is not attractive to a man if she lacks beauty, riches and morals, is lazy and

begets no children (*ibid* 238). Undoubtedly these were some of the things that men and their family expected from a woman.

By a group of five factors given in a discourse are also presented certain biologically caused problems for women and some of their social implications. They are called five woes which naturally come to a woman as apart from a male. A woman has to leave her relatives and go to live in the family of her husband at a tender age, she is subject to menses,(*utunī*); pregnancy (*gabbhinī*); has to bring forth (*vijāyati*) and, lastly, a woman has to wait upon a man (*pāricariyaṃ upeti*, *ibid* 239). In the Buddhist opinion stinginess, jealousy, and attachment to sensuality are three evil qualities that pave the way to an unhappy rebirth for a woman (*ibid*.240). Merit(*puñña*) acquired in previous lives is regarded in Buddhism as a great blessing (*mahā maṅgala*) for happiness in the present life. Thus it is said that only past merit can ensure five things for a woman, viz. birth in a proper family, to be married into a proper family, to dwell at home without rival co-wives, to beget children, and to have mastery over one's husband. It would be hard for a woman lacking in past merit to come by these in the present life (*ibid*.249).

Upāsikas of Special Reference

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV.347*f*.) also provides a list of twenty names, starting with the name Bojjhā, of female lay disciples, according to the commentary (*AA*:IV.160*f*), to whom the Buddha has explained the observance of the eight precepts on the *uposatha* days. Earlier in the same Nikāya (ibid.255 *ff*., 259 *ff*) are two discourses given, one to Visākhā and the other to Bojjhā, on the same topic. Included in the list of twenty two are two royal princess, queen Mallikā of Kosala, queen Sāmāvati and Visākā the chief benefactress of the Buddha. In the list are also the names of a few declared to be foremost among the Buddha's female lay disciples in certain specific fields (*A*.1.26). Of these female lay disciples the most prominent name is obviously that of Visākhā (s.v.), who had converted her father-in-law, the treasurer Migāra, to Buddhism and won the epithet Migāramātā or 'Mother of Migāra. She was the builder of the monastery named Pubbārāma near Sāvatthi. One other name worthy of special mention is that of Khujjuttarā declared to be pre-eminent among female lay disciples with a wide knowledge (*bahussutānam*). According to the *Itivuttaka* Commentary (*Ita*.1.29 *ff*.) the canonical text named *Itivuttaka* originated from a collection of sermons which Khujjuttarā had learned from the Buddha and in turn delivered to Sāmāvatī, one of the three queens of king Udena of Kosambi and other women of her royal residence. The words " *Vuttam h'etam bhagavatā vuttam arahatāti me sutam* at the beginning of each discourse in the collection are attributed to her. The collection was picked up by the monks from the nuns and Ven.Ananda retained these same introductory words as he got them from the monks. What is significant is that this is the only canonical text attributed to a female and that also to a lay woman. It is noteworthy that the commentator has not tried to erase or change the traditions regarding the services of women come down from the past.

Admission of Women into the Saṅgha

One of the arguments raised by modern scholarship to prove that women were given only a secondary position in Buddhism is the recorded reluctance of the Buddha to admit them into the Saṅgha. Eliot[6] says that "permission was wrung from him against his judgement" Dutt,[7] quoting the *E.R.E.*, says that "Buddha was never tired of describing the defects and vices of women and warning the monks to guard against them". While it is correct to say that the Buddha admitted women into the Sagha with reluctance, yet it is clear from the *Vinaya Cullavagga* (*Vin*.II.253 *ff*.) and instances shown above that the Buddha categorically granted their capability to realize the spiritual goals envisaged by his teachings. To a query of Ananda, who reasoned out with the Buddha the desirability of granting ordination to his foster mother, Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, whether women are capable of realizing the four stages of the path to emancipation, the Buddha answered in the affirmative (*ibid*.). Thus in one place the Buddha states,

> And be it woman, be it man for whom
> Such chariot doth wait, by that same car
> Into Nibbāna's presence shall they come

And from all canonical records, it is proven beyond doubt that the admission of women into the Saṅgha was an immediate success for, as shown above, canonical records show that, whether it be in following the *Dhamma*, in their moral conduct, knowledge of the *dhamma*,and spiritual development, women were able to stand successfully shoulder to shoulder with men.

If, in the Buddha's opinion, women have this capability then what was the reason for the Buddha's reluctance to ordain women as *bhikkhunis*?. Probably social and organizational reasons weighted the Buddha's opinion in this direction. The position given to women in the Brahmanic tradition was a very low one. Altekar, speaking on this matter, says; "the prohibition of *upanayana* amounted to spiritual disenfranchisement of women and produced a disastrous effect upon their general position in society. It reduced them to the status of Śudras. What, however, did infinite harm to women was the theory that they were ineligible to them (vedic sacrifices) because they were of the status of the Śudras. Henceforward they were bracketed with Śudras and other backword classes in society. This we find to be the case even in the *Bhagavadgītā*". The *Manusmṛti* reduces women to domestic subservience. The road to heaven is barred to her. Matrimony and obedience to husband are the only means whereby women can hope to reach heaven. Thus Manu says,[8] " Women have no sacrifice of their own to perform nor religious rites or observations to follow. Obedience to husband alone would exalt the woman in heaven"

Denial of the *upanayana* also must have closed for women the door of access to Vedic lore and any ethical and spiritual education derived from them. This would have denied any educational opportunities to women except perhaps in the highest stratas in society. Perhaps an indication of this is found in the Vinaya rule for nuns which stipulates that an ordained woman has to observe six precepts of training *(sikkhāpada)* for two years before being promoted a *bhikkhuṇī* with higher ordination (*Vin*.II.255 *f*.).Significantly these six precepts are the five precepts meant for the laity plus abstention from untimely meals (*vikāla-bhojanā*) as the sixth. However the third, abstention from wrongful indulgence in sense pleasures, is changed to abstention from impure life (*abrahmacariya*) or the observance of complete celibacy (*brahmacariya*) (*ibid*.IV.319). This period of probation made compulsory for only the females admitted to the Saṅgha may be an indication of their low ethico-religious training in home life. The commentary states that women are unsteadfast (*lolo*) without this training but not so when trained thus (*VinA*.IV.940). Probably this was enforced before the introduction of the observance of the ten precepts common to both the male and female novices (*sāmaṇera*) but not removed even after the initiation of the novitiate.

In Indian belief in general women were held to be intellectually inferior to men and, therefore, had no capacity to reach higher spiritual attainments realized by sages. This is proven by an opinion attributed to Māra, personification of all negative ideas, who tries in vain to dissuade a Buddhist nun from pursuing her spiritual endeavors.

" No woman, with her two-finger wisdom, could ever hope to reach those heights which are attained only by sages" (*S*.I.129)

However the Buddhist nun Somā, who is addressed thus by Māra, brushed away his ideas saying that her womanhood holds no bar to attain her spiritual goal.

" When one's mind is well concentrated and wisdom never fails when all phenomena are seen through, does that fact of being a woman make any difference?" (*ibid*). The distrust in the capacity of women to reach spiritual perfection is seen when the Buddha called upon Mahāpajāpati Gotamī to perform a miracle to confound the foolish men who are in doubt regarding the spiritual potentialities of women (*Ap*.II.535)

Jainism had already established an order of nuns. But the adoption of complete nudity by Mahāvīra seems to have caused conflicting views regarding the capability of women to attain *mokṣa*. Digambaras hold that no woman can reach *mokṣa* without undergoing rebirth as a man.

Śvetambaras, on the other hand, hold that women can become *Siddhas*. But only a very few women had the sufficient strength of mind or body to study the faith or endure the hard life of an ascetic. Not more than twenty women in the olden days used to attain perfection. On the other hand hundred and eight males used to do so. Jains seem to think males are more religious than females, says Stevenson[9]. Mahāvīra is also credited with the addition of the fifth vow of chastity to the earlier *cauyāma saṃvara* of parśva. Commenting on this Jacobi says, " the argumentation in the text presupposes a decay of morals of the monastic order to have occurred between Parśva and Mahāvīra....."[10] Such social phenomena would have definitely influenced the Buddha's views on the admission of women into the Saṅgha. An important instance of promiscuity in the behaviour of male and female mendicants in the Buddha's day is brought to our notice by Prof. Dheerasekara[11] from the

Culladhammasamādāna Sutta (*M*.1.305). That the Buddha was conscious of these things among followers of other religions is shown when the Buddha points out that he cannot allow a request made by the *bhikkhunī* Pajāpati Gotamī to remove the first *garudhamma* and allow monks and nuns to pay courtsies to each other according to seniority alone. The reason given for this refusal according to the *Cullavagga* (*Vin*.II.258) is that since not even other religionists (*titthiyas)* who propound imperfect doctrines sanction such homage of men towards women, the Tathāgata cannot definitely do so. If this *Cullavagga* view is correct it shows that the Buddha's views on women were influnced by views current in his contemporary society.

The Buddha was deeply concerned about the esteem in which the general public held his monastic organization. As such he took notice of any reasonable criticism levelled against the members of the Saṅgha by the public and took steps to prevent the repition of such activities of his disciples which attracted public criticism. Thus one of the reasons for laying down rules of discipline is always stated to be "for the conversion (*pasdāya)* of the unconverted and the increase of those converted". Success of his mission depended on the popularity of his community of disciples. Therefore the Buddha had to consider deeply before taking any steps that could make his community of disciples, already established, unpopular among the people. Although the Buddha granted the capability of women to reach spiritual success it would not have been acceptable to a majority in his contemporary society. Therefore he had to first prove for himself and the society at large that women were ready to take this plunge and come out unscathed. Further more, he had to assure that his male members of the Order, already established, would have no objections to this new addition to their Order. It is pointed out by some scholars that some of the negative statements on the ordination of women found in canonical texts such as the criticism levelled against Ananda at the First Council for supporting the ordination of women, may be the emergence to the surface of such objections that were lying dormant during the life time of the Buddha. It is natural that the Buddha had to prevent the emergence of a female Order of an equal status with that of the males who could rival the more senior Order of monks already won acceptance in society. Some of these problems may have caused the delay in giving ordination to women by the Buddha.

Ordination of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī and the Sākyan Women

Once, when the Buddha was on a visit to Kapilavatthu, the capital of his home country, his foster mother Mahāpajāpati Gotamī came to him and requested him to grant ordination to women in his religion. But the Buddha straight away rejected her request saying "Gotamī do not wish for ordination for women in the religion of the Tathāgata". The same request was rejected by the Buddha twice more and quite dejected Gotamī left the monastery in tears. The Buddha also left Kapilavatthu soon after and went to Vesāli where he stayed at the Mahāvana. Mahāpajāpati Gotamī was not easily put off by the Buddha's refusal. Undaunted, she got her hair cut off, donned yellow robes and, with a large number of like minded Sakyan women, walked all the way to Vesāli to make her request once more. Covered with dust and with swollen feet the Sakyan women arrived at the Mahāvana fully exhausted from travelling. But with no courage to face the Buddha once more, they stood weeping outside the monastery gate. Ven. Ananda who saw their sad plight agreed to take up their case to the Buddha, but was, once again, turned down by him. Ven Ananda then decided to change his approach to the Master. Can women, ordained in your religion, realize the four stages of the Path to emancipation, he queried the Buddha. This was answered in the affirmative by him. If so, reasoned out Ānanda, since Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, his foster mother, who was of great service in bringing him up after the passing away of his own mother, deserves to receive ordination which, through her, should be extended to all women. The Buddha this time, admitting the justification of Ānanda's reasoning, agreed to grant ordination to women, but on condition that Mahāpajāpati Gotamī should agree to honour eight stringent rules (*aṭṭha garudhammo)* through life. " If Ānanda, Mahāpajāpati Gotamī accepts the eight stringent rules, (s.v.*bhikkhunī*) let that itself be her higher ordination (*sā'v'assā hotu upasampadā)"* said the Buddha. When ven. Ānanda brought the happy news to Gotamī, overwhelmed with joy she accepted the heavy conditions imposed, with both hands with the following words "Even, honoured Ānanda, as a woman or a man when young, of tender years, and fond of ornaments, having washed (himself and his) head, having obtained a garland of lotus flowers or a garland of jasmine flowers, or a garland of some sweet-scented creeper, having taken it with both hands, should place

it on top of his head— even so do I, honored Ānanda, accept these eight important rules never to be transgressed during my life"[12]. When Ānanda reported this back to the Buddha he is said to have commented that with the ordination of women this religion will be weakened and its life cut by half. From the comments attributed to the Buddha, it appears, he expected women to seek ordination in very large numbers, much more than men, which would in his opinion, weaken the Buddhist monastic organization like a household with more women than men-could become prey to robbers etc (*Vin*.II 256). It is possible that, in view of the great hardships women in ancient India had to undergo due to various social problems, the Buddha or the redactors of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* expected large numbers of women to seek ordination in the Order of nuns. Although such social problems, as indicated by the *Therīgāthās* and some of the *Vinaya* rules for nuns, prompted women to seek ordination as *bhikkhunīs*, it is possible that their numbers were not so acute a problem that hampered the well being of the religion. Guster Roth [13] also thinks that the purpose of imposing the eight stringent rules was the restricting of the number of women seeking ordination. A Nepalese female recluse questioned by him. on the other hand, said that the purpose was to select the best among the applicants.

Thus we see that the Buddha was very cautious in opening the doors of his Order to women. He was presented with two important supportive factors to throw open the gates of the Saṅgha by his foster mother and his chief attendant, Ven. Ānanda. Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī's steadfast determination to achieve her purpose of obtaining ordination as a nun proved the capacity of women, also later to be supported by the words of such nuns as Somā and Subhā Jivakambavanikā, to withstand any odds that could arise in their way of achieving their goals and maintaining their mental equilibrium. The support given by ven Ānanda in opening the doors of the Saṅgha to women was also an important factor from the side of the Order of monks. But still the Buddha had to take steps to cut short any opposition from the monks, who may still be under the influence of conservative brahmanic tradition, to give equal status to monks and nuns. This the Buddha did by the imposition of the eight stringent rules which placed the nuns virtually under the guidance and supervision of the Order of monks. By the first of these eight rules a nun, however senior she may be, has to pay respects in every manner to a monk ordained even on the very day. By another rule a nun is forbidden to admonish a monk but a monk is not forbidden to admonish a nun. Higher ordination, invitation (*pavāraṇa*) at the conclusion of rains retreat and, undergoing *mānatta* for grave offences, have to be done with the approval of both orders. Even with all these restrictions disapproval of certain sections of monks for the ordination of women came to the surface after the demise of the Buddha. At the First Council Ven. Ānada was accused of supporting the ordination of women. (*Vin*.II.289). However Mahāpajāpat Gotamī accepted the conditions without hesitation showing that her objective was purely spiritual but not social prestige or competition with the males. Later, however, she is reported to have requested the Buddha, through Ven. Ānanda, to remove the first of the eight rules and allow monks and nuns to show respect to each other according to seniority without any discrimination between the genders (*Vin*.II.257f.). The Buddha rejected her request pointing out that not even in the religions of non-Buddhists such homage of men towards women is sanctioned. The *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* records that Mahāpajāpati made this request before her ordination.

Prof.Dheerasekara[14], commenting on this request by her after accepting the eight rules at the outset, says that she must have done it under pressure from her own group.

Dissentient views[15] regarding the granting of ordination to women that may have surfaced after the demise of the Buddha were indicated above. In addition, as shown above, is the view, attributed to the Buddha, that ordination of women would cut short by half the life span of the religion (*sāsana*). Such views found in the Pāli texts also find support in the Vinaya texts of the other schools as well. The *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* records that Ānanda apologized to the Buddha for having requested him to admit women into the Order. The Buddha absolves him saying that he was, at the time, under the influence of Māra. The *Dharmagupta Vinaya* also records a view attributed to the Buddha that his religion would have lasted five hundred years longer had women not entered the Order. Another statement attributed to the Buddha by the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* says that had women not been admitted to the Order, male and female lay devotees would have honoured the *bhikkhus* in diverse ways after his demise. Now this would not happen as there are nuns in the Order. The reason for this loss of

prestige of *bhikkhus* due to the presence of *bhikkhunis* is not clear. One reason could be the low opinion of women in contemporary society influencing even the views of the Buddhists laity. Another possible reason is that, in case the nuns becoming more popular among the laity, they would claim a larger share of the honour due to the Saṅgha than the monks.

It is also evident from the canonical sources, both the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta* sections, that after the establishment of the *bhikkhunī* Order certain unpleasant situations arose among the members of the two Orders which may have caused displeasure regarding the nuns in the minds of the more conservative and peace-loving members of the Order of bhikkhus. One such situation arose resulting from a very close association of the monk named Moliyaphagguna with a group of nuns (*M*.1.122 *ff*.). Their friendship was such that if any one criticized these nuns in the presence of the monk, he got very angry and displeased and even made legal questions. The same happened if some one spoke in dispraise of this monk in the presence of the nuns. The Buddha had to summon the monk Phagguna to his presence and admonish him on how he should train himself to act without perverting one's mind in such a situation, or even a worse one, and refrain from using evil speech, but use only kind and compassionate words. The two nuns Thullanandā and Thullatissā were persons who often came into conflict with even senior monks. The former once spoke ill of the great elders like Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallana in the presence of a lay follower to boost her own favorites like Devadatta and his followers. But as she changed her attitude as soon as the great elders appeared in their presence, the lay follower, quite displeased, threw her out of his house and discontinued the regular meals given to her (*Vin* IV.66). The name of the same nun occurs in another episode when she criticized Mahākassapa for finding fault with Ānanda for certain activities deemed unbecoming by him (*S*.II.219*ff*). The nun Thullatissā also once criticized Mahākassapa for preaching to some nuns in the presence of Ānanda whom she called 'the Sage of Videha' (Vedehamuni). She compared this to a needle – seller trying to sell his wares in the presence of the needle –maker. But Ven Ānanda begged Mahākassapa to pardon her, for women, he said, are foolish (*ibid* 215 *f*.) Both these nuns had later left the Order. The nun Mettiyā was expelled from the Order for falsely accusing the Arahant Dabba Mallaputta of having seduced her. She actually did this at the instigation of a group of monks who had a grouse against this Arahant (*ibid*.II.78 *f*.)

Two notorious groups of six each—hence called Chabbaggiyā— one of monks and the other of nuns, were well known trouble makers in the Saṅgha who took any opportunity to break rules of discipline laid down by the Buddha. There are also instances when they attempted pranks on a group of the opposite sex to arouse their interest towards themselves. This group of six monks is said to have once sprinkled muddy water on the nuns (*Vin*.II.262) and on another occasion exposed their bodies to the nuns (*ibid*). Interestingly the group of six nuns is also accused of attempting the same prank on the monks. Sometimes the Saṅgha became the target of public criticism due to the activities of the two Orders. In one instance, when an entire Order of nuns in a monastery went for exhortation to a monastery of monks, people criticized them saying, "They are their wives, mistresses, now they will take their pleasure together" (*ibid* 262 *f*.). Such situations arose due to the younger Order of nuns being placed close to the already established Order of monks. The Buddha had to take steps by imposing new disciplinary rules to prevent the good name of his disciples being tarnished in this manner.

Bhikkhuni Order, its Progress

Opening of the Saṅgha to women was an immediate success. Many women from all walks of life, renounced home life seeking emancipation from bonds of *saṃsāra*. As also noted above and the records of the *theris* in the *Theri-gāthā* ,many were the renunciants who accomplished their set intentions joining the Buddha's community of disciples. But what is noteworthy is that they often refer not only to the achievement of their spiritual goals but also to the gaining of more mundane goals of freedom from domestic or social drudgery. It is obvious that many women joined the Order of Buddhist nuns to find solace from social problems. Thus the nun Kisāgotamī states about the lot of women (*Thig*.216-217)

" Woeful is woman's lot! hath he declared
Tamer and Driver of the hearts of men:
Woeful when sharing home with hostile wives,
Woeful when giving birth in bitter pain,
Some seeking death, or e'er they suffer twice

Piercing the throat: the delicate poison take
Woe, too, when mother-murdering embryo
Comes not to birth, and both alike find death"[16].

Perhaps this factor can be clearly seen expressed in the words of Mrs. Rhys Davids as follows[17]. " In other cases it is the *vis a tergo* of goading circumstances that impels the woman to break out of the groove. Escape, deliverance, freedom from suffering mental, moral, domestic, social— from some situation that has become intolerable—is hymned in the verses and explained in the commentary. The bereaved mother, the childless widow are emancipated from grief and contumely; the Magdalen from remorse, the wife of rājā or rich man from the society and emptiness of an idle life of luxury, the poor man's wife from care and drudgery, the young girl from humiliation of being handed over to the suitor who bids highest, the thoughtful woman from the ban imposed upon her intellectual development by convention and tradition"

Some Concessions to Women

The normal age of receiving higher ordination for both monks and nuns is twenty years. But in the case of nuns this rule is compulsorily applicable only to the unmarried (*kumāribhūta*), for it is a Pācittiya offence to give higher ordination to an unmarried person less than twenty years of age (*Vin* IV.327). Such a person should have been trained in the six rules of training for two years from the age of eighteen to twenty before becoming qualified to receive higher ordination. But the Pācittiya rule LXVI makes it an offence to give higher ordination to a married (*gihigata*)—explained as gone to live together with a man' (*purisantaragatā ibid.*322)— female of less that twelve years. However a female who is twelve years of age can be given higher ordination if she is trained in the six rules for two years (*ibid* 323). Strange as this concession given to women seems to be, the *Theravāda Vinaya* tradition is confirmed by the *Vinaya* texts of other traditions such as the *Mahāsaṅghikas*[18], *Mahīśāsakas*[19], *Sarvstivādins*[20], *Dharmaguptakas*[21], and *Mūla-Sarvāstivādins*[22]. Unfortunately neither the Pāli *Suttavibhaṅga* nor the *Samantapāsādikā* commentary add anything to enlighten the reader on the reasons for allowing such a concession to married females. Miss Horner's[23] view that the twelve years here refers to the length of the married life does not seem to be acceptable as the *Vinaya* Commentary states, " having given the agreement as to training (*sikkhāsammuti*) to a female of ten years, it is fit to give higher ordination when she has completed twelve years of age" (*Vin*A.IV,941). This seems to indicate that the twelve years refers to the actual age of the person. It is also inconceivable that a girl married at ten has to wait until she is twenty two to be ordained or receive higher ordination when a maid can do it at eighteen and twenty respectively. Any way one can only speculate as to the reasons for this concession given to married women by the Buddha.

A possible cause for this concession was the quite popular child marriage custom prevalent in ancient India. The *vinaya* rules for *bhikkhunīs* as well as their Pāli commentarial comments refer to marriage of young girls of ten years of age or even of a younger age. Males of such matrimonial alliances could be of similar age or older. At times the male could be an older person with a number of co-wives. The plight of such a girl of a very tender age would be very precarious. The husband would not have much interest in her until she attains puberty and a child bearing position. Until then she would be probably under the whip hand of her mother-in-law and possibly also of senior co-wives. As referred to above leaving one's home at a very tender age and taking up residence in one's husband's home was considered by Buddhists as one of the woes in a woman's life. She would receive some recognition in the family only once she becomes a mother. The position of a childless woman or a bereaved mother would have been unbearable. The plight of a widow or, worse still, of a childless widow would have been intolerable. Under such circumstances many young girls, legally married, would have sought refuge in Buddhist nunneries to escape the drudgery of home life under their in-laws. Such a hard life they had to lead in their husband's home must have been considered enough training and qualification to keep the *vinaya* rules of discipline considered in themselves to be a hard task. The Buddha's compassion for these young girls also may be considered one of the reasons for allowing them to receive *upasampadā* at such an early age. This compassionate consideration is also seen in the prohibition of giving *upasapadā* to pregnant women (*Vin*.IV.317) or mothers giving suck (*ibid.*318). The story of Kumāra Kassapa, whose mother was a nun at the time of his birth *(DPPN*, s.v.,Kumāra Kassapa) also shows the Buddha's compassionate treatment of women under difficult circumstances.

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WOODWARD F.L. Early life in England: Frank Lee Woodward (1871-1952) was the second Principal of Mahinda College in Galle. He was an Educationist, a Buddhist Revivalist and a pioneer Buddhist scholar. He was born to a family of an Anglican clergyman in Saham, Toney, Norfolk in England. His father was an Anglican curate, Rev. William Woodward and his mother was Elizabeth Mary Ann. Frank Lee Woodward was the fifth child and the third son of eight children of Rev. Woodward.

In 1879 when Frank Lee Woodward (hereinafter Woodward) was eight years old, he was admitted to "Blue coat School", Christ's Hospital, an ancient institute of repute. He was a free scholar and was qualified to be admitted to the top form of the lower school, as he was carefully trained by his father at home. At the end of the first term of the school Woodward was able to win Latin and English prizes, a proficiency he showed throughout his school career.

In 1890, at the age of nineteen he gained admittance to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, on a "Foundation Scholarship" and later he was awarded the "Lovette Exhibition Scholarship" set apart for sons of clergymen intending to enter Holy Orders. His father wanted him to become an Anglican Priest like himself. At the Classical Tripos he secured a second class in honours and the Bachelor of Arts Degree. He left the University in 1893 after graduation.

Contrary to his father's expectation Woodward decided to enter the teaching profession, which he thought was the noblest of professions, a mean to learn and serve. His first appointment as a teacher was at Rugby Preparatory School as an Assistant teacher. But after a couple of months, he resigned and joined the Royal Grammar School of Worcester, where he was the classical master till 1897. In 1898 he was appointed as the second master (Vice Principal) of Stamford School, an ancient foundation in Lincolnshire. It was at Stamford that Woodward received his Master of Arts Degree from the University of Cambridge.

Woodward was proficient in six languages, Greek, Latin, French, German, English and later Pali. As a result he had access to a vast literature, which included philosophy. He made the best use of this opportunity during his leisure hours found in the teaching profession. Consequently Woodward developed an inclination to philosophy at Stamford. Among the various schools of philosophy, it was the Stoic philosophy, a branch of Greek philosophy promulgated in Athens by Zeno (circa 308 B.C.) Woodward liked most. His favourite philosophical work was "Meditations" by the Roman Emperor Marusaurelias (A.C. 121-180), an exponent of Stoic philosophy. Woodward also started admiring the philosophy of Plato, whose works he was able to read over and over again. It was from Plato's works he derived his elitist attitudes and confirmed his adherence to austerity and the denial of physical comforts and bodily indulgence. Woodward learnt about the concept of rebirth for the first time in the teachings of Plato of which he felt some familiarity. This was the turning

point in his life. The idea of rebirth led him to Theosophy. He joined the Theosophical Society in 1901. After joining the society Woodward began to explore the oriental religions like Hinduism and Buddhism that recognize the concept of rebirth. Out of the two religions – Buddhism appealed to him more and felt it was what he was searching for.[1]

Woodward's Arrival in Ceylon (Sri Lanka): Colonel H.S. Olcott (q.v..), having learnt Buddhism, arrived in Galle (Ceylon) on 17th May 1880 accompanied by Madam H.P. Blavetsky. Col. Olcott witnessed the pathetic situation of Buddhists and Buddhism prevailing at the time in Ceylon. He immediately realized the urgent necessity to establish Buddhist schools in order to arrest the unethical conversion of Buddhist children to Christianity by the Christian missionaries, making the best use of education monopolized by them. Olcott toured the island, organized the Buddhists, and commenced to establishing Buddhist schools. The Galle Buddhist Theosophical School was established on 15th September 1880, but was closed down before a year due to lack of students. Another attempt to open the Buddhist school in Galle was made nearly ten years later in 1891. But it did not make any progress till the arrival of Dr. Bowles Daly, another Englishman who came to Ceylon in search of Buddhism. He became the principal of the school in 1892 and named the school as Mahinda College. Daly too left after one year. After the departure of Daly, Mahinda College did not progress due to the absence of a permanent principal and it was struggling to exist. The Galle Buddhist Theosophical Society wrote to Col. Olcott requesting him to find a good principal for Mahinda College.

In the meantime, inspired by the discovery of Buddhism through Theosophy, Woodward wrote to Col. Olcott, then President of the Theosophical Society offering his services and help in his "great work". Col. Olcott wrote to Woodward offering him the post of Principal of Mahinda College. Woodward's response was prompt. He replied "I would come at once." He gave up his post at Stamford and arrived in Galle on 1st August 1903.

Woodward builds up Mahinda College: When Woodward took charge of Mahinda College, on Aug 1st, 1903 it was housed in an old building in the Old Dutch Fort of Galle with the uncongenial environment for a school. There were 5 teachers and 89 students on roll with an average daily attendance of 60 students. The school was fast deteriorating and the attendance was going down fast. But Woodward was not discouraged. He worked hard tirelessly. Muhandiram T. De S. Amarasuriya the Manager of the college was a tower of strength to Woodward. The Buddhists of Galle co-operated with him. The College began to flourish under Woodward's able and honest leadership. He introduced Victorian values and Cambridge discipline to the College. In the course of one year the enrolment rose to 250. Woodward felt that the old Dutch building in that unsuitable surroundings was a severe constraint to the progress of the College.

Woodward wanted to shift the College to a suitable location and was looking fore a new site. A block of land which was a hillock called Dewatagahawatta in the village of Minuwangoda, about 5 k.m. from the Galle Fort was identified as the most suitable among the proposed sites. Mrs. D.F. de Silva of "Nandana", Eliot Road (now Woodward Mawatha) purchased the land and donated it to the Galle Buddhist Theosophical Society to build the College. Woodward did not hesitate to go from house to house collecting money for the building project. Mr. Henry Amarasooriya, who succeeded his father Muhandiram Thomas Amarasooriya as the manager of the college lavishly contributed to the building fund.

The foundation for the assembly hall the first building to come up was laid on 15th January 1908, which was named the "Olcott Hall", to commemorate Col. H.S. Olcott[2] who died the previous year (17 Feb. 1907). Simultaneously with the assembly hall, action was taken to put up class rooms. Mr. Henry Amarasooriya financed one class room block to commemorate his late father Muhandiram Thomas Amarasooriya. Woodward personally provided money for the other class room block. It is said that Woodward spent the entirety of his patrimony, he received after the death of his father, for putting up buildings at the new site.

Woodward is reported to have planned all the buildings at that picturesque site himself, as graceful and airy as possible to suit the climate. Thus it is said that he was the architect, contractor and also the supervisor of works. More over he has been seen with trowel in hand at work with masons, climbing up the scaffolding, taking measurements and

superintending the construction operation. Thus he contributed not only financially[3] but also manually in order to create a school to suit his intended purpose of training an indigenous generation endowed with self-respect, who would be proud of their religion and culture.

Woodward's contribution to Religious and National Revival of Sri Lanka: Woodward took over the reigns of Mahinda College, at a crucial hour in the history of the country.[4] It is necessary to examine the conditions prevailing in the country at the time, for a correct evaluation of his contribution to Mahinda College, religious and national revival, education and to the country as a whole.

The early phase of the British rule in Ceylon was very detrimental to Buddhists and Buddhism. The Christian missionaries with the blessing of the government were mercilessly harassing and despising Buddhism and its adherents. There was no need for this offensive against the innocent and unprovoking Buddhists, other than their motive to eradicate Buddhism and spread their own faith, Christianity. The Sinhala language and the culture of the local people were disparaged as primitive and uncivilized, and hence Buddhists were ashamed to declare that they were Buddhists in public.[5] At the beginning the Buddhists had no alternative but to tolerate. But when the Christian onslaught reached an intolerable level a spontaneous awakening was seen among the Buddhists. They realized their sad plight and organized themselves under the leadership of the Buddhist monks and the learned laity to rescue their declining religion and the nation.

The awakening was first witnessed in the coastal districts specially in the southern and western provinces. The intelligent and enterprising businessmen from the south migrated to Colombo and acquired wealth by means of various business ventures under the capitalist economy, introduced by the British. They provided the financial and organizational support necessary for the Buddhists, to resist the onslaught against them.

The Vidyodaya Pirivena (q.v..) was established in 1873 followed by the Vidyalankara Pirivena (q.v.) in 1875, which became the centers of religious and national revival. The "Pānadurāvādaya", Controversy of Panadura in 1873 boosted the morals of the Buddhists who were disheartened by the Christian propaganda that branded Buddhiss as devil worshipers. Col. Olcott accompanied by Madam Blavetsky arrived on 17[th] May 1880. Col. Olcott witnessed the tragedy of education being monopolized by the Christian missionaries. He formed the Theosophical Society and commenced establishing Buddhist Schools in various parts of the island. Buddhist parents were keen to send their children to Buddhist schools. Ananda College, Colombo, Dharmaraja College, Kandy, have already been established. There was an unprecedented enthusiasm among the Buddhists everywhere. The Buddhist and national revival already generated among the Sinhala Buddhists, in reaction to the Christian onslaught was slowly gathering momentum towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This was the general situation in the country when Woodward arrived. But unfortunately Mahinda College, Galle though established in the heartland of Sinhala Buddhists by Olcott was on the verge of collapse. Southern province urgently needed a good Buddhist school to augment the religious and national revival already seen in the horizon. It was in this needy hour that Woodward volunteered to accept the post of Principal of Mahinda College on the invitation of Col. H.S. Olcott. He arrived in Galle on the 1[st] August 1903, and assumed duties on the same day.

Woodward did not take a long time to understand the situation in the country. He observed how the onslaught of western culture and the missionary zeal had deeply eroded the indigenous culture and Buddhism. Hence his responsibility was much more than that of an ordinary school head. In spite of being an Englishman, he correctly understood that his task should be to build up Mahinda College as an elite English medium school in the south that fulfills Buddhist and the national aspirations. Whatever the changes and new innovations he effected at Mahinda, it was aimed to inspire and train a new generation who value and honour their own religion, language and culture in an environment where Sri Lankans themselves were being brain washed by the missionaries to look down their own religion, language and culture.

Woodward replaced the college motto "Nihil est amabilius virtue" (Nothing is more loveable than virtue) a Latin quotation given by the first principal Bowles Daly, with *Khippaṃ vāyāma paṇḍito bhava*

(Strive earnestly and be wise), a Pali quotation from the *Dhammapada*. In the morning the College sessions commenced with the administering of "*Pañca Sila*" (Five Precepts) and closed the daily sessions by collectively chanting the stanzas supposed to have been chanted by Chatta, in homage to Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha (*chatta mānavaka gāthā*) . On poya days he would proceed to the temple with the pupils and observe "*Aṭa Sil*" (Eight Precepts). He used to invite the monks to the College and offered alms to them with the students. On such occasions, according to tradition, the feet of the monks are washed before they sit down to partake of the food. It is said that Woodward was so humble that he himself used to wash and wipe the feet of the monks, thereby giving a personal example to the students.

Moreover, it is said that Woodward along with some prominent Buddhist professionals and government officials of Galle, numbering about 24, set the example to others by observing "*Ata Sil*" (Eight Precepts) on the Wesak Full-Moon day, 1909. This was supposed to have been repeated in most years. It was done in order to revive a Buddhist practice that has long fallen to disuse.

This is described as a stunning affirmation of indigenous religious observance having an Englishman follow Buddhist rituals, generally regarded by British expatriates as incomprehensive, primitive and pagan practices. This example of Woodward had a great impact on the pupils as well as the surrounding local community at the time.

Woodward himself taught Buddhism in the upper forms in the English medium. He translated Buddhist scriptures for the benefit of the students. It is significant that Woodward attempted to promote Buddhism among the laity through the English medium while the contemporary Christians tried to introduce the Bible through the Sinhala medium. Thus Woodward made a significant contribution for the Buddhist revival in the island providing an access to the scriptures for the laity, who earlier depended on the monks for the interpretation of the scriptures. This way he accommodated a large segment of the contemporary Buddhist laity to study the Buddhist scriptures, so that they themselves could study the scriptures for the first time.

The other significant contribution Woodward made for the religious and national revival was with regard to the Sinhala language. The negligence with contempt of the Sinhala language and the glorification of English was the vogue of the day. At that time English was the language of the upper strata of the society and Sinhala was called the vernacular language of the slaves. Everybody wanted their children to learn English in order to secure government employments and also enter the elite society. The Sinhala students who spoke in Sinhala in the schools risked receiving mandatory punishment. Thus missionary schools of the day promoted the study of English at the expense of the mother tongue of the children.

Woodward had a clear understanding of the links between language, culture and religion. He emphasized that a nation without a language of its own is only a half nation. He saw that those who neglect the mother tongue risked severing the links with the common religion and common cultures. But Woodward was not caught in some chauvinistic rejection of English and considered it as an international "Lingua Franca". Under the circumstances Woodward took the brave step of introducing Sinhala into the curriculum and brought the national perception and out look into the educational system at Mahinda College. Mahinda was probably the first English medium school to introduce Sinhala into its curriculum. Similarly Mahinda was the first English medium school to introduce Pali and Ceylon History in the syllabuses. Woodward could be described as a moderate. He encouraged the use of Sinhala names instead of anglicized names to Sri Lankans. He gave a personal example by rendering his own name Woodward to Vanapāla. Woodward's purpose seemed directed at reinforcing indigenous religious values and valorizing the Buddhist faith to give it strength to withstand the onslaught of Christian proselytizing. Woodward's main instrument of influence, the formation of a national consciousness was Mahinda College.

Woodward's contribution to the Education at the national level: Woodward was among the key figures, who realized the need for the early establishment of a University in the country as far back as the first decade of the 20th century and worked for its achievement. He was one of the founder members of the "Ceylon University Association" inaugurated by Sir Ponnambalam Arunacalam to press for the early establishment of a University in Ceylon.

He was an active member of the university Movement and from time to time contributed useful articles to the "Journal of the Ceylon University Association" edited by Sir Ponnamblam Arunacalam. His articles to the Journal spelled out "what a University should be" etc. Within the years of Woodward's departure from Ceylon a University College was established in 1921 affiliated to the London University. The Ceylon University was eventually established in 1942 in Colombo and, later shifted to Peradeniya. Both Robert Marrs the first Principal of the University College and Sir Ivor Jenings, the first Vice Chancellor of the University of Ceylon have paid their tributes to Woodward and placed him in the front rank among those who worked for the establishment of the University.

Woodward's contribution to the education in Ceylon was admired by the colonial government and he was appointed to the prestigious Board of Education by the government in 1917. As a result Woodward was able to steer the education in the correct way according to his vision and long experience. It was on Woodward's insistence that Sinhala and Pali were accepted as subjects for the local examinations of the Cambridge University. This boosted the study of Pali in ***BTS*** schools. He was also a founder member of the Ceylon Social Reform Society.

Woodward the Pioneer Pali Scholar: Woodward occupies a very prominent place among the Pali Buddhist scholars. He is reckoned as a pioneer in the field. It appears that he learnt Pali after his arrival to Ceylon. His proficiency of the Aryan languages like Latin, Greek etc. would have helped him to learn Pali without much difficulty. Within a short period Woodward appears to have acquired sufficient proficiency in Pali to translate Pali scriptures into English. At the beginning he translated selected passages from the *Tipiṭaka*, both verse and prose for his students while teaching Buddhism and Pali in the upper forms of Mahinda College. In 1911 Woodward translated the *Dhammapada* in two parts for the college magazine. Later it was published under the title "Buddha's path of Virtue" in 1921 by the Theosophical Society of Adyar Madras. His translations were frequently published in "Ceylon Daily News" Vesak editions; Colombo based Theosophical Society Journal "*The Buddhist*". Woodward's translations were seen in all the Buddhist publications then available in the island. His translations and articles on Buddhism were very popular, respected, and much sought after by the educated elite of the day.

In 1916 Woodward translated a Sinhala manuscript named *Yogācāra* into English under the title "Manual of Mystics". The most popular and wide spread among his translations was the one titled "Some sayings of the Buddha". It contained the translations of passages from the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the First four nikāyas, and also from the *Dhammapada* , the *Itivuttaka* , the *Udana* and the *Suttanipāta*. It was first published in 1925 and republished "Under the World Classics" in 1939 and had gone through many more editions. It is described as highly condensed, orderly, sequential unfolding of the *Tipiṭaka* in a particularly western narrative form. There are several more translations of the canon to his credit. Well known among his translations is *Samyutta Nikāya* Part III, IV, V under the title "Kindred Sayings" (part I and Part II have been translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids). Woodward also ventured to translate another important part of the canon, namely *Aṅguttara Nikāya* the fourth division of the *Suttapiṭaka*. He translated into English first, second and fifth parts of it under the title "Gradual Sayings" (third and fourth parts of *Aṅguttara Nikāya* have been translated by E. M. Hare). E.M. Hare has acknowledged his indebtedness to Woodward in his translations of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Mrs. Rhys Davids, writing an introduction for Woodward's translation of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* gives him much credit for his pioneering effort.

Further Woodward has translated two books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, namely the *Udāna* and the *Itivuttaka*. The first under the title "Verses of Uplift" and the other titled "As it was said".

Woodward's contribution to Buddhist studies is not confined to translations only. He has shown his skill as an editor of the Pali manuscripts by editing several commentaries. The most important among the editions he handled was the *Sāratthappakāsinī* the commentary written for the *Samyutta Nikāya* by the great commentator Buddhaghosa. The *Samyuttanikāya* commentary is published in three volumes (parts) Vol. I 1929, Vol. II 1932 and Vol. III 1937. Woodward has also laboured to edit two more Pali commentaries, the *Paramatthadipani* the *Udāna* commentary of Dhammapālācariya (1926) and *Theragāthā* commentary also titled *Paramatthadipani* by the same

commentator. The *Theragāthā* commentary is published in three volumes, Vol. I 1940, Vol. II 1952, and Vol. III published posthumously in 1959 with an index by Hermann Kopp.

The last academic endeavour Woodward handled was the compilation of a Pali concordance on a proposal made by Mrs. Rhys Davids, the President of *PTS.* in 1932. By the time of his death in 1952, he is reported to have collected the words from five books of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, first four *nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka*, the books that constitute the fifth *Nikāya*, the *Khuddaka nikāya* and the seven books of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* . Unfortunately he did not live to see its completion, only the first volume or fascicle was published before his death in 1952.[6]

Woodward's translations were highly acclaimed by his contemporaries when they were published for the first time. I.B. Horner calls him "one of the most meticulous, erudite and productive scholars". Mrs. Rhys Davids commenting on Woodward's translation of the *Samyutta Nikāya* Vol. III says "I find it both accurate and active. Great is our debt to the labourer, gifted, genial, patient, accurate, trustworthy, who has placed here within our reach more knowledge of the old world movement concerning which many, knowing very little, have been written much."

But some of the subsequent scholars, regarding his translations and editions observe "Not very eminent [as a translator] I am afraid though better than E.M. Hare" (Michael Powell, *Woodward of Mahinda*, Colombo 2001 p. 353). Prof. Gombrich declares "The volumes he translated for Pali Text Society are not badly done, but his translations cannot be described as definitive and need to be redone" (ibid. p. 356). Dr. Peter Masefield who translated the *Udāna* commentary edited by Woodward points out that the *Udāna* text edited by Woodward as "riddled with errors misprints and misunderstandings that is often tantamount to being useless (loc.cit.).

However it is seen Woodward was not totally responsible for this situation, for, he has written to Rhys Davids regarding the poor condition of the manuscript of the *Udāna* commentary available to him. He has informed Mrs. Rhys Davids that the manuscript concerned was "meanly executed with many errors, sentences omitted" etc. This also demonstrate the constraints faced by the early scholars. At the same time Margeret Cone, a Pali lexicographer at the Faculty of Oriental Studies at Cambridge makes a more reasonable and sympathetic observation regarding Woodward editions "while not perfect, would have been difficult to be otherwise, at the time he made them and certainly not the worst the *PTS.* published (Michael Powell p. 356").

Woodward worked at Tasmania cut off from the other scholars with many constraints. The communication with the rest of the scholars was not easy as at present. He had a limited number of manuscripts at his disposal. Pali scholarship too was in the process of being developed. In the above context, it is reasonable to conclude that Woodward's contribution to the Pali Buddhist studies as a pioneer scholar was substantial in spite of a few negligible shortcomings.

Woodward's departure from Ceylon: After a sixteen year noble and tiresome service particularly to Buddhists and to the country in general, Woodward finally decided to depart from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Several reasons are suggested for his departure though he has spelled out the reasons behind his decision to leave. The tropical climate of Ceylon appear to have taken toll of his health for sixteen long years. He needed a temperate climate to spend the latter part of his life (he was 49 when he left Ceylon.) It is also possible that he thought that he has done his part and sons of the soil should now take over and they are now capable to carry forward. Perhaps he wanted to devote the remaining years of his life to translate the Buddhist scriptures to English in order to help the Buddhists of the west, which was difficult to accomplish while holding the responsibility of a principal. It is also seen that there has been some unkind and unfounded rumours against him, which might have disturbed his sentiments, which might be the immediate reason to leave before the end of the year.

But he did not wish to return to his motherland and selected Tasmania an island near Australia sparsely populated and ideal for fruit cultivation. He bought a property named Chartley, planted with apples, in partnership with his friend Mr. Henry Frei. It was in the valley of the river Tamar Rowella (West Bay) in Tasmania.

He left Colombo on 7th October 1919 by the ship SS Plassey and reached his destination Tasmania via

Australia on 30[th] October. Staying alone in the house of his orchard, he devoted the remaining years of his life for translating and editing the Pali canon. He had no modern facilities like electricity, telephone etc. He had only a kerosene oil lamp to work at night. Almost all his editions and the translations of the Pali canon were done at Tasmania. He led a life of a hermit. He died at Beacons Field Hospital Launceston on 27[th] May 1952 at the age of 81. His books had been willed to the Universities of Ceylon, Hobart and Cambridge. See PLATES XLIX–L.

Bibliography

1. F.L. Woodward, *Out of his Life and thought*, Colombo (1973)
2. *Woodward of Mahinda: Cultural and Religious Themes in the Life of Frank Lee Woodward*. Michael Powell, Sarvodaya Visvalekha Publication 2001 (Ph.D. Thesis 1999)
3. *Century of Memories.* An Anthology celebrating the centenary of Mahinda College 1892- 1992 Lowes Printers Garren, Australia, Second edition 1997.

K. Arunasiri

References

1. D.H. Pandita Gunawardena *"F.L. Woodward, Out of his life and thought"* Colombo p. 10
2. Olcott Hall 120 x 40 ft. was the biggest school assembly hall in the island, when it was opened in 1912, as accepted by John Harward, the Director of Public Instruction (Dept. of Education) who declared the hall open on 18th Aug. 1912.
3. Though it is difficult to assess his total financial contribution to the building Project, Michael Powell has calculated with whatever the available figures in the region of Rs. 20,000-25,000, a colossal amount at the time.

1. Woodward formally became a Buddhist, taking "Pancasila" (Five Precepts) from Most venerable Depegoda Silakkhanda Thera the second Mahanayaka thera of the Ramanna Nikaya of nearby Malwatta temple, when the site for the Olcott Hall was being prepared (Michael Powell ibid. p. 202)
2. Sir Ponnambalam Arunacalam, one of the pioneer local civil servants says that he was saddened to see in the witness box, Buddhists pretending to be Christians and taking their oaths on the Bible, when he was the Police Magistrate Kalutara. Powell p.258 -259
3. But Pandita Gunawardena does not agree with Michael Powell. He says the first fascicle (of the concordance) "A" up to letter "O" was published in 1956 posthumously.(D.H. Pandita Gunawardana p. 65.

WRITING does not appear to have been in general use at the time of the Buddha. An important indication in this respect is that the *Vinaya* does not refer in any way to writing instruments. If writing and manuscripts had been in use, then "the whole industry connected with them must have played an important part in the daily life of the members of the Buddhist Order". Yet, "nowhere do we find the least trace of any reference to books or manuscripts", or to writing tools etc.[1] One interpretation of this would be to assume that, even though writing was known, the early Buddhists did not make use of it for the purpose of transmitting their sacred texts, for which they referred to employ oral transmission.[2]

Yet, Megasthenes reports from his visit to India in the fourth century that Indians did not know writing at all and relied entirely on their memory.[3] According to modern scholarship, "the best evidence today is that no script was used or even known in India before 300 B.C., except in the extreme Northwest that was under Persian dominion".[4]

Since several Pāli canonical passages seem to refer to letters, to writing and even to books, in what follows these passages will be surveyed in order to see what degree they reflect the existence of writing. This survey will be followed by briefly assessing the impact of writing on the development of Buddhist literature.

In a description of various games, the *Brahmajāla Sutta* refers to *akkharika*, guessing letters (*D.*I, 7). The commentary explains that the letters to be guesses will be written in the air or on one's back (*DA.* I, 86). Elsewhere in the discourses the term *akkhara* occurs in contexts where it does not necessarily imply writing, e.g. when it stands for the letters or syllables that make up a verse (*S.*I,38), or a saying (*D.*III, 86), or that should be known in their proper sequence (*Dhp.*352).

The word explanation to the *pācittiya* rule against teaching recitation to someone who is not fully ordained employs the same term, *akkharāya vāceti* (Vism. IV, 15). Here *akkhara* clearly stands for something said, not something written. The same is the case for an occurrence of *akkhara* in an explanation that a monk might give of a short saying by the Buddha, *imehi akkharehi imehi padehi imehi vyañjanehi*, which clearly refers to a verbal explanation and bears no relation to writing (*A.* V, 260).

Another occurrence of *akkhara* is as part of a qualification of a Brahmin knowledgeable in the Vedic lore or phonology and etymology, *sākkharappabheda* (*D.* I, 88). Since the Vedas were passed down orally, here too *akkhara* would not be related to written letters. Hence even though the *Brahmajāla Sutta*'s reference to guessing at letters might indeed refer to written letters, as suggested by the commentary, it could also be that the game originally involved a form of guessing that was independent of writing. Such a game could be, for example, to pronounce only part of a word, where the playmate then has to divine the missing syllable, *akkhara*.

In addition to reference to *akkhara*, several passages mention *lekha* or *likhati*, which in later literature stands for writing.[5] One example can be found in listings of different crafts in the *Udāna* and the *Vinaya*, which refer to the *lekhāsippa* (*Ud.* 32 and *Vin.* IV, 7). According to the commentary on the *Udāna*, this particular craft involves the drawing or writing or letters (*UdA.* 205). Other passages in the *Vinaya* indicate that if a young boy trains in this art his fingers will become painful (*Vin.* I, 77 and *Vin.* IV, 128). This would indeed be the case if he were to write letters, especially in view of the type of writing material that he would have had at his disposal in ancient India.

Elsewhere in the discourses *lekha* stands for drawing or carving lines on rock, earth or water (*A.* I, 283). The corresponding verb *likhati* refers to painting with various colours *M.*I, 127); to carving a bowl out of wood (*Vin.* II, 110); or to smoothing the surface of wood with a plane (A. II, 200; cf. also *Vin.* II, 112). The sense of painting seems also to be the import of *lekhika* in averse in the *Therigāthā*, which compares the beauty of a woman's eyebrows to a stroke, presumably the stroke of a painting brush (*Thi.* 256). Thus enough the *Udāna* and *Vinaya* listings of different crafts might indeed intend writing, as suggested by the commentary, they could also intend some craft related to painting or carving.

This other sense of painting appears to be relevant to the description of a robber wanted by the king, referred to in the *Vinaya* as a *likhitako coro* (*Vin.* I, 75). This need not be a written description of the brigand, but could also be a 'wanted' circular that employs a painting made in resemblance of the robber.[6] In view of the need to get the cooperation of larger sections of the population for tracking down the robber, a painting would in fact be a more probable device employed in such circumstances than a writing description. Even by the time of Asoka, when writing was definitely in use in ancient India, sizeable portions of the population would have been unable to read such a description, whereas a painting would have been intelligible to everyone.

The explanation for a *pācittiya* regulation that prohibits nuns from learning worldly crafts makes a special allowance that they could; however, learn *lekha* (*Vin.* IV, 305). This regulation uses the expression *lekhaṃ pariyāpuṇāti*, employing a verb that is elsewhere used for learning something by heart. The next regulation in this part of the *Vinaya* speaks of *lekhaṃ vāceti*, teaching someone else to recite *lekha*. Since both activities would not fit writing, and as *lekha* occurs here together with learning or teaching someone else to recite *dhārana* and *paritta*, the passage might rather intend some form o drawing. [7]

Another reference to *lekha* occurs in the word explanation of the first *pārājika* regulation, according to which a monk is guilty of killing even if he only praises death by way of a *lekha*, *lekhāya saṃvaṇṇeti*, thereby conveying the message that whosoever commits suicide in a particular way will gain wealth, fame, or got to heaven (*Vin.* III, 76). For each *akkhara* the monk incurs a *dukkata* offence. The commentary explains that this refers to writing a letter (*VinA.* II, 452). The way this case is described in the *Vinaya*, this seems indeed the most straightforward explanation.

A less probable but nevertheless not entirely impossible interpretation of this Vinaya passage could be deve3loped based on a reference in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* to the *caranaṃ nāma citaṃ* (*S.* III, 151), which according to the commentarial explanation stands for a canvass with paintings taken around by wandering Brahmins to illustrate karma and its fruits, *imaṃ*

kammam katvā idam paṭilabhati (*SA*. II, 327).[8] Applied to the present case, the original idea of the *Vinaya* regulation could have been the dispatching of a painting that depicts the fruit of the deed of suicide to be wealth, fame or a heavenly rebirth. Just as in the case of the Brahmins who would wander around and give oral explanations of their painting, in the present case, too, such a painting could have been accompanied by an oral explanation, hence the reference to *akkhara*. Nevertheless, of the various instances of *lekha* examined so far, the present instance seems most strongly to point to actual writing.

Finally a reference to books appears to be implicit in a passage in the *Aggañña Sutta*, which describes Brahmins who settle near villages and make *gantha* (*D*. III, 94). Though in addition to its original meaning as "knot", *gantha* eventually came to mean "books", this need not be the original implication of the present instance. In two verses in the *Sutta Nipāta*, ""Brahmins are said to 'knot together mantras' – the words are *mante ganthetvā*– and the reference is to their composing Vedic texts" (*Sn*. 302 and 306).[9] The passage in the *Aggañña Sutta* would carry the same sense, in fact the commentary explains that composing of Vedic texts and teaching their recital is meant, *'ganthe karontā 'ti tayo vede abhishaṅkaronti ceva vācentā* ca (*DA*. III, 870).

In sum, then, though there are several passages that suggest the existence of writing, close inspection shows that they could also be interpreted otherwise. The fact remains that the earliest period of Buddhist literature was carried on by oral transmission. The exigencies of oral tradition have left their mark on the material transmitted and are evident in such stylistic features as frequent repetition and the arrangements of strings of words in an order that follows the principle of waxing syllables (See VĀCĀ and WAXING SYLLABLES). For the same reason, the discourses refer to one who is learned as *bahusuta*, one who literally "had heard much". .the early Buddhist orality is also reflected in the repeated recommendations given in the discourses on how to properly keep the teachings in mind in order to ensure their proper transmission to posterity.

By the time of Asoka, writing was evidently known and in is use (See also ASOKA). According to the traditional account given in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the scriptures of the Theravāda tradition were committed to writing during the first century BC in Sri Lanka (*Dpv*. 20.20-21 and *Mhv*. 33.100-101).[10] The same seems to have happened soon enough also on the Indian mainland, since recent fragment findings appear to date to the first century AD.[11] Unlike the early discourses, later works refer in fact quite explicitly to writing, thus the *Lalitavistara* or the *Mahāvastu* offer listings of various types of script (*Lal*. 88 and *Mhvu*. I, 135), and a Gandharan sculpture depicts the bodhisattva at school, holding a writing slate. [12]

Nevertheless, :"oral tradition continued to exist side by side with written scriptures for many centuries to come".[13] In fact, the Chinese pilgrim Fa-xien, who towards the beginning of the fifth century travelled India in search of *Vinaya* manuscripts, had considerable difficulties to obtain copies as *Vinaya* material was still transmitted mainly through oral means (*T*. Li, 864b17).[14]

The employment of writing for the transmission of Buddhist literature provided a safe measure against loss of text, which in an oral tradition invariably depends on the unbroken continuity of those who have memorized it. Another and perhaps similarly important aspect of the introduction and use of writing would have been that, as long as texts were transmitted only by oral means, "it must have been difficult, if not impossible, to slip a new text into the curriculum". Thus "something which is palpably new has no chances of survival",[15] as it will not be transmitted by the majority of the reciters.

Once writing comes into use, however, even texts not accepted by the majority could be transmitted to later generations. Notably, among the Buddhist literature that came into being after writing had come into use, recurrent references to the merits of copying manuscripts and preserving them can be found.[16] These references reflect the importance of coping and preserving manuscripts as the central means to preserve this literature for posterity. Thus the impact of the introduction of writing on Buddhist literature must have been considerable; enabling the preservation of texts and therewith of ideas that otherwise would soon have been forgotten. Though much of this literature has been lost due to the vicissitudes of Indian Buddhism, fortunately considerable sections of Buddhist literature have been translated into Chinese and Tibetan, and thereby have been preserved until today.

The impetus that writing would have given to the development of Buddhist literature has its modern counterpart in the publication of Buddhist writings on the internet and in the progressive digitalization of Buddhist scriptures, thereby enabling free worldwide access to Buddhist thoughts and ideas. Most of the oriental editions of the Pali canon are by now available in digital form,[17] as well as a considerable number of Sanskrit fragments.[18] The entire Chinese canon has been digitalized,[19] and the Tibetan canon is in process of being similarly converted.[20] This inaugurates a new epoch in Buddhist studies, greatly facilitating research and international exchange. Thus writing, in its earlier forms as well as in its modern computerized form, has played and still plays a remarkable role in the spread and study of Buddhism.

Analayo

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2 Winternitz: *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur,* Leizig 1908:31

3 McCrindle: *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, London 1877: 69.

4 Scharfe: *Education in Ancient India,* Leiden 2002: 12. On what couold be a very early instances of writingin Sri Lanka cf. Norman: "The development of Writing in India and its Effect upon the Pali Canon", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens,* 37, 1993: 247.

5 Notably, most of the passages where *lekha* or *likhati* seem to refer to writing occur in the prose of the *Udāna* or in the explanation to rules found in the *Vinaya*. Both appear to belong to a later Stratum of the Pāli canon, being originally commentaries on the *Udāna* verses (See also UDĀNA) and the *pātimokkha*. During the time of oral transmission, these commentaries then acquired canonical status and thereby came to be part of the canonical *Udāna* collection and of *Vinayapiṭaka*

6 Von Hinüber: *Der Beginn der Schrift und fr ühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien, Wiesbaden 1989:* 38

7 Gombrich: "How the Mahāyāna began", *The Bauddhist Forum*, 1990: 28 suggests that this passage probably "refers to drawing amulets"; cf. also von Hinüber op.cit .:39.

8 Cf. also Ray:: "The parallel tradition: Early Buddhist narrative sculpture", *Bulletin of the Deccan College (postgraduate and Research Institute*, 54-55, 1994/1995: 350 on the relationship of the "tradition of picture recitation in ancient India" to the Buddhist *bhāṇakas*.

9 Gombrich op.cit. : 27

10 For a survey of the reasons for this decision against its historical background cf. Adikaram: *Early History of Budhism in Ceylon, Dehiwala 1994:79.*

11 Salomon: "A Preliminory Survey of Some Early Buddhist Manuscripts Recently Acquired by the British Library", *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 117, 1997: 353-358.

12 Dehejia: *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art:* Delhi 1997:203.

13 Bechert: The Writing Down of the Tripiṭaka in Pali", *Wiener Zeitschrift fürkunde Südasiens,* 36, 1992: 53; cf. also Malalasekera: *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon,* Kandy 1994: 46

14 Demieville "A propos du Concile de Vaisali", *T'oung Pao*, 40 1951: 246/247 note 1 remarks That the lack of *Vinaya* manuscript could also have been in part due to the intentionally Restricted circulation of such material.

15 Gombrich op.cit: 26-27.

16 Gombrich op.cit: 29. On what eventually became a 'cult of the book', in the sense of reverence And wprship directed to particular texts similar to that usually dedicated to a *stūpa* cf. the study By Schopen:"The Phrase 'sa pṛthivīpradeśaś catiyabhūto bhavet' in the Vajiracchedikā: Notes on The Cult of the Book in the Mahāyāna", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 27, 1975: 147-181.

17 The Burmese edition has been digitalized by VRI, cf. http://www. tipiṭaka.org/; the Ceylonese edition by SLTP, cf. http:// www.buddhistethics.org/palicanon.html; and the Siamese edition by Mahidol University (only for sale). The PTS edition has also been digitalized in Thailand, but due to copyright restrictions has been withdrawn from circulaticon.

18 GRETIL offers a range of downloads at http:// www.sub.uni-goettinen.de /bene _1/fiindolo/ gretil.htm.

19 The digitalization of the Chinese canon has been undertaken by CBETA, cf. http.// www.cbeta.org/.

20 Parts of the Tibetan canon have been made available by the AC project, cf. http:// www.asianclassics.org/

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YEBHUYYASIKĀ See **ADHIKARAṆASAMATHA**

YĀGA See **SACRIFICE**

YAGÑA See **SACRIFICE**

YAKKHA. According to the *Pāli English Dictionary* (*PTS*), "*Yakkha* is the name of certain non-human beings, as spirits, ogres, dryads, ghosts and spooks. Their usual epithet and category of being is *amanussa*, i.e. not a human being (but not a sublime god either); a being half deified and of great power as regards influencing people (partly helping, partly hurting)...."[1] According to Monier Williams, *Yakkha* is, "a living super-natural being, spiritual apparition, ghost, spirit..."[2] To Ananda K. Coomaraswami, it had, besides these popular meanings, associations with the *Yakṣa* cult, which came to be widely known in India, several centuries after the sixth century B.C. According to him, "In any case, the ideas of the wonderful, mysterious, supernatural, unknown, of magical power, invisibility, and spirit hood are all more or less involved in the early references; but these ideas are hardly to be distinguished from those connected with the *yakṣa* concept when later on, the cult of *Yakṣas* comes into view, and it is often, especially at that time, difficult to distinguish between *Deva*, *Devata* and *Yakṣa*, especially in Buddhist literature, where all alike are regarded as rebirths of human beings, and subject in due course to further human incarnations....".[3]

While there are numerous references to *Yakkhas* in Pali texts, strewn throughout both the early as well as the later portions of the Pali canon, several discourses are found among the earliest portions of the canon where a '*yakkha*' or '*yakkhanī*' often plays the leading role. These discourses are comparable in most respects, to the large majority of the discourses of the Buddha which claim to be records of actual events which took place during the life-time of the Buddha. Of such texts, the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* collection of *suttas* titled the '*Yakkha Saṃyutta*' seems to preserve the earliest traditions[4] regarding the *yakkhas* in Pāli texts.

A careful examination of the contents of the majority of the *Yakkha Suttas* of the Pali canon, shows that they do not lend themselves to a purely mythological interpretation of the term as has been commonly advanced and accepted by the traditional exegetes and modern scholars. This doubt regarding the validity of the traditionally accepted interpretation of the term arises out of the strong philosophical bias displayed in some of these *suttas*.

The possibility of the term, *Yakkha* having philosophical associations not only in connection with certain early texts of the Pāli canon, but also in connection with certain references in early Vedic texts have been noted by several scholars. Professor O.H.De.A. Wijesekera remarks, "The curious term *Yakṣa* which makes its appearance for the first time in the Ṛgveda and there seems to denote primarily "the mysterious" (Wandering) has in later *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* developed several shades of meaning, the most important of which for the early Indian thought is undoubtedly its *philosophical* significance. Its commonest sense, however, seems to be the mythological as denoting a species of certain non-human beings, demons, ogres or spirits.... Several aspects of its Vedic use have been discussed by Hertel, Boyer, Geldner, and others, but its philosophical use as found particularly in the *Upaniṣads* and early Pali literature has therefore received no adequate presentation".[5]

The *PTS* Pali Dictionary, too, seems to have noticed its philosophical associations, when it observes, "Exceptionally, the term *Yakkha* is used as a philosophical term denoting the "individual soul" (cp. similar Vedic meaning "*das lebendige Ding*" (B.R.) at several AV. passages); hence probably the old phrase: *ettāvatā yakkhassa suddhi* (purification of heart)".[6] A perusal of the textual references where *Yakkhas* are found mentioned shows that these philosophical associations are always found in the earlier texts, while the later texts show evidence of the mythological sense.[7]

In their listing in popular Buddhist mythology, the *Yakkhas* belong to a lower class of non-human beings and they are therefore, not considered capable of any intellectual accomplishments as to understand

an exposition of the *Dhamma* or to ask questions which involve deeper thinking. This poses us a problem as to how and why the *Yakkhas*, if they are a species of semi-divine, non-human beings came to be associated with the abstruse religio-metaphysical thinking as is shown in the questions to which some of them seek answers from the Buddha (e.g. *suttas* 1,2,3,4, etc. of the *Yakkha Saṃyutta*).[8] It is quite possible that Buddhaghosa himself would have been confronted with this difficulty, for which of course he found a solution by resorting to the concept of rebirth.[9] As we have already seen Coomaraswamy too seems to have followed Buddhaghosa here.

Even this explanation of our traditional commentator, taken in its essentials, is of immense importance for a correct understanding of the present problem. Buddhaghosa's explanation that Ālavaka had inherited his knowledge from his parents, who in turn had received it from Buddha Kassapa,10 seems to point to the existence of a tradition whereby Ālavaka received his knowledge, and also to the belief that this tradition was fairly ancient.[11]

Not only Ālavaka, but also some of the other *Yakkhas* show acquaintance with deeper thinking, if we are to gauge their knowledge by the questions they ask. For example, the questions of Indaka and Suciloma are worth being considered. Indaka's question shows definite acquaintance with religio-metaphysical thinking when he asks:

"*Rūpam na jīvanti vadanti Buddhā, Kathaṃ nvayaṃ vindat-imaṃ sarīraṃ Kutassa aṭṭiyakapiṇḍam eti, Kathaṃ nvayaṃ sajjati gabbharasmiṃ-ti*"[12]

(If the material form is said to be not in possession of a *jīva* or soul, then how does consciousness arise in the embryo?) From this question it appears that, according to what the *yakkha* knew, life started with the arising of consciousness in the embryo by the activity of a soul. But when he learnt that the Buddha(s) did not accept the possibility of a soul, he was tempted to enquire how consciousness arose in the absence of *jīva*.

The questions of Suciloma are on the source from which feelings of greed, hatred, repulsion, love, etc., spring:

"*Rāgoca doso ca kuto nidānā Arati rati lomahaṃso kutojā Kuto samuṭṭhāya manovitakkā Kumārakā dhankam iv-ossajanti*"[13]

(What is the source of passion, hatred, repulsion, love and excitement?) The *Yakkha*'s question is on the source or origin of human emotions which emerge in varying forms. In these circumstances, it is worthwhile investigating whether there could be certain other reasons, which would have contributed to this display of religio-metaphysical knowledge by the *Yakkhas*, if we are to differ from the traditional explanations.

Such an undertaking seems to be all the more desirable, because the period of the emergence and growth of early Buddhism, seems to have been not only a period of active religio-philosophical thinking, but also of violent and significant political changes in the Gangetic regions.[14]

Historical evidence about this period shows that this was the period which witnessed the building up of two large and powerful empires, the Magadhan and the Kosalan, over the vanquished tribal organizations. In fact, the Buddha himself came from one of these tribal organizations, i.e., from the Sākyans, who were by that time already under the sovereignty of the Kosalan Empire,[15] though maintaining a great degree of independence in taking and affecting decisions affecting the welfare of their tribal organization. This is seen in the instance of their decision taken not to give a daughter from their tribe to Pasenadi, the Kosalan Emperor, under whose sovereignty they were at the time.[16]

Although the destruction of the tribal organizations of the more advanced and prosperous tribes like that of the Vajjians and the Sakyans took some time, by the time of the Buddha, these two empires had developed into considerably strong political organizations, constantly expanding their boundaries in their thirst for wealth and power. The complete destruction of the Sakyan tribal organization, even during the life-time of the Buddha, by Viduḍabha and the destruction of the Vajjians by Ajātasatthu later on, serve as two good examples of the constant growth of these two empires.[17]

These wars which resulted in the annexation of new territories to these empires, no doubt brought in untold woe and misery to many tribesmen. They would

have been not only dislodged from their homes, but also dispossessed of what they had, not to speak of the sense of insecurity and frustration resulting from the collapse of their social organization and the economic support system. Chattopadhyaya explains at length the lamentable social conditions that would have resulted from this deprivation.18 And it will be extremely interesting to make an attempt at finding out what would possibly have happened to these dislocated and uprooted tribesmen.

Owing to the destruction and the deprivation resulting from the loss of their homes and properties, and the inability to meet the heavy and exacting taxes imposed by the successful conquerors, most of these tribesmen would quite likely have had to take refuge in the neighboring forests. Some no doubt turned into robbers and bandits,19 from whom the people suffered immensely. [20]

Hence, the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* statement: "*Seyyathāpi Mārisa rañño Māgadhassa vijite mahā-corā, te n'eva rañño Māgadhassa ādiyanti, na rañño Māgadhassa purisakānam ādiyanti, te kho te mārisa mahā-corā rañ ño Māgadhassa aviruddhā nāma vuccanti, - evam eva kho mārisa santi amanussā caṇḍā ruḍḍa rabhasā*",21 may be interpreted as speaking of historic realities. Other tribesmen would have fled into the already conquered areas and other well-established cities and states like Sāvatthi, Rājagaha, etc., and it is quite possible that they would have been wandering inhabitants going from place to place, welcoming shelter and living, wherever they received it. If such a state of affairs as this could be surmised, it is quite possible that it is some of these vagrant tribesmen, that we meet in some *suttas* of the *Yakkha Saṃyutta*, etc.

The sixth and seventh *suttas* of the *Yakkha Saṃyutta* where two mothers quieten their children to listen to the sermon, being struck by the loftiness of the *dhamma* expounded, are two good examples of this nature.[22] Buddhaghosa explains the presence of Punabbasumātā, the *Yakkhiṇi*, thus, "With daughter on hip and the boy's hand in her's she comes round by the back fence or wall (*pākāra*) of the grove to the entrance opposite the aisle (*vīthi*) leading to the Buddha's seat, and seeing the hushed audience, fancies some market transaction is being proposed , whence she may get scraps".[23] Thus, even according to our traditional commentator, they were vagrant mothers who were looking for scraps of food, making their living on such gleanings.

In addition to the above, there is ample evidence in the *Nikāya* texts to show that the *Yakkhas* were not non-human beings, but were those from the yet uncultured tribes, whose presence was a doubtless reality at the time of the Buddha. According to D.D. Kosambi, "The Upaniṣadic riddles which displays so much mysticism and philosophy are only a step above the deadly riddles asked by *yakṣas* of strangers at sacred springs. The wrong answer in the earlier days meant ritual sacrifice of the intruder. That such *yakṣas* or their human representatives were a real menace is attested by the Pali canon. The *Pañcaka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* says that contemporary Madhura (Mathura) presented five ordeals to the wandering almsman: poorly surfaced roads, excessive dust, fierce dogs, cruel *yakṣas* and scarcity of alms. All five items must have been painfully real to almsmen who represented the food gatherer's tradition, not the helplessness of modern beggars".[24]

It is extremely doubtful if such references in the Vinaya texts as the instance quoted of a bhikkhu having sexual intercourse with a female *Yakkha* (i.e. a *Yakkhiṇi*), could really have been anything other than a reference possibly to a vagrant tribeswoman.[25] This may as such well illustrate but one of the many calamities that these homeless vagrant women got into.[26]

It is not either strange or uncommon that we come across evidence of tribal customs and practices in the Buddhist texts. It has been shown by several scholars[27] that the Buddha modeled his order of monks on the pattern of the then fast-vanishing tribal organization for which he had a great regard.[28] Remnants of such tribal practices can still be seen in some of the rules governing the life of the Buddhist order. For example, as Chattopadhyaya[29] quite clearly shows, basing himself on the evidence collected by such authorities as L.H. Morgan and Professor George Thomson, the rules of the initiatory ceremonies for a novice, whereby he becomes a full member of the Order, show definite adaptation from tribal customs and ritual.

Similarly, some of the *Yakkha Suttas* of the *Nikāya* texts, too, seem to preserve vestiges of certain tribal customs and practices. When we examine the Suciloma [30] and the Āḷavaka[31] *suttas*, we find in both these

suttas a challenge to the Buddha to answer a given *pañ hā* the failure to comply with which is threatened with death. This form of posing a riddle, the failure to give a satisfactory solution to which, perhaps results in the death of the loser seems to belong to a widespread class of literature. Christopher Tolkien, in the course of his study of an Icelandic Saga, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, observes, "Riddle contests which show some striking similarities to that in the saga are, however, known from other literatures. Stories in which a forfeit is paid by the loser form a very large and widespread class, of which the oldest is perhaps the riddle of Samson. There is an interesting parallel in a widespread tale of which the English Ballad of King John and Bishop of Canterbury may be taken as typical. In this, the Bishop, with whom the king is displeased on account of the luxury of his life, must die unless he can answer three riddles which the king sets him".[32]

Other scholars, too, have made similar observations: "The riddle is deeply embedded in Indo-European folk-lore as it is widespread among primitive peoples at the present day. The data collected by Schultz, which would repay closer analysis, suggest that it formed originally the spoken part of an initiatory test or ordeal."[33]

A close examination of the two *suttas* named above shows that the *Yakkhas* having failed to harm the Buddha initially, come out with a riddle; *"Pañhaṃ taṃ samaṇa pucchissāmi, sace na vyākarissasi, cittaṃ vā te khipissāmi, hadayaṃ vā te phālessāmi pādesu vā gahetvā pāragaṅgāya khipissāmī ti"*.34 (Friar, I will ask thee a question. If thou answerest me not, I will either derange thy mind or split thy heart…".[35]

Pañhā is explained by the *PTS* Pali Dictionary as, "a mode of asking, inquiry, investigation or question".[36] Although Mrs. Rhys DAvids does not translate *pañ hā* as riddle, Professor N.A. Jayawickreme,[37] quite rightly translates it as riddle, in his study of these two *suttas*. However, the absence in Pali, of two separate words for question and riddle, both of which are represented by *pañhā*, is itself not without significance.

Parallel stories of this nature are quite common even in other Indian literatures. The Mahābhārata story where Yudhisthira's brothers are killed because they drink the water of the pond before answering the questions of the *Yakkha*, who not only allow Yudhisṭhira to drink water from it on satisfactorily answering the questions, but also restores the dead brothers back to life, is another example of this type of riddle-stories.38 Attention may be drawn here to the observations of Kosambi, quoted above, regarding such instances.[39]

According to the two *suttas* of our discussion, the *Yakkhas* are satisfied with the Buddha's answers to the questions, hence the beginning of friendly relations in place of the earlier hostile attitudes. According to Buddhaghosa, [L] Ālavaka used to interrogate the ascetics who called at his palace on their faith and, "when they could not answer he would assume a subtle form and, entering their hearts, would drive them mad". 40 This traditional explanation, too, taken in its essentials, throws much light in showing the tribal character of these *yakkhas*.

Ālavi, the residence of the Yakkha Ālavaka, seems to have been a town in close proximity to the Magadhan and the Kosalan empires. According to Dr. Malalasekera, "Alavi was the name of a town thirty *yojanas* from Sāvatthi and Rājagaha. Alavi has been identified by Cunningham and Hoernle with Newal or Nawal in the Urao41 district in the United Provinces, and by Nandalal Dey, with Aviva, twenty-seven miles north-east of Etwah. The town later became famous as the residence of Alavaka *Yakkha*. There was evidently occupied themselves with building *vihāras* for themselves".[42]

If we can trust these authorities as to the historical existence of a considerably large Buddhist community, it is evident that after the conversion of the tribal chief Ālavaka, many of the other tribesmen would have become followers of the Buddha; a good number would probably have entered the Order, too, as Selā, the *therī*.[43]

It is possible that as Ālavaka, the other *Yakkhas* like Indika, Suciloma and Maṇbhadda, would have been at least respected tribesmen, if not tribal chiefs. Such a possibility seems to receive support from certain linguistic evidence as well. The Buddha meets these *Yakkhas* in their *bhavanas*, and it is interesting to see what this word could mean in this particular context. The Pali Dictionary explains it as, "dwelling, sphere, world, realm", and it is obvious that the compilers of the Dictionary have been largely led by the Pali commentators, whom they quote in example

as, *nerayikānam nirayo bhavanam*, etc.[44] According to Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, it means "a place, dwelling, etc.[45] The possibility that the word could refer to a dwelling of some importance, seems to arise from its occurrence in a very interesting passage in one of the earliest texts of the Pali canon.

In the *Vatthugāthā* of the *Nālaka Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, this word is used to denote the dwelling of Suddhodana, who was the chieftain (or one of several such chieftains) of the Sākyan tribe 46 at the time of the story. The *Nālaka Sutta*, describing sage Asita's visit to the Sākyan chieftain's residence, says: *Suddhodanassa tadā bhavanam upāgami* (And to Suddhodana's abode he went)".[47] The translation as such merely renders the word as 'abode'. Oldenberg seems to have found something striking in this word, as on the strength of this he thought that, as Suddhodana's dwelling was not called a palace, but just bhavana, he could not have been a monarch. E.J. Thomas, commenting on the acceptability of Oldenberg's opinion says, "But the purely negative fact that it is not called a palace can scarcely be used as an argument, when it is remembered that the poem is in an elaborate metre, and that the word in question is frequently used of the dwelling of the gods".[48]

From this it follows that Thomas did not reject the idea of Oldenberg, though he thought that it in itself was not sufficient to maintain his argument. But Thomas does not appear to have realized that the use of this word for the abodes of the gods is found only in texts which are much later49 than the *Sutta Nipāta* verse referred to by Oldenberg. Therefore, it seems most probable that the word *bhavana*, at least in the early Pali texts, had been used to denote the dwelling of a tribal chieftain. If such a position could be maintained, then it naturally follows that, as the Buddha meets these *yakkhas* in their *bhavanas*, they too should have been, to say the least, important tribal personalities. Although this had been the original meaning of the word, later on, with the tribal organizations no longer existing, it seems to have undergone change.

The word *cetiya* found in connection with the *yakkha* Maṇibhadda, seems to point to yet another aspect of the tribal character of the *yakkhas*. According to the *Maṇibhadda Sutta*, the Buddha meets this *yakkha* in the *Maṇimālaka Cetiya*, which was his residence.50 Taking this with the explanation offered by the commentator of the *Suciloma Sutta*[51] it seems possible that at least some of these *yakkhas* would have been followers of some form of ritual worship, and hence an altar or some similar structure for the performance of such ritual could have existed in close proximity to their residence.

But such a possibility does not necessarily go against our suggestion that, this could have been the residence of the chief of the tribe. It may be possible that the head of the tribe was also the chief priest, too,[52] among these 'uncultured' tribes, as this practice certainly did not exist among the more advanced tribes of the Gangetic regions.

From the evidence adduced so far, there seems to be little room for doubting that the *yakkhas* whom we meet in these early Buddhist texts were tribal people. It is also clear that they were still outside the pale of the 'cultured society' and it was at the time of these *suttas* that we witness the absorption of such peoples into the framework of the organized society.[53] Hence the *Vinaya* episode of the people running away at the sight of monks of Āḷavi, may as well refer to the distrust of these tribesmen by the neighboring peoples, even though they were disciples of the Buddha.[54]

But all the evidence discussed so far does not explain how tribal peoples like the *Yakkhas* could nave inherited such knowledge of religio-metaphysical import, as displayed in some of the *Yakkha Suttas*. It is important to remember that the Buddha – undoubtedly the most remarkable of the religious thinkers of the time----also came from one of these tribes, the Sākyans, of course more advanced than the *Yakkhas*, etc. In the case of the riddle *suttas* (as Āḷavaka and Suciloma), they not only show the ability of the Buddha to understand the riddles put to him, but also the ability of the *Yakkhas* to understand and appreciate the solutions offered. This and the ready acceptance by the other *Yakkhas* as well of the explanations offered to the problems queried, seem to point to an underlying affinity in their thinking with that of the Buddha's. That such affinities could exist becomes clear when we note that not only were the *Yakkhas* non-Aryan,[55] as were the Sākyans and the other tribal peoples of the Gangetic region but that they too stemmed from the same cultural source.56 That tribes like the *Yakkhas*, the *Nāgas*, etc., were still mostly outside the periphery of the Gangetic societies until sometime after the emergence of

Buddhism ---when a change is seen in their position --- is sufficiently clear from the evidence available in the Buddhist texts. This rules out any possibility of their belonging to the main stream of the Gangetic peoples. They seem to fall into a third cultural group mainly comprised of forest tribes, while the descendants of the Aryans who settled on the ruins of the Indus cities and the Gangetic peoples formed the other two cultural groups.[57]

Therefore, what they had in common with the more advanced peoples of the Gangetic regions was their common cultural inheritance. As such, it is not strange that even the vagrant-turned *Yakkha* mothers could have been mature enough to be struck by the depth of a recital of the *dhamma*, the moment it drew her attention. In the words of Buddhaghosa, "Starting from the Western portion of the grove, she...... with her boy in her hip came unexpectedly on the settlement, and heard the sweet voice in at the *vihāra*. Cut to the heart, smitten to the marrow, she stood like a post, while the child whimpered for food."[58] She could be alerted to the meaningful words of the *Dhammapadāni*, even in her distressed condition, only because such deeper ideas formed part of the common and traditional tribal inheritance.

From the foregoing discussions, it should become clear that the *Yakkhas* whom we met in the early Buddhist texts were no more than mere tribesmen, who of course underwent mythologisation at a time much later than that of early Buddhism.[59] The fact that they belonged to tribal societies also goes to explain their 'mysterious' character, as has been observed about them in such early texts as the *Ṛgveda*.[60]

A consideration of certain customs and manners commonly shared by most early tribal societies will be extremely helpful in enabling us to understand this 'mysterious' aspect of the *Yakkhas*. In the early tribal societies admission to the secrets of the society was allowed only to the initiates of the tribe. Initiation ceremonies were held secretly and the initiates were forbidden to divulge to the non-initiates any information regarding what took place during the initiation. According to Professor George Thomson, "The whole ceremony is secret. It is performed at a distance from the settlement, usually on a prepared ceremonial ground, from which all save the elders and their initiated assistants are warned away, often on pain of death. The actual initiation is frequently preceded by a probationary period of seclusion, and when released the initiates are strictly forbidden to divulge to the uninitiated anything they have done, heard or seen".[61]

Initiation in these early societies marked an important stage in the communal life of the individual, as it marked the transition from one grade to the next whereby he became a full member of the community, and thus capable and fit to undertake all aspects of life in the community.[62] If initiation consisted in acquainting the individual in all aspects of life in the community, then the 'vow of secrecy' imposed upon him at the initiation,[63] should have been binding on him with regard to many aspects of communal (tribal) life. This would undoubtedly have resulted on the one hand in making the initiated members of the community the only perpetuators of the secrets of the tribe, in other words, the knowledge of that community, and on the other, in preventing information about most aspects of life in the community from going out. As such, to non-initiates and much more so, to complete strangers, these tribal peoples would have appeared quite 'mysterious'.

Under these conditions, it is quite natural that to the Vedic Aryans, these tribal peoples would have appeared quite 'mysterious' in many respects, in the earlier stages of contact with them. As the *Ṛgveda* is the oldest of the known brahmanic texts64 most of what it preserves could go back to a very early period in the Aryan expansion in India. It is very likely, therefore, that what the *Ṛgveda* records about these *Yakkhas* are some of the very early impressions of the Aryans regarding these tribal peoples, in the earlier stages of their contact with them.

In addition to what we have already observed regarding the *Yakkhas*, even the very names of some of these, seem to suggest certain tribal (human) characteristics. To take only a few examples, Suciloma is explained as, "Needle-haired"; Khara, "rough-skin" or "shaggy"; Khara-loma, "Rough -hair"; Khara-dathika, "Rough- tooth"; Ālavaka, "Forest-dweller"; Ajakalāpaka, "Goat-bundle"; Kakudha, "K-tree"; Kumbhira, "Crocodile"; etc.[65] When one considers these names in comparison with the names often met with in the Pali texts, such as Kūṭadanta,[66] it is not difficult to visualize how these names originated.

Some scholars seem to think that animal and plant names of individuals could suggest not only remnants of tribalism, but also of totemism.

Chattopadhyaya observes, "Macdonell thought that 'there are possibly in the *Ṛgveda* some survivals of totemism or the belief in the descent of the human race or individual tribes or families from animals or plants'. Oldenberg too, considered the animal names as relics of totemism; further according to him certain taboos in the Vedic literature could have been but counterparts of the same totemic belief.[67]

The evidence discussed above goes to show the tribal character of these beings known to us at the *Yakkhas*. But this would have been merely past knowledge a few centuries after the absorption of the *Yakkhas* into the frame-work of the 'cultured society'. It must be remembered that the *Yakkhas* were not, by any means the only tribal peoples who lost their separate tribal identities due to such absorption. Many other groups 68besides, both before and after the time of the Buddha, underwent similar loss of their separate identities. Thus, when the texts came to be edited and commented upon, it is not at all strange that no thought was given to sifting the historical material from the myths and legends connected with these different tribal peoples.[69] as such knowledge, possibly, was available to them.

Thus, as we have seen above, the references to the *Yakkhas* in the Buddhist texts; belong to three main types or classes: (i) the records of Buddhist contact with individual *yakkhas* or communities of *Yakkhas*: either those whose tribal territories were brought to the very borders of the Empires by the fast expansion of the latter or those who were actually living within the domains of the Empires, having been dislocated from their tribal lands; (ii) the records showing the actual process of amalgamation of the *Yakkha* tribes with the 'cultured peoples'; and (iii) the records which preserve the myths and legends of the *Yakkhas* as they persisted in society long after the *Yakkhas* lost their tribal identities". [70]

M.M.J. Marasinghe

References

1. s.v. *PTS* Pali English Dictionary
2. s.v. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Monier Williams
3. Coomaraswami, A.K., *Yaksas*, Pt. II. p.1
4. Jayawickreme, N.A., *A Critical Analysis of the Pali Sutta Nipāta*, p. 200
5. *University of Ceylon Review*, November 1943 24f.
6. s.v. *PED*
7. Stede. W., *Gespenstergeschichten des Petavatthu*, Chap. V. 39f.
8. *S.* 1. 206-215
9. *Sāratthappakāsini*, 1. 327; *K.S.* 1. 276, note 1
10. *Ibid.*
11. The antiquity of the religio-philosophical tradition which the philosophers of the Gangetic Valley inherited has been established with definite certainty. Such religio-philosophical traditions were definitely indigenous and non-Aryan. The Aryans benefited greatly from these after their coming into India, around 1500 B.C.
12. *S.* I. 206
13. *S.* 1.207
14. Debiprasad Chattopadhyāya, *Lokāyata*, 1957, 467 f.
15. This is borne out by such evidence as the utterance ascribed to the Bodhisattva himself in the *Sutta Nipata, Pabbajjā Sutta*, verse, 422. "*Ujjum jānapado rājā –himavantassa passato dhanaviriyena sampanno- Kosalesu niketino*"- see also – *D.* III. 83 and *M.* 11. 124
16. Chattopadhyāya, Debiprasad, *Lokāyata*, 471, quoting Oldenberg, *Buddha*. 97; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. II. 969;Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 13-14; etc.
17. Chattopadhyāya, *Lokāyata*, 474: Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*. 8
18. Chattopadhyāya, *Lokāyata*, 469 f.
19. Such instances as the one recorded at *Mahāvagga*, 112 where reference is made to *savarabhaya* in the *Kosalan Janapadas*, which the commentary explains as *sancarabhayaṃ*, seems to illustrate this quite well; see also, *Books of Discipline*, IV. 148
20. Chattopadhyāya, *Lokāyata*, 476-477 quoting R. Fick, *Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time*, 120-121
21. *D* III, 204
22. *S.*I, 209 f.
23. *Sāratthappakāsinī* I, 310; *KS* I . 270,n.1.
24 Kosambi, D.D., *Myth and Reality*, 1962. 10f.; *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, 1965. 110
25 *Books of Discipline* , 1. 57
26 See Chattopadhyāya, *Lokāyata*, 469f.

27 Chattopadhyāya, *Lokāyata*, 483f. ; Dutt. S. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India*, 87 f.

28 i. His praising the Vajjian organization and the commending of same to the monks at *D.II*, 73, 76; Chattopadhyāya, *Lokāyata* , 174 f.
ii. For the relevance of these for tribal life and Prosperity: *Ibid.* 483-484

29. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*, 486 f.

30. *S.I.* 207; *Sutta Nipāta*, 47f.

31. *S.I.* 213 f.; *Sutta Nipāta* 31f.

32. Christopher Tolkein, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*. XIX

33. Professor. George Thomson, *Aeschylus and Athens*, 1946. 189-190; see also Tylor, E.B., *Primitive Culture*, Pt. I. 90 f.

34. *S.* I. 207; *Sutta Nipāta*, 48; *S.*I. 214, *Sutta Nipāta*, 32

35. *Kindred Sayings*. I. 265

36. s.v. *PTSD*

37. Jayawickreme, N.A., *A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta*, 200 f.

38. Donald Mackenzie. *Indian Myth and Legend*, 1913. 264

39. Kosambi, D.D., *Myth and Reality*, 10f; *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*. 110

40. *DPPN*. 1. 295 (quoting Buddhaghosa *SnA*. 228

41. According to B.C. Law, this is Unao, Geography of Early Buddhism, 1932.24

42. *DPPN*. 1. 295

43. *Ibid.*

44. s.v. *PTSD*.

45. s.v. Monier William's *Sanskrit - English Dictionary*

46. That the Sākyans were a tribe and that the Sakyan villages have largely a most un-Aryan appearance is well illustrated even by E.J. Thomas, see, *Life of the Buddha*, 22-23

47. *SN*. Verse, 685; Hare's translation. 103

48. Thomas, E.J., *Life of the Buddha*. 21

49. E.g. The Pali Dictionary quotes examples from the *Niddesa* and the *Jātakas*, s.v. *PTSD*.

50. *S.I.* 208

51. *DPPN*. I. 978

52. A tempting parallel is to be found here to the Indus priesthood. In the course of his observations on the Remains of a building at Mohenjo-daro, Wheeler remarks, "...... but enough has been cleared to show that the citadel was both a religious and a secular head-quarters.... The general indication of combined kingly and priestly rule fits the habit of the third millennium" (Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilization of the Indus and Beyond*, 1966. 17-18

53. This was the period of rapid political expansion of the Kosalan and the Magadhan Empires. Following these political incorporations of tribal territory, there followed the gradual absorption of these tribal peoples into the framework of the already organized society. Such absorption was neither easy nor always welcomed by the advanced peoples, as seen from the evidence in the Buddhist texts themselves.

54. *Vin.* III. 144: *Books of Discipline*. 1.246

55. It is interesting to find that A.K. Coomaraswamy, too definitely makes this point regarding the Yakkhas, see *Yakṣas*, Part II.1

56. An examination of the contents of the questions asked by the *Yakṣas* as recorded in Sanskrit literary sources too shows quite clearly the similarity in their traditions, thus pointing to a similarity in their cultural (spiritual) heritage.

57. It has been shown that the Gangetic cultural group and the third group comprised of the forest- tribes descended from the pre-Aryan civilization in India, see Marasinghe, M.M.J., *Gods in Early Buddhism*. Chapter I

58. *Sāratthappakāsini*. 1.310; *KS*.1 .210 n.2

59. With the gradual absorption of individual tribal and other ethnic groups into the fold of the 'Aryanised Society' , the individual tribal and other identities being lost, what remained of their heritage at a Much later stage were merely the myths and legends about them. Such mythologisation can be seen as a process which operated from the earliest historical times to even the more recent times in India, see Marasinghe, M.M.J., *Gods in Early Buddhism*, 1974. 70f.

60. *University of Ceylon Review*, Nov. 1943.24

61. George Thomson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, 1961, Vol. 1. 49

62. "The transition from one grade to the next is effected by rites of initiation. The most important of these is the one performed at puberty, when the adolescent became a full member of the group, trained for production and reproduction. The significance of this crucial change--- physical, mental, social , economic ---- is expressed in primitive thought by the idea that at initiation the individual dies and is reborn". George Thomson, Ibid. 45

63. George Thomson, *SAGS*. 1.49

64. See M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*. pt. 1. 57
65. s.v. *PTSD*
66. D.I. 127
67. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*, 88-89; For a full discussion, 87 f
68. As further examples could be cited the case of the Asuras, Nāgas, Garudas, Piśācas, etc., as well.
69. However this later developed mythological sense of the *Yakkhas* is to be found mostly in the later Texts. But cp. *S.* I 208, etc., for rare examples of this type of references even in some early texts.
70. s.v. *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, 1997

YAKṢA *See* **YAKKHA**

YAMAKAPĀṬIHĀRIYA stands for the "twin miracle", whose performance requires the simultaneous magical production of the opposite phenomena of fire and water. According to the description given in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, to execute the twin miracle requires the production of flames from the upper part of the body and water from the lower part, then water from the upper part and flames from the lower part, followed by shifting the place of creation of these two phenomena to various bodily parts (*Ps.* I, 125). The commentary on the *Dhammapada* records that this miracle was performed by the Buddha in Sāvatthī in reply to a challenge by non-Buddhist wanderers (*DhpA.* III, 213).1 The *Nidānakathā* to the *Jātaka* collection notes that the Buddha also performed the twin miracle right after his awakening; again when visiting his relatives at Kapilavatthu; and also when being challenged to a contest of magical powers by the wanderer Pātikaputta (*J.* I, 77).

The challenge by the wanderer Pātikaputta is also reported in the *Pātika Sutta*, which, however, only mentions that the Buddha rose up into the air and displayed fire, without referring to any simultaneous production of water (*D.* III, 27). The *Dīrgha Āgama* parallel to the *Pātika Sutta* does not even mention any display of fire, but only records that the Buddha rose up into the air (*T.* I, 69a26).[2]

The same is the case for a *Saṃyutta Nikāya* discourse that describes another occasion when the Buddha had risen up into the air and displayed fire (*S.* I, 144), where again the parallels in the two *Saṃyukta Āgamas* do not report any display of fire, but only that the Buddha had risen up into the air (*T.* II, 324c23 and *T.* II, 412c23). As the rationale of the Buddha's performance in this instance was to dispel a Brahmā's illusory belief that nobody else was able to reach his realm, a mere appearance in mid air would indeed have sufficed to make the point.

A performance of the twin miracle by the Buddha is also reported in the *Saṃyukta Āgama* parallel to the *Āditta Sutta*, in which case the Pāli version does not record any miraculous feat by the Buddha (*T.* II, 50b19 and *S.* IV, 19).3 Even Dabba Mallaputta performed the twin miracle when about to pass away according to the two extant *Saṃyukta Āgama* translations, (*T.* II, 280c3 and *T.* II, 378b5), while the account of his passing away in the Pāli *Udāna* only mentions that he rose up into the air and cremated his body, without recording that on that occasion he also performed the twin miracle (*Ud.* 92).

The lack of any reference to the magical production of fire in the parallel versions suggests the attribution of this phenomenon to the Buddha (or even to Dabha Mallaputta) to be a later development. Its origin might have been figurative references to fire, such as the description of the Buddha as one who shines with radiance [= fire], *Buddha tapati tejasā* (*Dhp.* 387); whose radiance [= fire] is comparable to the sun, *ādicco va ... teji tejasā* (*Sn.* 1097); and who kindles the inner fire, *ajjhattam eva jalyami jotiṃ*, being always ablaze with [this internal] fire and concentrated, *niccaggini niccasamāhitatto* (*S.* I, 169).

A description in the *Mahāvastu* of his first meditation under the Jambu tree when still a bodhisattva also uses imagery related to fire, comparing him to a sacrificial fire on a mountain top, *hutāsano vā girimūrdhanasmiṃ* (*Mhvu.* II, 47); an imagery found in the same context also in the *Lalitavistara* (*Lal.* 92). The degree to which the fire imagery was associated with the Buddha can also be seen in representations of his first meditation in early Indian art, where sometimes the symbol of a burning fire is employed to represent the bodhisattva seated in meditation.4 The figurative use of the fire imagery in the above-mentioned verses and passages may then at times have been taken literally, resulting in descriptions of the Buddha's magical ability to produce fire. In the course of time, the notion of the Buddha's magical production of fire might then have further developed into the motif of the twin miracle.

According to the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, when the Buddha would perform the twin miracle he not only simultaneously manifested water and fire, but also produced replicas of himself.5 The *Saṅghabhedavastu* reports that the bare twin miracle, i.e. without emanation of replicas, was also executed by Uruvilvā Kassapa and on two occasions by Mahāmoggallāna.6 A performance of the twin miracle by Uruvilvā Kassapa is also recorded in the *Madhyama Āgama* and in the two versions of the *Saṃyukta Āgama* (*T.* I, 497c22; *T.* II, 279c3 and *T.* II, 377b26); and the same feat by Mahāmoggallāna is described in the *Ekottarika Āgama* (*T.* II, 641c14).

The *Mahāvastu* attributes a performance of the twin miracle to Yasa.7 The *Kṣudrakavastu* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda Vinaya records that Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī also carried out the twin miracle (*T.* XXIV 248c9). According to a discourse in the *Ekottarika Āgama*, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī together with five-hundred nuns performed the twin miracle, a performance undertaken according to the *Ekottarika Āgama* on another occasion also by a single nun (*T.* II, 822a3 and *T.* II, 750c11).

The *Divyāvadāna* explicitly specifies that disciples were able to execute the twin miracle (*Divy.* 161). In contrast, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and the *Milindapañha* maintain that only a Buddha can execute the twin miracle (*Ps.* I, 125 and *Miln.* 106). Though the Pāli discourses and the Theravāda *Vinaya* record instances when disciples displayed their ability to rise into space and attain the fire element, these performances did not involve the simultaneous production of water (*S.* I, 144; *Vin.* I 180 and *Vin.* IV, 54). Consistent with the tendency to associate this phenomena only to the Buddha, the *Mahāvaṃsa* then mentions two occasions when the twin miracle was performed by the Buddha's relics (*Mhv.* 17.44 and 31.99).

Thus the motif of the twin miracle developed in various ways in the different Buddhist traditions. This development appears to testify to a progressive apotheosis of the Buddha as a wonder and miracle working being,8 a development that in its wake also led to an exaltation of his eminent disciples as endowed with similar powers and abilities.

Anālayo

References

1. The *Divyāvadāna* indicates that the performance of this miracle at Sāvatthī is one of the ten actions undertaken by any Buddha (*Divy.* 150).

2. *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

3. For a representation of the Buddha's performance of the twin miracle on this occasion in ancient Indian art see Schlingloff: "Yamakaprātihārya und Buddhapiṇḍī in der altbuddhistischen Kunst", *Berliner Indologische Studien*, vol. 6, 1991: 124 and figure 28; for further references see Skilling: *Mahāsūtras*, vol. 2, Oxford 1997: 304.

4. Stache-Weiske: "Das Buddhistische Feuersymbol", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, vol. 34, 1990: 107-122.

5. Gnoli: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 1, Rome 1977: 188.

6. Gnoli 1977: 156 and 196; vol. 2, 1978: 208. On the *yamakapāṭihāriya* see also Foucher: "Le 'Grand Miracle' du Buddha à Crāvastī", *Journal Asiatique*, 1909: 5-78 (esp. 9-16); Foucher: *La Vie du Bouddha*, Paris 1949: 282-285; Lamotte: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, vol. 4, Louvain 1976: 1769; Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, Delhi 1998: 682-683; (for further references see Grey: *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories*, Oxford 1994: 369-370).

7. Senart: *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, Paris 1897: 410.

8. Tanabe Katsumi: "Iranian Background of the Flaming and Watering Buddha Image in Kushan Period", *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum*, vol. 3, Tokyo 1981: 78 concludes: "the idea of emitting alternately flame and water from the body was originally not Buddhistic. It is... [an] Indo-Iranian myth and Buddhists adopted that for enhancing the Buddha's image by endowing him with magical powers". Another facet of this tendency towards apotheosis of the Buddha can be seen in passages like the *Saṅghabhedavastu*'s description of the Buddha's arrival in Sāvatthi (Gnoli 1977: 180), which is accompanied by an earthquake, a great light and a rain of heavenly flowers, and causes the miraculous acquisition of sight by the blind and of hearing by the deaf.

YĀNA, from •ya, stands for a "means of motion", which in principle could be either a "way", or else a "vehicle". In what follows, occurrences of these two nuances of the term *yāna* in its early canonical usage will be examined, followed by considering its significance in relation to the concepts Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

According to the definition given in the Vinaya , the term *yāna* could refer to various types of carts or chariots, as well as to a sedan chair or a palanquin (*Vin.* IV. 201). The sense of a vehicle seems to be in fact the most common nuance of *yāna* in the Pali discourses. References to such a vehicle or carriage form part of the standard description of how someone would approach the Buddha by driving in a *yāna* as far as this is possible, followed by descending and then proceeding on foot to meet the Buddha. (e.g. *D.* II, 7).

The bodhisattva Vipassi was travailing in a *yāna* when he encountered the sights of old age, disease and death, encountenrs that motivated him to go forth in search of awakening (*D.*II, 21). Generous King Mahāsudassana once decided to offer *yānas* to all those who might need it (*D.* II, 179). A *yāna* is in fact one of the goods that, in addition to food, drinks, clothing etc., one might offer to a recluse of Brahmin (*D.* III, 258). Those who do not own a *yāna* may need to borrow it from someone else (*M.* I, 366). To be able to avail oneself of a *yāna* appears to be characteristic of those who are wealthy and affluent (*M.* III, 177), in fact to drive a *yāna* was apparently considered a source of happiness to such an extent that the *Kathāvathu* lists the *yānasukha* as an evident example for the existence of happiness (*Kvu.* 209).

Responsible for the construction and eventually also the repair of a chariot is a cartwright, a *yānakāra*, descried in a simile in the Anaṅgaṇa Sutta (*M.* I, 31). *Yāna* as a vehicle also makes its appearance in another simile, which illustrates the predicament of one who gives up the celibate life and returns to indulge in sensuality with the imagery of a vehicle that is out of control (*Sn.* 816). For those who have gone forth, to travel in *yāna* was not considered appropriate, though eventually concessions were made, such as in case of sickness (*Vin.* I, 191; *Vin.* II, 276 and *Vin.* IIV, 338). As a matter of proper etiquette, it is also inappropriate for a monk or a nun to teach the *Dhamma* to someone who is riding a *yāna* (*Vin.* IV, 201). Finally *yānakathā*, talk about vehicle, is one of the unsuitable topics of conversation that those who have left the world should better avoid (e.g. *M.* III, 113).

In the fabulous country of Northern Kuru (see also UTTARAKURU), people can avail themselves of vehicles drawn by elephants or horses, as well as of divine vehicles, *dibbayāna*, (*D.* III, 200). A *dibbayāna* also features in the Makhādeva Sutta, where it stands for the "divine vehicle" sent by Sakkha to convey King Nimi to the heavenly realm of the Thirty-three (M. II, 80). While these occurrences of the term *dibbayāna* have a 'vehicle' in mind, the similar term *devayāna* seems to rather intent a "divine way" or even a "way to heaven". This can be deduced from the circumstances that, in a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta*, the *devayāna* is further qualified as "stainless great path", *virajaṃ so mahāpathaṃ* (*Sn.* 139). The same nuance if a "way" or "path" would also underlie a passage in the *Kevaddha Sutta*,which describes how a monk visited the heavenly realms after having developed concentration to such a degree that the *devayāniyo maggo*, the way to the h4eavenly worlds, appearted to him (*D.* I, 215).

The use of the expression *devayāna* has its precedents in ancient Indian literature: "As early as the Ṛgveda and the Brāhmaṇas mention is frequently made of the *Devayāna* , which was originally in all probability the way by which Agni bore the sacrificial gifts to the gods, or the latter descended to the gods".

Some instances of *yāna* could accommodate both nuances of a "way" or of "vehicle", such as a verse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, according to which the *yāna* to liberation can be made use of by men as well as by women, *itthiyā purisassa vā, sa ve etena yānena nibbānass'eva santike*

(*S.* I. 33).The preceding verses speak of the "straight path" *ujuko... maggo*, and the "chariot that does not creak", *ratho akujano*, followed by describing various parts of this chariot. Though the sense of a "chariot" is clearly more prominent, the meaning of a "path" is not altogether absent from the imagery of the *yāna* to liberation that is open to men and women alike.

At times, a play on the two senses of the term *yāna* appears to be made on purpose in order to infuse a mundane statement with a deeper meaning. According to a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, when on one

occasion people applauded the beautiful chariot of a particular Brahmin as a *brahmayāna*, the Buddha used the same term as a designation of the noble eightfold path, which more truly deserves to be reckoned a *brahmayāna*, or else a *dhammayāna* (S. V, 5).[2] Though the idea of a *dhammayāna* takes its occasion from an actual chariot, the circumstance that this *dhammayāna* represents the noble eightfold path makes it probable that the nuance of "path" was also part of the intended imagery.

Both senses of the term may still be of relevance when *yāna* is used to stand for a particular form of practice. One example is the commentarial distinction between *vipassanāyāna* and *samathayāna* (e.g. *MA*. I, 240), which revolves around the emphasis given to the development of insight or tranquility in one's meditative progress to liberation (see also SAMATHA & VIPASSANA). Another distinction is that between three *yānas*, namely the *yānas* that lead to the awakening of a disciple, *sāvakayāna*/*śrāvakayāna*, to the awakening of a Paccekabuddha, *paccekabuddhayāna*/*pratyekabuddhayāna*. In regard to these three *yānas*, the "available scriptures of the eighteen schools allow all three options... that is, the eighteen or four schools embrace the three *yānas*".3 Thus those who followed the *yāna* of the bodhisattva could have been members of any of the early Buddhist schools.

In fact, the bodhisattva career is a *yāna* that has been practiced and is still being practiced within the Theravāda tradition.4 Hence the term Mahāyāna does not represent a distinct school in ancient India, but rather refers to a particular vocation. The term Hīnayāna, then, is even less representative of the historical reality of ancient Indian Buddhist schools, wherefore " 'Hīnayāna' is not an appropriate category of historical analysis". From beginning to end the Hīnayānist was a person of straw, a will-o-the-wisp", and the term " Hīnayāna' was a catch-all label coined by Mahāyānists... to stigmatize a rhetorical other".[5] In modern scholarly writings, the term Hīnayāna is in fact usually avoided, not only because it does not refer to a clearly identifiable historical school, but also in order to avoid perpetuating what is clearly derogatory terminology, as the qualification *hīna* stands for what is low, inferior, contemptible and despicable (see also HĪNAYĀNA and MAHĀYĀNA).[6]

Though the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna do not reflect distinct schools in the history of Indian Buddhism,7 they do have historical significance in so far as their coming into use corresponds to stages of development in Buddhist thought. "It seems likely that the sequence of development of this terminology began with the straightforward expression *bodhisattvayāna*, which was then qualified with the epithet 'great' (*mahāyāna*), and which finally lead to the creation of the term *hīnayāna* as a back-formation ... the term *bodhisattvayāna* would thus represent the emergence of the path to Buddhahood as a distinct vocational alternative, the term *mahāyāna* a mere expression of admiration for that path, and the term *hīnayāna* an expression of a derisive attitude toward non-bodhisattva practitioners".[8]

When examined from the perspective of the term *yāna* and its two chief connotations, it seems that the expression *Mahāyāna* in its early instances was predominantly understood as a "great way". This suggests itself from the way this expression was translated by the early Chinese translators and also from descriptions of innumerable beings embarking on the *Mahāyāna*, which would fit the idea of a 'path' better than the image of a 'vehicle'.9 The nuance of a 'way' could thus be seen to continue the sense of *yāna* in early canonical expressions like *devayāna*, the path leading to heaven, and to some extent also of the *dhammayāna*, the eightfold noble path that leads to final liberation.

Analayo

References

1 Deussen: *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Delhi 1979: 334-335; cf. also *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 5.3.3.

2 Cf. also *Thig.* 389: *maggaṭṭhaṅgikayānayāyinī*

3 Skilling "Mahāyāna and Bodhisattva: An essay towards historical understanding", *Photisatawa barami kap sangkhom thai nai sahatsawat mai*, Bangkok 2004: 143.

4 On this topic in more detail cf. Rahula : "L'ideal du Bodhisattva dans le Theravāda et le Mahāyāna", in *Journal Asiatique* 1971:63-70; Ratnayaka: "Tahe Bodhisattva ideal of the Theravada", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 8.2, 1985:

85-110; Samuels: "Tahe Baodhisattva ideal in Theravada Buddhist Theory and Practice", *Philosophy East and West*, 47.3, 1997: 399-415.

5 Skilling op.cit. : 142

6 Cf. Monier Williams: *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Delhi 1999: 1296; and Rhhys Davids: *Pali-English Dictionary*, Delhi 1993:732. Kimura:*A Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna*, Calcutta 1927: 116, suggests that the term Hīnayāna may have come into use in retaliation for such terms as *adharmavādin*, which apparently were used by opponents of the Mahāyāna.

7 On this topic cf. esp. Cohen: "Discontented Categories: Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna in Indian Buddhist History", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 63.1, 1995: 1-25.

8 Nattier : *A Few Good Men*, Honolulu 2003:174 note 6

9 Vetter: "Once Again on the Origin of Mahayana Buddhism", *Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde Sudasiens*, 45, 2001: 62 ff. Har Dayal: *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi 1970: 321 note 22, suggests that though "yāna... originally denoted 'way, career'... the connotation... changed after the publication of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* with its famous parable of the three *yānas* (chap. III). That play on words let to the substitution of the idea of 'vehicle' for that of 'way'.

YAÑÑA stands for "sacrifice", whose performance formed a central role in the thought world of ancient India. The present entry will briefly survey a few instances in the Pāli canon that refer to sacrifices or display knowledge of various aspects of its performance, followed by assessing the early Buddhist attitude towards *yaññā*.

A list of sacrifices, found in several discourses, includes the *assamedha*, *purisamdedha*, *sammāpāsa*, *vājapeyya*/*vājapeyya* and *niraggaḷa* (*S*. I, 76; *A*.II, 42; *A*.IV,151;Sn. 303;*It*. 21).[32]

The same listing is also found in verse 196 of the *Gāndhāri Dharmapada*, reading *aśpa-veka Puruṣa-veka some-paśa vaya-veka niraga ḍa*, cf. Brough: The *Gāndhāri Dharmapada*. The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* refers to offerings made by Brahmins for the departed and to the *thālipāka* offering (*D*. I, 97). The efficacy of offerings, undertaken on behalf of the departed, is the subject of a discussion between a Brahmin and the Buddha in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (A.V,269). In a list of qualities that make up a worthy Brahmin, given in the Kūṭadanta Sutta, such a Brahmin's role as the first or second to hold the sacrificial ladle is explicitly noted (*D*. I, 120).

The *somayāga* is mentioned in a *Jātaka* verse (verse 263;*J*. IV, 365), and a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* describes a Brahmin who has just completed a fire-sacrifice, *aggihuta*, (*S*. I, 167). The *Mahāgovinda Sutta* refers to spreading *kusa* grass for the performance of a fire-sacrifice (*D*. II, 244), which according to a verse found in several passages is the supreme sacrifice, just as *Sāvittī* is the supreme Vedic hymn (*Vin*. I, 246; *M*. II, 146= *Sn*. 568).[3] The *Kandaraka Sutta*, as an example of someone who torments himself as well as others, depicts a king or Brahmin engaged in a sacrifice. In addition to having various animals slaughtered for sacrifice, according to its description the king undertakes the practice of living on the milk of the single teat of a cow, sleeps on the bare ground, clad in a hide and with hair and beard shaved off (*M*. I, 343). A *yaññā* that apparently involves sacrificing tetrads of living beings is mentioned in *Jātaka* tales, referred to as the *sabbacattuka yaññā* (e.g. *J*. I, 335 or *J*. III, 44).

According to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, some of the Buddha's contemporaries completely rejected sacrifice. The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* reports that Pūrana Kassapa affirmed that no merits would result from sacrificing, *yajanto yajāpento n'atthi tato nidānaṃ puññaṃ* (*D*. I, 52); and Ajiata Kesakambali denied that anything could meaningfully be sacrificed or offered, *n'atthi yiṭṭha n'atthi hutaṃ* (*D*. I, 55; see also SĀMAÑÑAPHALA SUTTA) . While early Buddhism was also critical or contemporary sacrificial practices, it did not go so far as to reject them entirely. In fact, the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*'s definition of right view, in direct contrast to the position taken by Ajita Kesakambali, affirms that there is what is sacrificed and offered, *atthi yiṭṭhaṃ atthi hutaṃ* (*M*. III, 72).

Instead of a wholesale rejection of sacrifice, early Buddhism re-interpreted the meaning and purpose of *yaññā*. "The brahmanic ritual of Vedic times has been given a changed and deeper meaning. Buddhism has discarded the outward and cruel form and has widened its sphere by changing its participant, its object as well as the means and ways of 'offering', so that the *yaññā* now consists entirely in a worthy application of a worthy gift to a worthy applicant".[4] "The word *yajña* has thus lost its original meaning in the Brahminical sense and has come to equal *dāna*, *pūja*, *dakkhiṇā* or *deyyadhamma*".[5]

The early Buddhist re-interpretation of the concept of *yaññā* finds its expression in the use of *yaññā* in several discourses as a referent to gifts of food to the virtuous (e.g. *A*. II, 63 or *A*. III, 337). Such gifts of food to the virtuous may even take on the outer aspects of preparations for a sacrifice, if the gift is to be given to the whole monastic community with the Buddha at its head. Thus several passages report that the busy activities in a household about to receive the Buddhist order for such a meal would cause outsiders to wonder if a sacrifice is under preparation (cf. *Sn*. Prose p. 105 or *Vin*. II, 155).

Hence when asked if he approved of *yaññā*, according to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* the Buddha replied that he did not commend the type of sacrifice where animals were slaughtered, but only a sacrifice that does not involve any killing, such as regular gifts in charity or on behalf of one's family (*A*. II, 42). The same theme recurs in the *Pāyāsi Sutta*, which contrasts sacrifices where animals are slaughtered to those that do not involve any killing (*D*. II, 353). In this way, early Buddhism redirected the ancient Indian disposition towards offering *yaññā* by providing the alternative of offering *dāna*, which still forms a distinct feature of the Buddhist tradition today.

According to early Buddhism, even before an actual sacrifice is undertaken, even merely having the plan to kill animals for its sake will already be demeritorious (*A*. IV, 42). A description of the preparation for a sacrifice to be undertaken on behalf of King Pasenadi indicates that not only the victims of the sacrifice suffer, but also those who have to carry out the menial tasks required for its performance. According to this description, the slaves and workers executed their tasks with tearful faces, being forced to do so by beating (*S*.I, 76). The introductory narration to the *Pārāyanavagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta* reveals the strain that the performance of a sacrifice puts on the resources of the sacrificer himself. It records that, after having performed a great sacrifice, the brahmin Bāvari had exhausted his wealth to such an extent that he was unable to give support to another Brahmin who begged him for help (*Sn*. 978 and 982). Hence from an early Buddhist perspective the performance of sacrifice simply causes suffering to all those who are involved in it.

A chief motivation for performing sacrifices, according to the *Puṇṇakamāṇavapuccha*, is hope for a better form of existence and desire for sensual pleasures (*Sn*. 1044 and 1046). According to the *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta*, during former lives the Buddha had performed various sacrifices, but had found out that no purity can be developed thereby (*M*. I, 82). A Buddhist monk, who earlier used to perform the *aggihuta*, concludes that only blind worldlings will believe that fire-sanctifiers lead to purity. (*Th*. 341). As a verse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* points out, instead of maintaining external fires, the Buddha rather kindles the fire of concentration within (*S*.I, 169). In sum, the performance of external sacrifice and oblation will not purify. (*Sn*.249).

Hence performing various sacrifices is not worth even a sixteenth part of the value of developing loving kindness, *mettā* (*A*. IV,151 and It. 21). Even a thousand sacrifices will not be able to equal a meagre gift given by one who, though poor, lives righteously, (*S*. I, 19). In particular the offering of *Dhamma*, *dhammayāga*, is superior to any material offering (*It*. 102). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* takes up the Brahminic criticism that, while the performance of sacrifice is undertaken on the behalf of many, to go forth is only for one's own sake (*A*. I, 168). In reply, the Buddha points to his role as a teacher of the *Dhamma* to many, making it clear that to go forth can be of immense benefit to others.

The *Brahamaṇadhammika Sutta* contrasts the conduct of Brahmins of former times, who did not slaughter for the sake of sacrifice (*Sn*. 295), to greedy Brahmins of later days, who out of covetousness for

riches instigate the king to perform sacrifices that involve massive slaughter (*Sn.* 302-308). The same discourse concludes that those who sacrifice in this way have fallen away from the principle of justice (*Sn.* 312). Criticism of the way contemporary Brahmins would perform sacrifices is also voiced in the *Subha Sutta*, which depicts how a Brahmin might get upset when he does not receive the foremost seat and best share of food at a sacrifice (M. II. 204). The *Balapaṇḍita Sutta* is quite outspoken in its criticism, as it compares the greed of Brahmins who come running at the smell of sacrifice to dung feeding animals (*M.* III. 167).

A rather humorous depiction of the early Buddhist attitude to sacrifice and to offerings for the gods can be found in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which features an elderly lady who makes daily oblations to Brahma (*S.* I. 141). Brahma eventually appears in mid-air, only to inform his devotee that, instead of trying to offer him what he will not take anyway, she would do better to give the food to her son, who as a Buddhist monk was out on the roads of the town begging his daily alms.

In fact, while from the point of view of the Brahmins the proper recipient of offerings would be a Brahmin of pure descent who is knowledge in the Vedas, from the early Buddhist perspective mental purification and the attainment of the three higher knowledge makes someone a worthy recipient of gifts (*A.*I. 1661). That is, an awakened one is the best recipient of the sacrificial cake, *tathāgato arahati pūraḷasaṃ* (*Sn.* 467 ff).[6]

A good dose of humour also seems to underlie the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* treatment of the theme of sacrifice. This discourse describes a king of the past who performed a great sacrifice at which no living being is killed, a sacrifice that did not require any enforced labour and where the king refused offerings made to him on behalf of the sacrifice by others, indicating that he had sufficient to carry out the sacrifice on his own account (*D.* I. 141). "It is all ironical, of course – just the very contrary, in every respect, of a typical Vedic sacrifice".[7] The *Kūṭadanta Sutta* does not stop at this, but concludes by depicting a series of sacrifices superior to this idealized ancient sacrifice. These are making regular offerings to virtuous recluses; providing shelter for the sangha; going for refuge; undertaking the five precepts; and supreme of all, going forth and attaining liberation.

Māse māse sahassena
Yo yajetha sataṃ samaṃ
Ekañca bhavitattānaṃ
muhuttam api pūjaye
sā yeva pūjanā seyyo
yañce vassasataṃ hutaṃ
Month after month for a hundred years,
One might offer sacrifices by the thousands,
Yet, if only for a moment one were to worship,
Those who are well trained,
Such worship is superior indeed,
To a hundred years of offerings (*Dhp.* 106)

Analayo

References

1. Bapat: Sammā-Pāsa and Other Allied Sacrifices in Pali Literature", *Journal of the University of Poona*, 1, 1954: 80, explains that *Sammāpāsa* stands for a preliminary procedure, where a peg is thrown and the place where it alights indicates the proper location for the performance of the sacrifice: also Falk: " *Vedische Opfer im Pali-Kanon*", *Bulletin d'Etu des Indiennes*, 6, 1988:231 ff. Delhi 2001: 150. For a study of this verse in different Buddhist traditions cf. Skilling: "On the Agnihotra mukhā Yajñāḥ Verses", *Jainism and Early Buddhism*, California 2003: 637-667.
4. Rhys Davids et al.: *Pali-English Dictionary*, Delhi 1993: 547, s.v. *yañña*
5. Barua: "Early Buddhism and the Brahmanical Doctrines", *Journal of the Asiataic Society of* Pakistan, 12.1, 1967: 76.
6. This is one of the relatively few instances where *tathāgata* stands for an *arahant* in general, cf. also TATHAGATA.
7. Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Oxford 1899: 164. The Chinese parallael describes the Actual sacrifice in more detail (T. I, 99a8), based on which Meisig: "Zur Entritualisie rung des Opfers im fruhen Buddhismus", *Mitteilungen fur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 7, 1992:216, concludes that the description has the *Agniṣṭoma* in mind.

YASA stands for "fame", "glory", or "reputation". In an oral society like ancient India, such fame and reputation was inevitably of considerable significance as a source of information. The early Buddhist attitude towards *yasa* shows various facets, where on the one hand a favourable reputation is seen as a benefit of living a moral life, yet at the same time emphasis is given on developing that inner strength that is able to withstand the vicissitudes of fame and disrepute, in order to eventually transcend all unnecessary concern with it.

Fame is one of the factors that contribute to a king's self-confidence, (*A.* III, 151); and one of the factors that ensure that a person is respected where he or she goes (*Dhp.* 303). The *Brahmāyu Sutta* describes how a crowd assembled to listen to the Buddha would get up and make room for a Brahmin, who had come to join them, on account of his fame (*M.* II, 142). The importance of *yasa* is also reflected in the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta*, according to which an eminent Brahmin was warned by fellow Brahmins that, if he were to go and visit the Buddha, the Buddha's fame would increase at the expense of this eminent Brahmin's fame (*D.* I, 113). The same discourse reports that, when this Brahmin nevertheless decided to visit the Buddha, he was quite worried that, in case he should ask the Buddha a clumsy question, he would incur the ridicule of the assembled crowd and hence a loss of his fame. He was concerned that a loss of fame would in turn diminish his income, since that depended on his reputation, *yassa kho pana yaso hāyetha, bhogā pi tassa hāyeyyuṃ, yasoladdhā kho pan' amhākaṃ bhogā* (*D.* I, 118).

Other sources for a loss of fame are when one transgresses due to being under the influence of desire, anger, fear or delusion, which will lead to a gradual loss of fame, comparable to the waning moon (*A.* II, 18). Anger is in fact particularly prone to lead to a decrease in one's good reputation (*A.* IV, 95).

For the sake of establishing a good reputation, the *Siṅgalovāda Sutta* lists several qualities such as being wise, virtuous, kind, humble, free from sloth, unshaken by adversities, and generous (*D.* III, 192). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* lists confidence, virtue, generosity and wisdom as factors that will lead to *yasa* (*A.* II, 66), while other discourses in the same collection highlight that offering food as an expression of generosity is especially productive of a good reputation (*A.* II, 64; *A.* III, 42). A verse in the *Dhammapada* recommends such qualities as energy, mindfulness, pure conduct and self control for the same purpose (*Dhp.* 24). Hence, it is meaningless to pray and wish for fame, since one should instead develop the qualities that lead to it (*A.* III, 48).

A verse in the *Theragāthā* presents the development of the noble eightfold path as a source for fame (*Th.* 35). The *yasa* of one who has taken refuge, who observes the five precepts and is generous, will spread in all directions. Such fame is superior to the fragrance of any flower, as the scent of a flower is not be able to move against the wind and thus will not be able to reach all directions (*A.* I, 226; cf. also *Dhp.* 54).

In the case of some *devas*, the circumstance that they outshine other *devas* in the realm of the Thirty-three in respect to *yasa* – which here appears to stand mainly for "glory" – is because in their earlier existence on earth they lived the holy life under the Buddha (*D.* II, 208). This holds true even when someone was a pauper in his former existence (*S.* I, 232), or a leper who, though not gone forth, had reached stream-entry before passing away (*Ud.* 50). In fact, taking refuge in the three jewels is a crucial condition for being reborn in a heavenly realm endowed with *yasa* (*S.* IV, 275).

A drawback of *yasa* is highlighted in the *Sappurisa Sutta*, which indicates that the gain of *yasa* can lead to conceit, to looking down on others who are not famous and renowned (*M.* III, 38). Yet, as the same discourse points out, it is not due to fame and renown that unwholesome qualities in the mind diminish. Hence, whether one is famous or not, the real question is if one is practising in accordance with the *Dhamma*. The dangers of succumbing to the attraction of fame and gains is highlighted in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, according to which due to infatuation with fame and gains Devadatta had taken a path that in the end led him to an evil borne (*A.* IV, 160). Hence fame gained by wrong means is but one of the armies of Māra (*Sn.* 438). Besides, even rightly gained fame is of little use when death comes (*Th.* 554). The *Bhaddāli Sutta* indicates that, once fame has manifested, the things related to the influxes, *āsavaṭṭhāniyā dhammā*, also manifest in the monastic community. As a consequence of this, rules and regulations have to be promulgated in order to restrain such unwholesome influences (*M.* I, 445).

Fame and disrepute, *yaso ca ayaso ca*, are one of the altogether four pairs of opposites that come under

the heading of being eight worldly conditions, *attha lokadhammā* (*D.* III, 260).1 In order to retain inner fortitude when faced with fame and disrepute, awareness of their impermanent nature is particularly recommendable (*A.* IV, 158). A noble disciple, equipped with clear awareness that all these worldly conditions are impermanent, unsatisfactory and bound to change, will not delight in fame nor be upset at disrepute. By thus remaining with an attitude of inner balance, the noble disciple will make use of both fame and disrepute as occasions for his or her progress on the path to liberation. That is, gain or loss of fame is of little importance, what really matters is gain or loss of wisdom (*A.* I, 15).

Though according to the discourses the Buddha had reached the acme of fame (*D.* III, 126; *M.* I, 386; *S.* I, 196), yet, his degree of inner purity was such that he was thoroughly aloof from succumbing to the dangers inherent in becoming famous (*M.* I, 318). In contemporary society an exceedingly good report had spread about the Buddha, *kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato*. Yet, the Buddha was not concerned with fame and would even send people away if they did not behave properly, explaining to his attendant that for one who can avail himself of the happiness of deeper meditation, the vulgar happiness of fame holds no attraction (*A.* IV, 341).

Yaso ca appabuddhīnaṃ,
viññūnaṃ ayaso ca yo,
ayaso ca seyyo viññūnaṃ,
na yaso appabuddhinaṃ.
[Comparing] the fame of those with little wisdom,
[To] the lack of fame of the wise,
Better is the lack of fame of the wise,
Not the fame of those with little wisdom (*Th.* 667).

Anālayo

Reference

1 The other three pairs are gain and loss, *lābho ca alābho ca*, blame and praise, *nindā ca pasaṃsā ca*, and happiness and pain, *sukhañca dukkhañca*.

YASODHARĀ. Yasodharā (*Bdst.Skt.*) is identified in late Buddhist works with the lady designated Rāhulamātā, ' Mother of Rāhula', wife of the Bodhisatta Siddhatta Gotama (Bdst.Skt. Siddhārtha or Sarvārthasiddhi Gautama), a character very rarely referred to in early Pāli literature. In fact the designation Rāhulamātā is attested only once in early canonical Pāli works and that too in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, which refers to her sending her son Rāhula to the Buddha to request for his inheritance (*Vin.*I.82). The Buddha, however, got his young son ordained by the venerable Sāriputta allowing him to be an inheritor of his spiritual wealth rather than the mundane wealth which he had left behind when leaving home life.

But the most intriguing thing about the character of this lady is that besides the name Yasodharā she is known in both the Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit traditions by a number of other names with the designation Rāhulamātā forming a sort of link term among them. The late Pāli canonical text *Buddhavaṃsa* (xxvi.15) calls her Bhaddakaccā but, strangely, its commentary (*BuA.* 293) replaces it with the name Yasodharā proving its late entry into the Pāli tradition. The *Manorathapūranī* (AA.1.376 f), however, identifies Rāhulamātā with the senior nun Bhaddā Kaccānā — a variant of the above Bhaddakaccā- named in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (1.25) as the foremost among the *bhikkhunīs* who had attained greatness in supernormal knowledge (*mahatiyo abhiññāpattānaṃ aggā*). The commentator goes on to say that each Buddha could have only four disciples with this capacity. In the dispensation of the present Buddha, the two chief disciples, the elder Bakkula and the female elder Bhaddā Kaccānā had the same ability. But the commentarial explanations seems to limit this ability to just one of the supernormal powers, viz. the ability to recall one's past births. These four elders were said to be capable of recalling one incalculable plus one hundred thousand world cycles (*Kappa satasahassādhikaṃ asaṃkheyyaṃ*) (s.v. Kalpa, for another interpretation of the term). We also have to note here that according to canonical information each world cycle (*kappa*) consists of four incalculables (A.II.142).

Commenting on the name, the commentary states that since her bodily complexion was like that of solid gold (*bhadda-kañcanaṃ viya*) she was named Bhadda-kañcanā but later she came to be called Kaccānā synonymous with Rāhulamātā. According to this account she commences her career as an aspirant for the foremost position in great supernormal knowledge in the dispensation of the Buddha Padumuttara. But, as shown below, her aspiration to become the wife of the Bodhisatta in the final life extended back to an

immensely longer period, almost equal to that of the Buddha Gotama himself. Born in the family of the Sākyan Suppabuddha as his daughter and brother of Devadatta (*DhpA*.III. 44), she later becomes the wife of the Bodhisatta and gives birth to prince Rāhula. After the ordination of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī she was ordained by the *therī* Janapadakalyāṇī and, developing insight, became an *arahant*. She could recall, in one sitting, a hundred thousand world-cycles. Strangely, the *Jātaka* commentary merely states, without mentioning any names, that she went to a nunnery and got herself ordained. Later she went to Sāvatthi with her preceptress and teacher and took up residence in a certain nunnery from where she often visited the Buddha and the *thera* Rāhula (*J*.II.392 *f*.). Significantly the name Bhaddā Kaccānā does not occur either in the *Therīgāthā* or the *Apadāna*. But the name Yasodharā, also absent in the *Therīgāthā*, appears in the *Apadāna* 1 which probably is the first Pāli canonical text, interestingly one of the latest, to recognize the *therī* Yasodharā as the Mother of Rāhula (Rāhulamātā) and the wife of the Bodhisatta in his homelife.

Another designation given to the Mother of Rāhula in the Pāli commentaries is Bimbā and, sometimes also Bimbādevi (ie. Queen Bimbā *J*.II. 392 *f*. *DA*.II.422) and also Bimbāsundarī (*J*.vi.478). Prof. Malalasekare thinks that Bimbā probably was her original name and other names like Bhaddakaccā, Subhaddakā, Yasodharā etc. were descriptive epithets applied to her. (*D.P.P.N.* s.v. Rāhulamātā). In fact the 13th century Simhala work *Pūjāvalī*2 also presents a similar view on the names Bimbā and Yasodharā. Accordingly she was named Bimbā as she was beautiful like a statue but by the time she reached the age of twenty nine Bimbādevī also came to be known in Jambudvīpa by a second name Yaśodharādevī because she was surrounded by a great retinue or was endowed with many qualities of great excellence. Yet one has to consider other opinions expressed by such scholars as Oldenberg on this problem about the name or names of the wife of the Bodhisatta. On this point Oldenberg3 says, " Her name appears to have been unknown to the ancient church. Copious inventions of later times first filled up these gaps in various ways".

This comment made by Oldenberg is important in view of the fact that he also says that, although it is said that the coming Buddha was married, it is not certain whether he had one or many wiveshl 4. Eliot5 has also pointed out that while the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* *Vinaya* refers to three wives of the Buddha-to-be, the Pāli Vinaya as well as those of the *Dharmagupta*, *Mahāsaṅghika* and the *Mahīśāsaka* schools mention only one wife or none at all. This is significant in view of the fact that the early Pāli canonical texts, except the above mentioned single reference to Rāhulamātā, are completely silent about the married life of the Bodhisatta. The *Anguttara Nikāya* (1. 145*f*.) mentions the three mansions he had and the luxuries he enjoyed in his father's home also enjoying the company of an all-female orchestra during the four rainy months. But there is no mention of one or many wives here. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1.161 *ff*.), referring to seeking for noble and ignoble things, the Buddha says that he too, prior to enlightenment and as a Buddha-to-be, sought after ignoble things, subject to birth, decay, disease, death, anguish, and corruption, among which he includes seeking for wives and children (*puttabhariyā*). This could indicate that he was married and either had or wished for children. But the same discourse, dealing with his renunciation of worldly life, says that he was at the time still a young man, a mere boy with black hair (*susu kālakeso)* who went forth in the prime of his youth against the wishes of his weeping parents. Curiously, unlike in the later works, there is no word about a weeping wife or a newly born son in this early account. It is therefore natural for a scholar like Oldernberg to express such sentiments about the whole thing.

In Buddhist Sanskrit works also the same pattern of using different names for Rahula's Mother is quite evident. The *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mahāvastu*, Aśvaghosa's *Buddhaccarita* and also the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, all have the well known name Yaśodharā. But the *Lalitavistara* (*Lal*.99*f*.) uses quite a different name, Gopā, said to have been the daughter of the Śakyan Daṇḍapānī. The same work also at different places uses the name Yaśovatī (*Lal*.69) and also Yaśavatī *(ibid*.160) with reference to the same person. The *Swarnaprabhāsottama Sūtra*6 also refers to the Śakya daughter Gopā who was in an earlier life Jalāmbagarbhā, wife of the merchant's son Jalavāhana. Rāhula was their son named Jalāmbara Birth of Yaśodharā. The Pāli *Theravāda* tradition asserts that seven persons and objects came into being along with the Buddha, viz Mother of Rāhula, the Elder Ānanda, Channa, the horse Kanthaka, the treasure-troves, the great Bodhi Tree, and Kāludāyī (*BuvA*. p.131). The *Pūjāvalī* adds that Yaśodharā, who also was in the Tusita world— reborn there after her life as Maddī in

the *Vessantara Jātaka*— passed away at the same time as the Bodhisattva and was conceived in her mother's womb at the same constellation as the Bodhisattva and was born also at the same *Vaisākha* constellation as the Bodhisattva himself. The Pāli tradition is unanimous that Suppabuddha the Sakyan was the father of Yasodharā. According to the *Pūjāvalī* he was the brother of Mahāmāyā, the mother of the Buddha and his wife was Amitā, sister of Suddhodana. Yaśodharā was born in the Koliya country. The Buddha and Yaśodharā were accordingly cross- cousins.

The Buddhist Sanskrit traditions do not agree with the Pāli tradition regarding the birth and the fatherhood of the Mother of Rāhula. The *Mahāsāṅghika Mahāvastu* (II.25) holds that immediately after the birth of the Bodhisattva were born five hundred maidens with Yaśodharā at their head. The same work also asserts that Sundarānanda, Chandaka, the horse Kaṇthaka and the elephant Candana were also born at the same time. Each of them was also accompanied by five hundred young men servants, horses and elephants respectively. Five hundred stores of treasure also appeared at the time. Father of Yaśodharā, according to this work, was the Śakyan Mahānāma (*ibid*.48). But the Śakyan Mahānāma mentioned in the Pāli works, elder brother of the thera Anuruddha, was a cousin of the Buddha. It is difficult to imagine that his daughter became the spouse of the Bodhisattva. The *Lalitavistara* account states that ten thousand maidens with Yaśovatī— this must be the same as Gopā— at their head were born with the Bodhisattva (*Lal*: p. 69). Gopa's father according to this source was the Śakyan Daṇḍapānī *(ibid*.99).

Yasodhara's Marriage

There is very little in the Theravāda literature regarding the pre-marrital life of Yasodharā. At the birth of his son, says the *Pūjāvalī*, Suddhodana made inquiries to find a fortunate person born, although it is quite unlikely to find any one, at the same moment as his son. He was greately surprised to hear that his sister has given birth to a daughter at the same time as his own son and, therefore, provided all facilities to bring her up in great splendour. He thought that, born at the same time as his son, this girl could not be an ordinary person but one who has come down performing meritorious deeds along with him and, therefore, one who is destined for him, and gave all facilities to his niece as to his son. She was very beautiful and there was no woman in the whole of Jambudthī ipa to rival her in beauty. As they reached the age of sixteen he got the two married with the intention of keeping his son bound up in sense pleasures so that he would not leave home for an ascetic life as predicted. The two were crowned and anointed at the same time and were trained in state craft.

Buddhist Sanskrit Sources, however refer to some instances of the Bodhisattva wooing Yaśodharā or Gopā. The *Mahāvastu* (II. 48) states that Śuddhodana, observing his son to be bent on meditation, feared that Aśita's prediction could be a reality. To prevent it he decided to establish a large harem for him and invited young women of Kapilavastu to come to the royal park where they could receive precious ornaments from the prince. To this gathering also came in great splendour, Yaśodharā the daughter of the Śākyan Mahānāma, who approached the prince bashfully (s.v. allīna and hrī, *BHS*.). Jones' rendering "Yaśodharā.......bashfully caressed the boy" does not seem to covey the meaning of the words *yaśodharā......hrīyānti kumāramallīnā* (*Mhvu*.II.58). It is also not justified by the *Mañjarī Jātaka* related by the Buddha to illustrate that Yaśodharā did the same in a previous birth. Here Hirī, daughter of Śakra comes to a seer *(ṛṣi)* to request for something, but refrains from doing so. There is no idea of caressing in the storey. In the Pāli *Sudhābhojana Jātaka* (J.I. 382 *ff*.), correctly recognized by Jones as coming very close to the *Manjarī Jātaka*, Hirī refrains from asking for something from the seer because it, as she believes, seems shameful for a woman to beg for something *(kōpīnarūpā viya yācanitthiyā* (*ibid*.404).

But on another occasion (*Mhvu*.II.72), when the prince was giving away presents to maidens in the park, Yaśodharā was the last to arrive at the place. As all the presents prepared had been given away by the time the prince took of this 100,000 worth necklace and presented it to her. Then, with a smile, she asked, " is this all I am worth?" laughing at her question, the prince presented her also with his ring worth a hundred thousand pieces as well. Noting all this Śuddhodana decided to ask her father for her hand for his son. But before his wish could be realized the prince had to stage an exhibition of his skills in the arts of war.

In the *Lalitavistara* (99*f*.) the Śākyan maiden Gopā, daughter of the Śākyan Daṇḍapāni, takes the

place of Yaśodharā in the *Mahāvastu*. Here too it was at a distribution of precious gifts to young girls of Kapilavastu that Gopā caught the eye of the Bodhisatva. She was the only girl in the crowd who could look direct into his eyes. As he had finished all the presents prepared, he presented her with his ring worth several hundred thousands. He was also ready to part with all his ornaments to her when she asked whether it was only this that she is worth for him. She, however refused to accept them, saying, " we do not wish to make the prince bereft of all ornaments". Later he had to exhibit his skills in arts of war to satisfy Gopa's father before wining her hand in marraiage. Aśvaghosa7 is very brief in his Buddhacarita. From a family possessed of long standing good conduct, Śuddhodana summoned for his son the goddess of fortune in the shape of Yaśodharā by name, of widespread renown, virtuous and endowed with beauty, modesty and gentle bearing.

Renunciation of the Bodhisattva and After

In the Theravāda tradition it is generally accepted that the Bodhisatta renounced home life on the same night Yaśodharā gave birth to Rāhula, her son (*AA*. 376). But the Jātaka commentary (*J*.1.63) says Rāhula was seven days old when his father left home life. But it hastens to add that this is not the view of other works. According to the same work the Bodhisatta left home at the dead of the night. He put up Channa who was sleeping with his head on the door-sill and sent him to caparison the horse Kanthaka, for he has to leave in the night itself. But before leaving, he wished to see his son and went to the dwelling place of the Mother of Rāhula. Opening the door of her chamber he found her asleep resting one hand on the son asleep by her. The prince did not wish to disturb her lest it would hamper his plan to leave home immediately and turned back without taking the child in hand. According to the *Mahāvastu* (II. 159) it was at midnight the day the Bodhisattva renounced home life that Rāhula, passing away from the Tuṣita world, was conceived in his mother's womb. In another context the same work (*Mhvu*.I. 153), in a statement attributed to Mahākātyāyana, says, that from the time of the Bodhisattva's sojourn in the Tuṣita heaven, he did not indulge in the pleasures of the senses. Questioned about the birth of Rāhula he says that, passing away from the Tuṣita world he entered the womb of the Kṣatriya maiden, Yaśodharā. This, he says is the tradition (*evamanuśruyate)*. It also should be noted here that Yaśodharā is always even at the stage of the conception of Rāhula, referred to as *kanyā*, a virgin. So according to the tradition recorded in the *Mahāvastu* Yasodhara always remained a virgin and Rāhula's was a virgin birth. Theravādins never contributed to this apparently Lokottaravādin view.

Dreams of Rāhulamātā

Prior to the renunciation of home life by the Bodhisattva, Gopā, his wife, had a frightening dream which was interpreted as an indication of the eradication of impurities and the attainment of supreme felicity by the Bodhisattva. In the dream Gopā saw a violent earth quake with mountain peaks tumbling down, huge trees being uprooted by a gale, hair being torn away, and the sun, the moon and the planets fallen on the ground. Herself she saw fully naked with both hands and feet cut off. All four legs of her bed were cut off and she herself was seen sleeping on the floor. All her ornaments were strewn on the ground and the string of pearls had fallen off. The great ocean was agitated and the Mount Meru was trembling in its position. All these are interpreted to be of no adverse effect to Gopā (*Lal*. 140 *f*.)

The *Mahāvastu* (II.135*f*) also refers to a dream which Yaśodharā had prior to the Enlightenment of the Buddha. She dreamt Śuddhodana's palace being, all of a sudden, engulfed in a cloud accompanied by thunder and lightning repeatedly lightening up the three worlds. Though it was the summer, the cloud, holding an ocean of water, shed cool and incomparably pure and clean rain accompanied by a soft rumbling. Even Sahampatika was rendered inwardly glad by it. Brahmā came down and reassured Rāhula's mother, "Be not cast down. This significant dream portends the realization of your wish. Quickly, therefore, recover yourself".

"This lovely-eyed son of Śuddhodana, like a cloud raining on the three worlds, will bring relief to those who are scorched by the great fires of passion, by bringing to birth the immovable *dharma* and compassion beyond compare".

Chandaka (Channa) Returns to Kapilavastu

Chandaka, who returned home to Kapilavastu, handed over to Śuddhodana the jewellery and the message of greetings sent by the prince. There were

also messages to Mahāprajāpati and others but none for Yaśodharā. Later, when asked by the monks how he renounced heedless of Yaśodharā, the Buddha related the *Śyāmā Jātaka* to show that he had done it on a previous occasion too (*Mhvu.*II 166 *ff.*). Overcome by grief Yaśodharā put her arms round Kanthaka's neck and lamented. For what offence of hers, she asked Kanthaka, that he and Chandaka took the prince away when she was blissfully asleep. But Chandaka defended themselves that neither his loud calls nor the neighing of Kanthaka could wake up any one to know all what happened. (*ibid.*189). The *Lalitavistara* (p.160) also states that the prince left home when all the womenfolk with Yaśavatī (mark the change in name) at their head were fast asleep. Later, when returning Chandaka reported all what happened, Gopā swooned away. Later, recovering, she hung on to Kanthaka's neck and lamented recalling the happy days now no more (*ibid.*169 *ff.*). Aśvaghoṣa, in his *Buddhacarita*8, uses many a beautiful verse to express Yaśodharā's grief seeing Chandaka and Kanthaka return *sans* the prince. Here too one could see her finding fault with the twain for taking away her beloved when she was fast asleep, and Chandaka defending himself and Kanthaka for, as he sees, there were unseen forces helping the prince to leave without the knowledge of any one in the palace or the city.

Yaśodharā Meets the Buddha

The Pāli Jataka commentary (*J.*1.88*f*) does not say whether Rāhulamātā was present among this Sakya relatives who met the Buddha and listened to the *Vessantara Jātaka* related by him on the first day of his visit to Kapilavatthu. But the *Mahāvastu* states that Yaśodharā bathed the eyes of Mahāprajāpati with water collected in her cupped hands from that issuing from the body of the Buddha performing the miracle of double appearance (twin-miracle). Mahāprajāpati who had become blind due to grief after the Bodhisattva's renunciation could not see the miracles performed by him on his visit to Kapilavastu. With the power of the virtues of the Buddha she now recovered her eye sight with the help of Yaśodharā (*Mhvu.*III.115 *f.*)

Since no one had invited him for his forenoon meal the next day, the Buddha set out on his alms round in his native city. The Whole city was agitated and the people rushed to their windows to see their own prince, now a shaven headed monk, begging for alms in his own city. Yaśodharā also came to the window and, seeing him go from house to house for alms, praised his beauty with eight stanzas called *Narasīha-gāthā* of which only one is given in the Jātaka commentary (p.89).

But the Apadāna commentary (*SHB.XXIX.I.78 f.*), quoting the same verse, says ten *Narasīha* verses were recited by Yaśodharā. Although other sources connect the recital of the verses by Yaśodharā to her introduction of the Buddha to her son Rāhula, the Pāli sources do not connect Rāhula to this recital. In the Jātaka commentary, it was when Rāhula was sent to the Buddha by his mother to request for his inheritance that she introduced the Buddha as his father to Rāhula. "Look child" she said to Rāhula, " this golden coloured recluse of the most excellent complexion (*brahma-vaṇṇaṃ*) with a retinue of twenty thousand recluses, is thy father" (*J.*1.91). According to the *Pūjāvalī*, on the seventh day of the Buddha's visit Yaśodharā taught the *Narasīha* verses to Rāhula and sent him to the Buddha to ask him for his inheritance.

When Yaśodharā brought to the notice of her father-in-law what his son was doing at the moment, a highly disturbed Suddhodana ran out to the street to confront the Buddha with an accusation of putting him to shame. After a short exchange of views the Buddha and the monks were invited to the palace and entertained to a right royal lunch. When all women in the house came out to pay obeisance to the Buddha Yaśodharā alone kept back saying "if I have any virtue in me the Buddha should come to me so that I could pay my respects to him". The Buddha sympathetically considered her view, gave the bowl into the hands of his father and, with the two chief disciples, preceded to her chamber and, instructing others to allow her to pay her obeisance as she wished, sat down on the prepared seat. Then Yaśodharā rushed out to the Buddha and, clasping his legs with her hands, placed her head on his feet and paid him obeisance to her heart's content. Suddhodana, in his turn, praised the virtues of his daughter-in-law in the Buddha's presence. Coming to know of the pattern of his ascetic life Yaśodharā also followed suit by wearing yellow robes, taking one meal a day, sleeping on the floor, and rejecting comfortable beds, flowers, garlands, perfumes etc. She refused even to look at those who offered to marry her when the prince renounced home life. The Buddha said that there is nothing strange for her to guard herself in this way as a mature woman

under the guardianship of Suddhodana when she guarded herself even while not being as matured in wisdom, and not enjoying such protection in the *Candakinnara Jātaka* (*J*.1.89*ff*.).

The *Pūjāvalī* elaborates on Yaśodharā's positive qualities given above. She wished to follow her husband to a homeless life and lead the life of a recluse in the forest as soon as he renounced home life. But Suddhodana, who had the intention of attracting his sron back home, prevented her. He feared that Yaśodharā like her husband, would leave home secretly or on the other hand, attracted by her beauty, various kings would try to take her away by force. So to prevent any such mishap he placed a strong armed guard round the city. Yaśodharā declared her wish to be ordained as a *bhikkhunī* on several occasions. At first the Buddha did not accede to her wish as he wanted to give the honour of becoming the first *bhikkhunī* to his foster mother. She finally succeeded after the Bhikkhunī Order was founded under Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī. After ordination at her request, she was taken to the Buddha who made her to receive higher ordination from both Orders of the Saṅgha. A suitable subject of meditation was given to her by the Buddha and within half a month she was able to realize arahantship and took up residence in a nunnery built by Visākhā and others.

The *Mahāvastu* (II.233*f*.) records that the Buddha came to know of Yaśodharā's great devotion to him even before he came to Kapilavastu. When it was reported that the Bodhisattva was practising grim austerities, all in the Śākya country including his father, foster mother and Yaśodharā were greately saddened by the news. Yaśodharā thought it not proper for her to enjoy the pleasures of a comfortable life when her husband was experiencing such hardships. Therefore she also abandoned all such pleasures and started to live on scanty fare, wear common clothes and sleep on a straw bed. Later when Śuddhodana sent Chandaka and Kalodayin (Pāli Kāludāyi) to invite the Buddha to the country of his kinsmen, Kalodāyi reported to him the great devotion shown to him by Yaśodharā during the period of his austerities.

The Buddha introduced to Rāhula

Rāhula, on seeing the Buddha, had become intensely attracted to him and started to question his mother about his father whom he had never known. Unable to keep the truth away from him any more, abandoning herself to any punishment imposed on her by the Śākyans who had prohibited, on pain of death, to reveal the truth about his father to Rāhula, she decided at last to reveal the truth to him. One day she pointed out to her son the Buddha walking along the street followed by monks and described to him in a string of verses his beautiful personality and spiritual virtues with a brief history of his life, starting thus; " He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, like the *karnikāra* golden and lovely, is your father" (*Mhvu*.III.259 *ff*.). One could even speculate that the *Pāli Narasīha* verses of the commentarial period, unfortunately not given in full, were inspired by the *Mahāvastu*. Significantly a string of Pāli verses, known by the same name and quite popular presently, describing the thirty two marks of a Great Man, has at the end of each of the verses the words " this one indeed is your father, the Lion Man" (*esahi tuyhapitā narasīho)*. In the *Mahāvastu* too each of the verses, attributed to Yaśodharā, has the words " this one, my son, is your father" (*eṣo te putra pitā*). But in place of the Pāli form *narasīha* the Sanskrit has *puruṣasiṃha* which also can be rendered "Lion Man". B.C. Law9, commenting on the verse found in the Pāli commentaries has also given a slightly amended version of the same with the last line reading *raṃsijālopitāte narasīho* in place of *raṃsijalavitato narasīho*.

Demise of the Bhikkhunī Yaśodharā

There is very little in the Sanskrit sources regarding the ordination of Yaśodharā or her life as a nun. In a rare reference, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* the *Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra*, says that the bhikṣuṇī Yaśodharā, Mother of Rāhula, was present with a following of 4000 *bhikkṣuṇis* at the time the Buddha delivered this *sūtra* (*Sdmp*.p.2). The same source also states that when the Buddha predicted the future Buddhahood of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, the nun Yaśodharā wondered why the Buddha has not mentioned her name. Then the Lord, knowing her thoughts, revealed her future Buddhahood as follows. " I reveal to you Yaśodharā that, you, having honoured 10,000 *koṭis* of Buddhas will become a bodhisattva and a preacher of the Dharma. Having, by stages, fulfilled the course of a Bodhisattva, you will become a Thathāgata, Arhat, Samyaksambuddha named *Raśmiśatasahaśraparipūrṇadhvaja* in the Bhadra world system and his life span will be unlimited" (*ibid* p.230 *f*).

As mentioned above, Pāli sources give at least three versions about the ordination of Yaśodharā, one under Mahāpajāpati Gotami, one under Janapadakalyāni and the third under an unnamed preceptor. The *Apadāna*, one of the latest works of the Pāli canon, gives an account of the events leading to her final demise. Yaśodharā, while living in a beautiful nunnery in the city of Rājagaha, realized that at the age of seventy eight she is standing as if on the edge of a precipice and the time has come for her to pass away while the Buddha is still living. Looking at her life span she noted that it has now come to an end and that she should pass away that very night. Followed by hundreds and thousands of nuns she proceeded to the Buddha who was at the time dwelling in a mountain cave in Rājagaha and appraised him of the situation and her intention to pass away the same night. She first begged pardon of all present for any fault she has committed and followed it by begging the Buddha's pardon for any fault of hers during their long journey through *saṃsāra*. Listening to her the Buddha answered, " Now that you are proceeding to Nibbāna what more have I to add?. But ' the doer of my bidding', do perform a miracle to wipe out any doubts in the people with regard to my teachings". Then the *Bhikkhunī Yaśodharā* introduced herself as a woman born in the Sakya race, his wife in lay life, endowed with many virtues and beauty, honoured by many as a goddess, chief among a thousand maidens and so forth, paid obeisance at the feet of the Buddha and, soaring up into the air, performed many miracles with the permission of the Buddha.

In addition to the miracles performed she is also said to have delivered a sermon based on emptiness (*suññaṃ*). Having described her spiritual attainments, she also recalled her long association with the Buddha, when he was still a Bodhisattva, starting in the dim past in the dispensation of the Buddha Brahmadeva, the ancient Buddha Gotama and, continued in the dispensation of the Buddhas that followed. Later when the Bodhisatta, as the ascetic Sumedha, received his first definite prediction of Buddhahood from the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, she was also present there as a Brahmin girl named Sumittā. Eight handfuls of blue lotuses she had brought to offer to the Buddha she gave to the ascetic Sumedha with whose demeanor she was quite pleased. " Let, great sage, five of these be for your sake", she said, " and three be for mine. By them let the wishes of both of us be equally fulfilled and may it also be for your enlightenment". When the ascetic offered the lotuses to the Buddha he predicted that she will be equal to him in thoughts, deeds and actions. "She will, O great sage, be pleasing in her actions performed for your sake. Comely, very pleasant, agreeable and a speaker of pleasant words, she will be your wife and an inheritor of your *Dhamma*. Sympathizing with you she will fulfil the perfections and, like a lion breaking out of its cage, attain wisdom". "What the Buddha predicted of me in the immeasurable past" she declared, "joyfully approving his words, I came to work in accordance with". Then describing the manner in which she perfected her virtues and the religious attainments in the final life, she says, " Burnt out are my impurities, all becomings have been destroyed; like a she-elephant who has broken its tether, I abide free from intoxicants". Finally she says, "The past, present and the future are all exhausted; all my *kamma* is extinct; I salute at his feet the Possessor of Clear Sight". With all these long accounts the *Apadāna* has no word to say of her final passing away or her obsequies.

The author of the *Pūjāvalī*, basing himself on the *Apadāna*, has brought to an apex the legendary character of Yaśodharā alias Bimbā alias Rāhulamātā. Wading through the ocean of legendary details of the former lives of the Buddha in the *Jātakas*, he picks up valuable pearls to decorate the life of the Arahant Bhikkhunī Yaśodharā, built up through her saṃsāric existence. In fact he makes her to assert that her samsāric association with the Buddha Gotama-to-be extended far beyond the mythical four incalculable plus a hundred thousand world cycles attributed to his career as a confirmed Bodhisatta from the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. She was there, mostly as his wife, when the future Buddha met all the twenty three Buddhas following the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. She is made to pick up instances from the Jātakas to show her sacrifices of property, freedom of her children and above all her life to assist him in fulfilling his aspirations. Where others could try to pick up holes in her career as being hard on the Bodhisatta, she absolves herself that some of these acts were not intentional or, even when intentional, through them she has helped him to perfect himself. Interestingly from one single *Kusa Jātaka* she picks up several instances of seemingly hard acts of Pabhāvati and says that while in other lives the Bodhisattva worked for one perfection, in this particular life he could, due to her actions, work for the fulfillment of all the ten perfections. Even then, at the end, she fell on the mire

round him and, saluting him at his feet, begged his pardon for all her offences and he, King Kusa, quite willingly pardoned her with all his heart.

Having listened to all what the Bhikkhunī Yaśodharā has to say, the Buddha states that there is no need of a pardoning between two persons who have realized the four Noble Truths and Nibbana. But in deference to a mundane custom he said, repeating it thrice, that he would pardon her. Then the *Therī* took her final leave of the Buddha by walking thrice round him and walked out of the place without turning her back to him till she went out of his gaze. Knowing the wishes of the Buddha the monks present followed her up to the edge of the monastic premises. Therī Yaśodharā walked back to the nunnery followed by her one thousand nuns. Back in her nunnery she sat in meditation all through the night and, entering *jhānas* in succession she finally passed away into complete Nibbāna. The *Pūjāvalī* goes on to say that after her passing away people from all over Jambudīpa assembled there and with the attendance of the host of disciples and gods and men led by the Buddha the cremation of her body was conducted with great honour. After the cremation a stūpa named the Great Yaśodharā Stūpa enshrining the relics was built at Rajagaha on the instructions of the Buddha where daily offerings, as also instructed by him, were instituted bringing much merit to the people.

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YATHĀBHŪTAÑĀṆADASSANA stands for "knowledge" and "vision" that is "in accordance with reality". To explore the import of this expression, the pre-sent article will begin by examining *yathābhūta* and *ñāṇadassana* individu-ally, followed by surveying passages from the Pāli canon that are of relevance to *yathābhūta-ñāṇa-dassana* as part of the Buddha's awakening, to the develop-ment of *yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana* in general, and to its scope.

Yathābhūta

The qualification *yathābhūta* consists of *yathā*, "as", "like", or "accord-ing to"; and *bhūta*, which as a past participle of *bhavati* stands for what is "true" or "real", and also for what has "become" or "come to be". According to Kalupa-hana, the use of the past participle *bhūta* expresses a non-essentialist con-ception of truth in early Buddhism, in the sense that what is "true" is what "has come to be". He explains that the qualification *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* thus stands for knowledge and vision of things "as they have become", an ex-pression that at the same time also stresses the empirical nature of such knowl-edge and vision.[1] Ac-cord-ing to Jaya-tilleke, *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* also points to a correspondence theory of truth in early Buddhism,[2] where the truth or tal-sity of a statement depends on whether it accurately describes the world, whether it 'corresponds' to facts.

An example where *yathābhūta* conveys the sense of "as it has come to be" can be found in the *Bhayabherava Sutta*. This discourse describes how the Buddha, when living in solitary forests during the time before his awakening, would confront and overcome fear just there and then, in whatever way it may have manifested, *yathā-bhūtaṃ yathābhūtassa me taṃ bhayabheravaṃ āgac-chati, tathābhūtaṃ tathābhūto va taṃ bhayabheravaṃ paṭivineyyaṃ* (M. I, 21). That is, without changing his posture, he would confront the issue right away, just "as it had come to be".

A similar sense of *yathābhūta* recurs in a description of the eight world-ly conditions (gain and loss, fame and obscurity, blame and praise, hap-piness and suffering). To encounter these eight worldly conditions is simply part of living in the world "as it has come to be", *tathābhūto ayaṃ lokasan-nivāso ... yathābhūte lokasannivāse ... aṭṭha lokadhammā lokaṃ anuparivat-tanti, loko c' aṭṭha lokadhamme*

anuparivattati (*A.* II, 188). Hence it is mean-ingless to con-tend with these conditions, which are but natural aspects of liv-ing in the world "as it has come to be".

Elsewhere in the discourses, *yathābhūta* can qualify how a monastic dis-ciple discloses himself to his fellows disciples and teacher, *yathābhūtam attā-naṃ āvikattā* (*D.* III, 237). This passage occurs within a description of a dis-ci-ple who is not fraudulent or deceitful, *asaṭho amāyāvī*, hence here *yathā-bhūta* would have the sense of being "according to reality" or "truthfully". Another oc-currence of similar implications can be found in the context of a simile, which describes a pair of messengers approaching the ruler of a town via a particular route in order to deliver a *yathābhūta* message (*S.* IV, 194). In this simile, the messen-gers rep-resent tranquillity and insight, the route they take is the noble eightfold path, and the ruler of the town corresponds to conscious-ness. The *yathābhūta* mes-sage that tranquillity and insight deliver to con-scious-ness is *Nib-bāna*. Since elsewhere *Nibbbāna* is qualified as "true", in con-trast to what is decep-tive, *taṃ saccaṃ, yaṃ amosadhammaṃ Nibbānaṃ* (*M.* III, 245), in the con-text of the simile of the pair of messengers *yathābhūta* would convey a nuance of "true", in the sense of being "according to reality".

Yet another nuance appears to underlie some passages that speak of de-veloping the awakening factors in a way that is *yathābhūta* (*D.* II, 83; *D.* III, 101; *S.* V, 161; *A.* V, 195). These occurrences are part of statements on what all Buddhas, or even all beings, have to undertake in order to reach awakening. Thus the sense that underlies *yathābhūta* here appears to be that the awakening factors have to be developed to their fullest potential, "as they really are", so to speak, in order to enable the attainment of full liberation.[3]

Ñāṇadassana

The expression "knowledge and vision" features in a range of contexts in the discourses, covering, for example, direct apperception of what happens in the mind of others (*D.* II, 216); meditative vision of light and forms (*A.* IV, 302); knowledge of past and future (*D.* III, 134); various supernormal powers (*D.* I, 76); and omniscience (e.g. *M.* I, 92). In such contexts, *das-sana* stands for a mental seeing of that which is known, in fact, most of these in-stances involve supernormal types of "knowledge" and "vi-sion".

The concurrence of the two terms "knowledge" and "vision" in the ex-pression *ñāṇadassana* seems to reflect two closely related nuances of the same men-tal apprehension. That is, the combination of these two apperceptive ac-tivi-ties conveys the sense that experiential 'seeing' and cognitive 'knowing' coa-lesce in *ñāṇadassana*. Hence *ñāṇadassana* stands for a type of insightful un-derstanding wherein knowledge is vision and vi-sion is knowledge, *yaṃ ñā-ṇaṃ taṃ dassanaṃ, yaṃ dassanaṃ taṃ ñāṇaṃ* (*Vin.* III, 91).

Another aspect of the same expression appears to be the experiential and comprehensive nature of such *ñāṇadassana*. This becomes evident when con-sidering the Buddha's endowment with *ñāṇadassana*, which was such that he truly knew what he claimed to know and truly saw what he claimed to see, having realized it through direct knowledge, *abhiññā* (*M.* II, 9). Knowing he knew and seeing he saw, whereby he had 'be-come' vision (literally "the eye") and knowledge, as it were, *jānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati cakkhubhūto ñāṇa-bhūto* (*M.* I, 111). That is, one who claims to 'know and see' thereby claims to have direct and full experience of the matter at hand.

Yathābhūtañāṇadassana and the Buddha's awakening

A rather axiomatic exposition of *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* can be found in the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta*, which describes the type of knowledge and vision according to reality that led to the Buddha's awakening. According to this discourse, the Buddha only claimed to have reached unsurpassable awakening when his *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* in regard to the four noble truths had been completely purified in altogether twelve modes, *dvādasākaraṃ ya-thā-bhūtaṃ ñāṇadas-sanaṃ suvisuddhaṃ ahosi* (*S.* V, 423). These twelve modes result from devel-oping each noble truth in three successive steps, *ti-parivaṭṭa*. These three steps require knowledge and vision of the respective noble truth, knowledge and vision of what needs to be done in regard to this truth, and the retrospective knowledge and vision that what needed to be done has been ac-complished. The *Dham-macakkapavattana Sutta* describes the knowledge and vision required in each of these cases with a whole string of terms, speaking of the "arising of vision, knowledge, wisdom, higher knowl-edge and clarity", *cak--khuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā up-dapādi āloko udapādi*.

In regard to the first noble truth, the three successive steps are to know and see what is *dukkha*, to know and see that *dukkha* has to be fully under-stood, *pariññeyyaṃ*, and to know and see that *dukkha* has been fully under-stood, *pariññātaṃ*. Thus the first step is insight into the truth as such, the sec-ond step requires awareness that something needs to be done about it, and the third step represents the retrospective knowledge that this has been ac-com-plished. For *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* to be complete in regard to the sec-ond noble truth, insight into the arising of *dukkha* needs to lead to awareness that this arising of *dukkha* has to be abandoned, *pahtabbaṃ*, and needs to culmi-nate in the knowledge that this arising of *dukkha* has been abandoned, *pahī-naṃ*. Similarly, knowledge and vision of the cessation of *dukkha* should lead to knowing and seeing that the cessation of *dukkha* needs to be realized, *sac-chi-kātabba*, and that is has been realized, *sacchikataṃ*, just as knowledge and vision of the path leading to the cessation of *dukkha* should lead to know-ing and seeing that this path needs to be developed, *bhāvetabbaṃ*, and that it has been developed, *bhāvitaṃ*. This presentation shows the compass of *yathā-bhūtañāṇadassana*, which progresses from a decisive initial insight via a proc-ess of development to full realization.

This presentation clearly shows that *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* is not mere-ly an intellectual appreciation of the true nature of reality. Such an intel-lectual appreciation certainly has its place within the scope of develop-ment of *yathābhūtañāṇadassana*, forming the basis for the first step to be taken in re-gard to each of the four noble truths. Yet, the full development of *yathā-bhūta-ñāṇadas-sana* extends far beyond that. The potential of each noble truth is only fully appreciated when it becomes clear that something needs to be done about it. Here *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* covers the whole range of practices that are part of the path to liberation from *dukkha*. *Yathābhūtañāṇadassana* is of rele-vance even beyond the culmination of the path, as the presentation in the *Dham--macakkapavattana Sutta* shows, since the same term also covers retro-spec-tive knowledge of having reached the goal. Thus the treatment of *yathā-bhūta-ñāṇadassana* in the *Dham-macakkapavattana Sutta* highlights the de-gree to which knowledge and vision need to be acted on, need to be put into prac-tice in order to be fully actualised.

The *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* is not the only discourse that de-scribes the *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* that led to the Buddha's awakening. Ac-cording to the *Mahāsaccaka Sutta*, on the night of his awakening the Buddha also directly knew according to reality, *yathābhūtaṃ abhaññāsiṃ*, the influxes (*āsavā*), their arising, their cessation, and the path leading to their cessation (*M.* I, 249). The *Brahmajāla Sutta* records that the Buddha reached final liberation through having seen according to reality, *yathābhūtaṃ viditvā*, the arising and passing away of feelings, their advantage, their disadvantage, and the release from them (*D.* I, 17). Other discourses indicate that the Buddha claimed to have reached full awakening only when he directly knew according to reality, *yathābhūtaṃ abhaññāsiṃ*, a range of different insights. These cover direct knowledge according to reality of:

- the advantage, disadvantage, and release in regard to the four elements (*S.* II, 170 and *S.* II, 172);
- the advantage, disadvantage, and release in regard to the five aggre-gates of clinging (*S.* III, 28 and *S.* III, 29);
- the nature, the arising, the cessation, and the path leading to the cessa-tion of the five aggregates of clinging (*S.* III, 59);
- the advantage, disadvantage, and release in regard to the six senses and their objects (*S.* IV, 7 and *S.* IV, 8; or *S.* IV, 9 and *S.* IV, 10; cf. also *S.* V, 206);
- the advantage, disadvantage, and release in regard to the five faculties (*S.* V, 204);
- and the advantage, disadvantage, and release in regard to the world, *loka* (*A.* I, 259).

In this way, these discourses work out in detail various aspects of the comprehensive direct knowledge in accordance with reality that the Bud--dha attained on the night of his awakening.

Had this knowledge and vision been only an intellectual appreciation, one might wonder how a single insight could cover such a range of different topics. As the treatment in the *Dham-ma-cakka-oavattana Sutta* shows, however, this was not the case, since the *yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana* attained by the Buddha involved a progression from initial in-sight, via a process of development, to retrospective knowledge of having reached full realization. Such full realiza-tion, then, can be described from a va-riety of angles, be these the

noble truths, the elements, the aggre-gates, the senses, the faculties, or the world. All these would be but facets of the Bud-dha's compre-hen-sive *yathbhūtañ āṇadassana* perfected on the night of his awakening.

Another aspect of the same perfection of knowledge on the night of his awakening are the Buddha's endowment with the ten powers of a *Tathāgata* (cf. in more detail TATHĀGATA), which also involve forms of knowledge that are in accordance with reality. According to the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta*, the Buddha knows according to reality, *yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*, what is possible and what is impossible; karma and its result; the way to any [rebirth] destina-tion; the various elements that make up the world; the different inclinations of beings; the faculties of beings; and various aspects related to the attainment of concentration and reali-zation (*M.* I, 69). The remaining three knowledges out of the entire set of ten powers are elsewhere also qualified as forms of *yathā-bhūtañ āṇa* (*A.* III, 420), so that the entire set of the ten powers of a *Tathāgata* can be seen as yet an-other pointer to the profundity of the *yathābhūtañ āṇa-das-sana* that resulted from the Buddha's awakening.

The development of *yathābhūtañāṇadassana*

The indication given in the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* that there are different levels of *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* is echoed in other discourses, which similarly indicate that there are stages of growth in regard to knowledge that is in accordance with reality. Thus a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* dis-tin-guishes between becoming one who has "mastered knowledge", *vedagū*, and one who has attained "total victory", *sabbajī* (*S.* IV, 83). Here "mastery of knowledge" comes through knowing according to reality the arising and pass-ing away, as well as the advantage, disadvantage and release in regard to the six spheres of contact. But only one who through such knowledge has be-come liberated can be reckoned as one who has attained "total victory".

Similarly, by knowing according to reality, *yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*, the arising and passing away, as well as the advantage, disadvantage and re-lease in regard to the five faculties, one can become a stream-enterer. When the same type of knowing develops further until it has become a complete and full ex-perience according to reality, *yathā-bhū-taṃ viditvā*, total liberation will be at-tained (*S.* V, 194). That is, while the scope of insight and its truthfulness to re-ality remain the same, the deep-ening of such knowl-edge through continuous practice will lead from lower to higher stages of liberation.

In point of fact, even one who has clearly seen with right wisdom and according to reality that the cessation of becoming is *Nibbāna* need not be an *arahant*, but could have 'only' reached a lower level of awakening. He or she would then be in a situation similar to a thirsty man who sees water down be-low in a well but has neither rope nor bucket enabling him or her to reach the water and drink it (*S.* II, 118). This goes to show that *yathābhūta-ñāṇa-das-sa-na* can stand for various levels of knowledge and vision. Even in the case of the Buddha, stages in the development of his *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* can be discerned. According to the autobiographic re-port about the time of his own struggle for awakening, although he had clearly seen with right wisdom and according to reality that sensual objects provide little satisfaction, he had not yet gone be-yond their attraction (*M.* I, 92). This only happened when his in-sight into the lack of satisfaction of sen-sual objects was complemented by ex-periencing a form of happiness that is beyond the senses, such as can be gained through the development of deeper stages of concentration. This in turn, then, formed the basis for the *yathābhūtañ āṇadassana* perfected on the occasion of his awakening, as described in the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta*.

The development of concentration is in fact an important requirement for *yathbhūtañāṇadassana* to grow to its full potential, together with the need to be endowed with mind-fulness. The need for mindfulness is reflected in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which treats Anuruddha's possession of some of the powers of a *Tathāgata*. According to this discourse, Anuruddha's abilities in this respect were the outcome of his practice of the four *sati-paṭ-ṭhānas* (*S.* V, 304). Since the ten powers involve forms of *yathābhūtañ āṇa-das-sana*, this discourse points to a central tool for arriving at knowledge and vi-sion that ac-cords with reality, namely the development of mindfulness. The in-structions given in re-lation to contemplation of the four noble truths in the *Sati-paṭṭhāna Sutta* in fact explicitly speak of knowing in accordance with real-ity, *yathā-bhūtaṃ pajānāti*, (*M.* I, 62). Though in relation to the remaining con-tem-pla-tions the

Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta speaks only of "knowing", *pajānāti*, without ex-plicitly employing the qualification *yathābhūta*, the chief task of de-veloping mindfulness is indeed to arrive at an awareness of things as they truly are (see in more detail SATI and SATIPAṬṬHĀNA). Another passage on *sati-paṭ-ṭhāna* practice explic-itly uses the expression *yathābhūta* for contemplation of the body, *kāye kāyānu-passino viharatha ... kyassa yathābhūtaṃ ñ āṇāya* (*S.* V, 144), thereby con-firming that the aim of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice is the develop-ment of knowledge according to reality.

Besides the need for mindfulness, one needs to also dwell secluded, *paṭi---sallīna*, in order to be able to know things according to reality (*S.* III, 15; *S.* IV, 80; *S.* IV, 145; *S.* V, 414). Seclusion is closely related to the development of mental tranquillity, hence it comes as no surprise to find that concentration is often reckoned the requirement par excellence for *yathābhūtañāṇadassana*. This is so simply because one who is concentrated will naturally see and know according to reality, *dhammatā esā, yaṃ samāhito yathābhūtaṃ jānāti passati* (*A.* V, 3). This is so much the case that concentration can be reckoned the proxi-mate cause for *yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana* (*S.* II, 31).

A concentrated mind is free from the five hindrances, and it is this ab-sence that is of particular relevance for being able to know and see according to reality. A set of similes eloquently expresses this by comparing the effect of the hindrances on the mind to water in a bowl that is in such a con-dition as to make it impossible to see one's own reflection in the water. If the water is col-oured, boiling, overgrown with algae, rippling, or muddy, one would be unable to know and see according to reality, *yathābhūtaṃ na jāneyya na passeyya* (*S.* V, 123). The same is the case when a hindrance is present in the mind, where-fore only a concentrated mind can know and see ac-cording to reality. The arising of a hindrance in the mind is in turn closely re-lated to one's con-duct and virtue, hence only one endowed with virtuous con-duct will be able to see and know according to reality, *caraṇasampanno yathābhūtaṃ jānāti pas-sati* (*A.* II, 163).

The need for a strong base in concentration points to a difference be-tween *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* and the otherwise closely related *yoniso ma-na-sikāra*, "attention" that is "wise" or "thorough" (see in more detail YONISO MANASIKĀRA). Generally speaking, the two qualities of *yoniso manasikāra* and *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* are closely related to each other, and the qualifi-cation *yoniso* has much in common with the import of *yathābhūta*. Thus, for example, to direct *yoniso manasikāra* to the aggregates of clinging or to the senses leads to contemplating their impermanence as it really is, *yoniso manasi karotha ... yathābhūtaṃ samanupassatha* (*S.* III, 52 and *S.* IV, 142). In such con-texts, *yoniso manasikāra* can stand for the deployment of attention during deeper stages of meditation. Elsewhere, however, *yoniso manasikāra* also cov-ers forms of attention that take place at a conceptual or reflective level of the mind, which are thus less in need of a firm basis of concentration. In fact *yo-ni-so manasikāra* serves as nutriment, in the sense of providing a foundation, for mindfulness and clear com-prehension, *sati-sampajañ ña*, and for the four *sati-paṭṭhāna*s (*A.* V, 118), which in turn are the basis for developing *yathā-bhūta-ñ āṇadassana*. That is, *yoniso manasikāra* can provide the foundation for de-veloping the kind of mindful observation that, if supported by a concentrated mind, will issue in knowledge and vision accord-ing to reality. This to some degree qualitative difference can be seen in a pas-sage that describes how some--one comes to hear the teachings, estab-lishes *yoniso manasikāra* and there--on engages in practice according to the teachings. This then enables him or her to know according to reality what is wholesome and what is unwhole-some, *so ariyadhammasavanaṃ āgamma yoniso manasi-kāraṃ dhammānu-dhammapaṭipattiṃ, 'idaṃ kusalan'ti yathā-bhūtaṃ pajānāti* (*D.* II, 215).

Thus *yoniso manasikāra* appears to be somewhat broader in its scope, in that it also covers mental activities taking place at a comparatively less con-cen-trated level of the mind, which would not suffice for the development of *yathā-bhūta-ñāṇadassana*. In fact, it is based on having devel-oped *yoniso mana-sikāra* that concentration arises, and such a concentrated mind then knows and sees in accordance with reality, *yoniso manasikaroto ... samādhiyati, samāhi-te-na cittena yathābhūtaṃ jānāti passati* (*D* III, 288).

Such knowing and seeing in accordance with reality will in turn result in disen-chant-ment and dispassion, and thereby lead to liberation, *yathā-bhūtaṃ jānaṃ pas-saṃ nibbindati, nibbindaṃ virajjati, virāgā vimuccati*. With libera-tion at-tained, *ñāṇadassana*

then turns into "knowledge and vision of lib-era-tion", *vimutti-ñāṇa-dassana* (*A.* V, 311).

Besides its potential of leading to liberation, the development of *yathā-bhūtañāṇadassana* also constitutes a source of joy in itself. Thus to see with right wisdom and in accordance with reality that sense-objects are imperma-nent and unable to provide lasting satisfaction, *yathābhūtaṃ sammap-paññāya pas-sato*, will cause the joy of renunciation, *nekkhammasita soma-nassa* (*M.* III, 217). One who sees in accordance with reality the impermanent and un-satis-factory nature of the five aggregates of clinging will experience such happi-ness that he or she can be reckoned as appeased in this respect, *tadaṅganibbuta* (*S.* III, 43). When one knows and sees in accordance with reality, the very fad-ing away of ignorance is a source of happiness and joy, *sukhaṃ sukhā bhiy-yo so-manassaṃ* (*D.* II, 215).

The scope of *yathābhūtañāṇadassana*

The scope of *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* covers the true characteristics of reality and thus often stands for knowing something from the perspective of its arising, its passing away, its advantage, its disadvantage and the release from it. Insight into impermanence is one of the central aspects in the develop-ment of *yathābhūtañāṇadassana*, in fact to have clearly seen according to real-ity and with proper wisdom the changing nature of all conditioned phenomena, *anic-cato sabbe saṅkhārā yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya sudiṭṭhā honti*, is one of the powers with which those who have destroyed the influxes are endowed (*D.* III, 283). To purify one's vision through awareness of impermanence could take place through knowledge that accords with reality of the arising and pass-ing away of the six sense-spheres, of the five aggregates of clinging, of the four elements, or simply of the fact that whatever arises is of a nature to cease (*S.* IV, 192). One who thus knows according to reality the arising and passing away of all that is subject to *dukkha* will dwell free from desire and discontent (*S.* IV, 188).

Knowing, according to reality, the impermanent nature of the five aggre-gates of clinging naturally leads to knowing their unsatisfac-tory and selfless nature, their conditioned nature and their nature to pass away (*S.* III, 57). One who sees all aggregates according to reality will transcend future existence (*Thag.* 87); in fact even just seeing the nature of the body according to re-ality will already lead beyond all sensual desire (*Thīg.* 90; cf. also *Thīg.* 85). Seeing with proper wisdom and according to reality the selfless nature of the five ag-gre-gates of clinging features prominently in the *Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta*, the occa-sion when the first five disciples of the Buddha reached full lib-eration (*S.* III, 68).

The central nuance conveyed by *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* is thus seeing whatever comes within the purview of the mind as it truly is or has come into being. A dis-course in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* gives a remarkable presentation of knowledge, *ñāṇa*, that can be reckoned as *yathābhūta*. According to this dis-course, knowledge that accords with reality requires knowing that something is there when it is there, and knowing that something is not there when it is not there, *santaṃ vā 'atthī'ti ñassati, asan-taṃ vā 'natthī'ti ñassati* (*A.* V, 36). Or else one should be able to know what is inferior or superior, and what is sur-pas-sable or unsurpassable. As the same discourse quite emphatically points out, such *yathābhūtañāṇa* is su-preme among all forms of knowledge, as no other type of knowledge could be more excellent or sublime (*A.* V, 37).

This discourse thus highlights a central feature of *yathābhūtañāṇadas-sana*, in that the type of knowledge and vision that in early Bud-dhism leads to the highest spiritual perfection does not involve a deeper intuition of a mystical and ineffable essence hidden behind reality, but rather a sober and clear ap-per-ception of reality itself, of phenomena in the world as they truly are. As the above survey of the compass of *ñāṇadassana* shows, supernormal ex-peri-ences gained through sustained meditative practice were certainly known and devel-oped by the early disciples of the Buddha. Yet, the sober vision of everyday phenom-ena as they come into being and pass away – conditioned as they are and de-void of true satisfaction and a per-manent core – is far superior to any such feat. Such *ñāṇadassana* is most excellent and sub-lime, since it is this type of knowledge and vision that will eventually result in the break-through to *Nib-bāna*.

In spite of the rather simple appearance that such *yathā-bhūta* knowledge of phenomena may give at first sight, to be able to develop the type of knowl-edge that is indeed in accordance with reality can be quite a demanding task, since it requires cutting through self-deception. In fact, in a way, the scope of *yathābhūtañ*

ñāṇadassana could be said to be "oneself". Whether the mode adopted for developing *yathābhūtañāṇadassana* is based on the five aggregates of clinging, or on the six sense-spheres etc., the real point of developing such knowledge is to know and see the true nature of oneself as it "has come to be" and "according to reality". To truly know and see oneself requires maintaining the perspective of impermanence, unsatisfac-toriness and not-self throughout all aspects and moments of subjective experi-ence, thereby withstanding the pressure of the affective in-vestment inherent in one's self-image and in the way one's perceptions tend to construct an image of the 'world'. In the ordinary case, witnessing one's own shortcomings easily leads to unconscious attempts at re-ducing the resulting feeling of discomfort by avoiding or even altering the per-ceived information so as to make it more congruent to one's view of one-self. *Yathābhūtañāṇadassana*, however, requires seeing and knowing "ac-cording to reality", remaining aloof from the influence of projections and ex-pectations.

The relevance of knowledge that accords with reality to self-inspection is reflected in the *Anaṅgana Sutta*, which points out that one who does not know according to reality that a blemish is present within him or her will not strive to overcome it; and one who does not know according to reality that he or she is free from blemishes will not take the appropriate measures in order to protect this level of purity (*M.* I, 25). These two cases can be compared to a dirty bronze dish that is not being cleaned and to a clean bronze dish that, by not being cleaned or used, becomes dirty. Thus, from the perspective of the *Anaṅgana Sutta*, the presence of knowledge according to reality is the crucial factor that gives self-inspection the power to recognize the presence or ab-sence of mental blemishes "as they have come to be", forming the indis-pensable ba-sis for adopting the appropriate type of conduct in regard to both situations.

In fact, overwhelmed by ignorance one does not know according to re-ality if a particular way of undertaking things will result in future suffering (*M.* I, 311). Again, those who do not know according to reality the nature of per-ception, failing to distinguish between the types of perception that lead down-wards and those that uplift, will be unable to reach liberation (*A.* II, 167). Hence the development of at least some degree of knowledge and vision that is in accordance with reality is of considerable importance for being able to avoid unwholesome conduct and for progress on the path to awakening.

To clearly see according to reality and with proper wisdom is also the means to go beyond views (*M.* I, 40), in fact speculative views about the future existence of a liberated being can only arise for those who do not know or see the five aggregates of clinging according to reality (*S.* IV, 386). By seeing ac-cording to reality and with proper wisdom dependent arising, *paṭicca samup-pāda*, one will leave behind all speculation about the existence of a self in past and future times (*S.* II, 26). Hence the wise, who see dependent arising, see karma as it has come to be and are knowledgeable in matters relating to its frui-tion (*Sn.* 653). The world by and large is entangled in affirming or denying existence, but those who have seen according to reality and with proper wis-dom the arising and passing away of the world, have gone beyond these two ex-tremes (*S.* II, 17). Being endowed with proper view, they stand on the thresh-old to the deathless (*S.* II, 80).

Those who have been quenched in the world,
Had insight in accordance with reality.

ye cāpi nibbutā loke
yathābhūtaṃ vipassisuṃ (*D.* III, 196).

Anālayo

References

1. Kalupahana: *A History of Buddhist Philosophy*, Delhi 1994: 51-52.
2. Jayatilleke: *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, Delhi 1963: 352.
3. *SA.* III, 211 (glossing the occurrence in *S.* V, 161) explains that in the present context *yathā--bhūta* intends *yathāsabhāvena bhāve-tvā*.

YAVANAS See **INDO-GREEKS**

YEBHUYYASIKĀ See **ADHIKARAṆASAMATHA**

YIN-SHUN (pS`), 1906-2005. Born in Mainland China, the eminent scholar monk Yin-shun ordained in 1930 and came to Taiwan in 1952. Based on his extensive readings in the Chinese Tripitaka and his detailed study of the history of Buddhism, Yin-shun

published over 40 monographs and a large number of essays. In 1973, he received a doctorate from the TaishM University in recognition of his research on Chan Buddhism. As a successor of the famous reformer Tai-xu, Yin-shun spearheaded an intellectual renaissance of Taiwanese Buddhism, confronting the influence of superstitions, empty rituals and blind devotion. Thanks to the historical perspective introduced by him, the *Āgamas* have become the object of a revival of interest and study in Chinese Buddhist circles.

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Anālayo

YODHĀJĪVA SUTTA is the title of a discourse found in the *Gamani Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* IV, 308), which has two Chinese parallels in the two extant *Saṃyukta Āgama* translations (*T.* II, 227b and *T.* II, 420b). The *Yodhājīva Sutta* records the Buddha's reply to an inquiry by a professional soldier, *yodhājīva*, if on being killed in battle while performing his duty as a warrior he will be reborn in heaven. The Buddha denies, informing his visitor that on that account he will rather end up in hell. The simple reason is that at the time of fighting the mind is full of desire to harm, kill and destroy, which will inevitably conduce to a hellish rebirth. Holding the wrong view that soldiers who die in battle will be reborn in heaven is another condition for a lower rebirth, conducive to a life in hell or in an animal realm. The same inquiry is posed again by a warrior specialized on riding an elephant and by one specialized on riding a horse in the two discourses that follow the *Yodhājīva Sutta* in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, only to receive the same reply by the Buddha (*S.* IV, 310).

The unequivocally clear stance taken in these three discourses against warfare is remarkable, as it leaves little scope for endorsing warfare or developing the concept of a holy war. The position taken in these discourses stands "in sharp opposition to the dominant view of the time, according to which it was the particular duty of a kṣatriya, a member of the warrior caste, to fight and, if at all possible, to die on the battlefield".[1]

The *Yodhājīva Sutta* thus expresses with particular clarity the implications of the first precept incumbent on any Buddhist – abstaining from killing – adherence to which would make participation in a war impossible.2 In fact, according to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* even in case of conscription a soldier is nevertheless guilty of killing, as is anyone who kills in self-defence or for the sake of defending others.3

The detailed treatment of the first precept in the *Sāleyyaka Sutta* indicates that adherence to this precept involves abstaining from killing, laying aside stick and sword, being conscientious, showing kindness, and dwelling full of compassion towards any living being, *pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti, nihitadaṇḍo nihitasattho lajjī dayāpanno sabbapāṇabhūtahitānukampī viharati* (*M.* I, 287). The principle that inspires such conduct is the maxim, "just as I am, so are these; just as these are, so am I; comparing oneself [with others in this way], one would not kill or cause to kill", *yathā ahaṃ tathā ete, yathā ete tathā ahaṃ, attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā, na haneyya na ghātaye* (*Sn.* 705).

For a monk or a nun, killing a human being will cause loss of their monastic status. This applies even in case of merely encouraging the act of killing, without directly participating in it (*Vin.* III, 71). Hence a Buddhist monastic who advocates war risks loosing the right to be reckoned a *bhikkhu* or a *bhikkunī*. The degree to which warfare was seen as censurable in early Buddhism can also be seen in other *Vinaya* regulations, which make it an offence to watch an army in combat or even just to witness an army review (*Vin.* IV, 105 and 107). The same disdain for warfare is also reflected in the circumstance that armies and battles are topics on which one should not even converse (*M.* III, 113).

To encourage others to kill involves a loss of ethical purity for a lay follower of Buddhism as well. This is so since to fully undertake the precept of abstaining from killing requires not only refraining oneself from such deeds, but also to discourage others from killing and to praise abstention from killing (*S.* V, 354). Only if undertaken in this way will the precept be kept entirely pure in all these three respects, *tikoṭiparisuddha*.

An *arahant*, then, is totally incapable of engaging in any killing (*D.* III, 133). Nevertheless, an *arahant* can also be reckoned a warrior, as is indeed the case in two *Yodhājīva Suttas* found in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and in their Chinese parallels (*A.* III, 89 and *A.* III, 93; *T.* II, 686c and *T.* II, 687b). Unlike the *Yodhājīva Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, these two discourses only refer to a warrior in the context of a simile. According to this simile, by destroying all unwholesome states an *arahant* is like a warrior who comes out of battle as a victor. That is, from the perspective of early Buddhism the true battle is to be fought within.

Yo sahassaṃ sahassena
saṅgāme mānuse jine,
ekañca jeyyam attānaṃ
sa ve saṅgāmajuttamo.
Though one may conquer a thousand men
For a thousand times in battle,
A far greater conquest
Would be to conquer oneself (*Dhp.* 103).

See also **WAR AND PEACE**

Anālayo

References

1 Zimmerman: "War", *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, New York 2004: 893; on justification of violence in ancient Indian texts cf. also Tola and Dragonetti: "Buddhism in face of justification of violence in ancient India", *Maha Bodhi*, 101.2, 1993: 41-50.

2 Harris: *Violence and Disruption in Society*, Kandy 1994: 46, comments that "to break this [first precept] intentionally is to risk serious kammic consequences. For the lay person, as for the monk, the approved line of action would seem to be advice and non-violent pressure or resistance towards those in a position to change violent structures" L.

3 Pradhan: *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu*, Orissa 1967: 243,8 and 240,19.

YOGA, from √*yuj*, stands for "yoking" or "being yoked" and thus can mean "application", in the sense of making an endeavour, or else "bondage". Occurrences of the term *yoga* in the early discourses fall into these two main categories, where *yoga* either assumes a positive sense as an application to something that should be undertaken, or else carries a negative sense as a form of bondage that needs to be overcome.

These two senses of the term *yoga* express a recurrent pattern in the teachings of early Buddhism, where the distinction between what is wholesome and what is unwholesome makes the crucial difference. Thus to 'yoke' oneself to wholesome qualities and actions is a central means for progress on the path and therefore something entirely commendable. But to be 'yoked' to something unwholesome is to fall prey to the influence of attachment and craving and hence should at all costs be avoided. The same two fold perspective also applies to terms such as desire, *chanda*, or even craving, *taṇhā*, which depending on the object they take can carry a positive or a negative sense. In the case of craving, a positive sense of the term occurs in one discourse where it represents a wholesome factor that leads to overcoming unwholesome forms of craving, *taṇhaṃ nissāya taṇhā pahātabbā* (*A.* II, 145, see also TAṆHĀ). While this is an exceptional case, as most occurrences of the term *taṇhā*, have negative implications, the term *yoga* frequently carries positive connotations. In what follows, these positive nuances of the term *yoga* will be examined, followed by surveying instances where the same term has negative implications.

Yoga as a Commendable Form of Application

Already "in the Vedic period the term '*yuj*' *yoga* was used in the sense of 'to yoke, or join or harness (horses)'. It is no doubt from this meaning that the term began to imply the act of fixing the mind upon an object".1 In a passage in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, yoga then stands for control of the senses and the calming of the mind.[2]

A verse in the *Theragāthā* brings out the positive connotations of the term *yoga* in early Buddhism, recommending that one should apply oneself to tranquility and insight at the proper time (*Th.* 584) Yoga will lead to wisdom, *yogā ve jāyati bhūri*, whereas lack of application will result in loss of wisdom, *ayogā bhūrisaṅkhayo* (*Dhp.* 282). Hence a factor that leads to progress is when a monk applies himself much, *yogabhulo* (*A.* III, 432); and even to recollect *yogis* of former time will be conducive to progress towards liberation (*Th.* 947).

The term *yoga* occurs not only in relation to meditating monks, but also in relation to monks who apply themselves predominantly to study of the teachings, *dhammayoga* (*A.* III, 355). In fact, yoga can even stand representative for a type of teaching or practice. This type of usage occurs in descriptions of how someone, due to following a different type of teaching, *aññatrayoga*, will be unable to understand the deeper aspects of the *Dhamma* (*M.* I, 487). Another usage in which the term has positive connotations is *yācayoga*, or perhaps *yājayoga*, the application of a noble disciple to charity (*S.* V, 351).

A recurrent expression in the early discourses is *yogo karaṇ ,yo*, which conveys that something should be done or undertaken. Thus a monk living in the forest should apply himself to the teaching and the discipline, as well as to higher stages of meditation (*M.*I, 472). Other occasions for such application are the development of insight into each of he links of dependent origination (*S.* II, 131), or into the four noble truths, *'idaṃ dukkhan'ti yogo karaṇ ,yo* (*S.*V, 415). When one lacks tranquility of the mind, *cetosamatha*, or deeper insight and higher wisdom, *adhipaññādhammavipassanā*, one should apply oneself to developing the lacking quality (*A.* II, 93). Once one possesses both, time has come to apply oneself to reaching the final goal, *āsavānaṃ khayāya yogo karaṇ ,yo*.

An expression with closely similar implication is *yogam āpajjati*, which often stands for application to living in seclusion (e.g *S.*IV, 80). The same expression acquires a negative sense when it stands for a monk who gets himself involved in the affairs of laity (e.g. *S.* III, 11), or in monastic affairs that should better be left to the elders in the community (*A.* IV, 24). A maxim that involves both positive and negative nuances of the term *yoga* can be found in the *Dhammapada*, according to which those who apply themselves to what one should not apply oneself to, and who do not apply themselves to what one should apply oneself to, thereby forsakes their own welfare, *ayoge yuñjam attānaṃ yogasamiñca ayojayaṃ atthaṃ hitvā* (*Dhp.* 209).

Yoga as a Reprehensible Form of Bondage

Altogether four types of bondage that should better be avoided are listed in the discourses. These comprise the bondage of sensuality, *kāmayoga*; the bondage of existence, *bhavayoga*; the bondage of views, *Diṭṭhiyoga*; and the bondage of ignorance, *avijjāyoga* (e.g. *D.* III, 230). These are forms of bondage since they bind beings to evil and unwholesome things and thereby result in future *dukkha* (*A.* II, 11). Hence these four types of *yoga* lead downwards, *hānabhāgiya*(*D.* III, 276). The state of bondage in these four cases comes about owing to not realizing the impermanent nature and disadvantage of sensual pleasures, of forms of existence, of views and of the six types of contact, whereby one falls prey to craving and attachment in regard to them (*A.*II,11). The remedy is to become aware of the arising and passing away of sensual pleasures etc., as well as of their advantage and disadvantage, and of the escape from them. The eightfold noble path is the way that leads beyond the four types of *yoga* (*S.*V, 59). By teaching this path, the Buddha leads many beings to freedom from *yoga* (*It.* 80).

A discourse in the *Itivuttaka* explains that the bondage of sensuality (elsewhere referred to as the bondage of the Evil One, cf. *D.* II, 274) is left behind with non-returning; whiles the bondage of existence will be overcome with full awakening (*It.* 95). Regarding the other two *yogas* not explicitly taken up in this discourse, the bondage of views would already be left behind with stream-entry, whereas to overcome the bondage of ignorance will also take place with full awakening, whereby all bondages will be left behind, *sabbayogehi vippamutta* (*S.* I, 213).

In addition to these four types of *yoga*, another perspective on *yoga* as a reprehensible form of bondage is based on a two-fold distinction between bondage to the human world, *mānusaka yoga*, and bondage to celestial worlds, *dibba yoga* (e.g. *Dhp.* 417 or *Sn.* 641). Both will be left behind with non-return (*S.*I, 35 and *S.*I, 60). Yet another type of *yoga* is the bondage of craving, *taṇhā yoga*. This comprises craving for sensuality, for existence and for nonexistence (*It.* 50), and will be overcome with full awakening.

Yogakkhema, the final Goad

Yogakkhema, liberation from all bondages, or more literally "safety" pr "pesace" frp, bondge, stands for full awakening. "In the Rgveda yogaksema means the security or safe possession of what has been acquired, the safe keeping of property, welfare, prosperity, substance, livelihood". In the early Buddhist usage of

the term. "the idea of welfare was then appliled to nibbana, of which the word is used as an epithet. This was then interpreted as 'freedom from bondage', i.e the things which tie creatures to samsara".[3]

An example for this usage is a Dhammapada verse, which identifies Nibbana as the supreme freedom from bondage, anuttara yogakkhema IDhp. 23), which at the sem time is supreme peace, Parama santi (Th.32). The same implications also underlie the formulation of the Buddha's pre-awakening quest for liberation, which was his noble quest for anuttara yogakkhema (*M.*I, 163).

A hindrance to attaining such supreme freedom from bondage is lazyness and recklessness ILt. 27), as well as infatuation with the members of the other sex (*A.* III, 68). Conceptual proliferation, papanca, is also an obstruction to reaching anuttara yogakkhema (A. III, 294); as well as being under the influence of the five hindrances (*Th.* 171). But a disciple endowed with various good qualities is capable ofbreaking through to anuttara yogakkhema , comparable to chicks that are able to hatch out if the eggs have been properly incubated (*M.*I,357).

While Mara is ayogakkhakhemakama, one who wishes beings to remain in bondage, the Buddha is one who desires their liberation, *yogakkhemakāma* (*M.* I, 118), an aspiration he had already in previous lives (*D.* III, 164). By supporting each other, the Buddha's lay disciples and his monastic disciples will progress towards this goal (*It.* 111).

Supreme freedom from bondage could come about through any of the five spheres of liberation , vimuttayatana (*A.* III, 21). That is, breakthrough to *anuttara yogakkhema* can happen when one listens to the teachings; or teaches them to others; or rhearses them; or reflects on them; or during meditation practice. The *Atthakanagara Sutta* llists altogether eleven ways that con be used to reach supreme freedom from bondage (M.I, 350). These are the development of insight into the implermanent and conditioned nature of the four *jhanans*, of the four brahmaviharas, or of the lower three immaterial attainments.[4]

The four *satipatthēnas* in particular are what leads a disciple in higher training to *anuttara yogakkhesma* (*S.* V, 145); out of which the practice of mindfulness of braeathing is especially singled out for the same purpose (*S.*V, 326). A whole range of meditation practices that can lead to great freedom from bondage, *mahatā yogakkhema*, can be found in the Bhojjanga Samyutta (S.V, 131). Supportive conditions for the progress of a disciple in higher training towards *anuttara yogakkhema* are wise or thorough attention, *yoniso manasikara*, (*It.* 9); dwelling in appropriate lodgings, association with good friends and developing the spiritual facultiles, *indriya*, (*M.* I, 477); as well as heedfulness in regard to the six types of contact (*S.* IV,125). Hence a teaching on detachment in regard to the objects of the senses is a *yogakkhemapariyaya*, an exposition on freedom from bondage (S.IV, 85).

Those who have reached the final goal are ultiumately free from bondage, *accantayogakkhemin* (*M.*I,251). They will dwell full ofdeep regard towards the Tathāgata and his teaching, being aware of the benefit they have attained through *anuttara yogakkhema* (S.V,234).

Hitvā mānusakam yogam
Dibbam yogam upaccagā
Sabbayogavisamyuttam
Tam aham brumi brāhmanam.
Having abandoned human bondage,
And gone beyond celestial bondage'
Released from any bondage,
Such a one I call a [true] Brahmin.

(*Dhp.* 417 or *Sn.* 641)

Analayo

References

1 Kumoi: "The Concept of Yoga in the Nikāyas", Bauddhavidyasudhajarag ,Swisstal-Odendorf 1997:407

2 Radhakrishnan: The Principle Upanisads, New York 1992:645: "This , they consider to be Yoga, the steady control of the senses", *tam yogam iti manyante,sthiram indriya-dhāranam* (2.3.110. Werner: Yoga and Indian Philosophy, Delhi 1977:93 and 111 explains that in its General usage in India, Yoga stands for "the conscious and directed activity of an individual Aspiring to ... knowledge or understanding of reality and of himself", thus "the most important element in Yoga... is its practical concern to prepare the individual for acquiring a direct experience of reality".

3 Norman: "Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism", Collected Papers, 4. Oxford 1993 :278-279.

4 The subcommentary (Burmese ed. II, 9) explains that the formations of the attainment of neither – perception – nor non-perception are too subtle for the development of insight (undertaken by a disciple), nevasññānasaññayatanadhammam sañkhārāvasesasukhumabhāvappattataya tattha'savakanam dukkaran'ti

YOGACARA. "Yoga Practice" or "those whose Practice is Yoga", refers to the practical yogic side of the second great school of Mahāyāna soteriology-cum philosophy –after Sūnyavāda –known as *Vijñānavāda*," Consciousness School" or *Cittramātravāda*, (*cittamātra*, alternatively *vijaptimātra*), "Mind Only School".[1] The Yogācāra School which arose in the early centuries of the common era, does not acknowledge the existence of any reality independent of consciousness. It does, however, posit a "supreme consciousness" which, according to texts that explicitly or implicitly equate *ālayavijñāna* with *tathāgatagarbha* , serves as kind of store consciousness from which derive both the person in a conventional sense and the world's phantasmagoric multifariousness. Through yoga and finally transforming the store consciousness (*ālayaparāvṛtti*)the truth-seeker (*yogin*, *yogācāra*) can become enlightened or awake to the level of absolute truth at which the illusory distinction between subject and object is eliminated and final emancipation is realized. In the following, first some passages from the Pāli canon are quoted that may illustrate early Buddhist preconditions for Yogācāra /Vijñānavāda thought.[2] Then an overview of the development of the Yogācāra School and its interaction with the Mādhyamikas and further developments outside India will be given.

There are sufficient places in the *nikāya/āgama* literature of early Buddhism that, being reminiscent of later Yogācāra thought, could have inspired the Vijñ ānavādins to their philosophy. Thus, one of the important terms in Mahayana Buddhism , "mental proliferation" (*papañca/prapañca*), already occurs at *M.I*, p.111f. (*Madhupiṇḍika Sutta*) in a context bringing out the fact that we do not know the world as it is. Instead, we have notions of it based on our perceptions. To everybody the world is the reflection of his/her consciousness. At *A*.II,p.48, the Buddha corroborates this fact, saying:"… in this very fathom-long body along with its perceptions and thoughts, I proclaim the world to be, likewise the origin of the world and the making of the world to end, likewise the practice going to the ending of the world".[3] The Yogācāra teaching of the world and of one's quasi – personality existing subjectively and of both being dependent on one's falsely, dualistically discriminating consciousness which is brought to an end at the level of absolute truth where the *yogin* realizes "supreme consciousness", is clearly anticipated in the *Kevaddhasutta* (*D*.I, p. 223):

"Where do earth, water, fire and air no footing find? Where are long and short, small and great, fair and foul- Where are 'name and form' wholly destroyed?" And the answer is: "Where consciousness is sign less, boundless, all -luminous, That's where earth, water, fire and air find no footing.

There both long and short… are wholly destroyed.

With the cessation of consciousness this is all destroyed."[4]

Apart from significant *nikāya /āgama* texts dealing with *Sūnyatā* and the *madhyamā prataipad*, the *Prajñ āpāramitā* discourses area the root texts of the Madhyamaka School, founded by *Nāgārjuna* (ca. 2[nd] A.C.) . Likewise, the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* [5] and the *Lankāvatārasūtra* can be considered the basic discourses of the Yogācāra School , preceding, by at least one century, Asaṅga, the founder of Vijñānavada proper (ca.4[th] – according to others 5[th] – century A.C.) , and Vasubandhu, the second great systematizer of the Mind Only School and, as tradition has it, the younger brother of Asaṅga. In both Yogācāra root texts [6] most of the school's key terms are already introduced such as 1) "ideas only" (*vijñaptimātra*, i.e. only ideas in the sense of "pictures or impressions in one's mind of what somebody or something is like");[7] 2). "store consciousness" (*ālayavijñāna*), [8]"containing "all the traces or impressions of the past actions and all good and bad future potentialities", storing all mental defilements and equally described as being 'luminous by nature", thus serving as a decisive hermeneutical term to underline (a) 'self' or 'soul' (*ātman*) and (b) the feasibility of effecting, through penetrative, releasing insight into the ultimate truth of "mind only", a "transformation" (*bījaparāvṛtti*) of one's karmic seeds causing the continuity of samsāra.

or more often referred to as "transformation of the store consciousness "(*ālayavijñāna parāvṛtti*), suggestive of *anālaya* in early Buddhism, being synonymous with Nirvāṇa) (See ĀLAYAVIJÑĀNA); (3) eight kinds of consciousness, viz. the six kinds-going back to early Buddhism- of *vijñāna* pertaining to sensory perception, the sixth being "mental consciousness", *manas*, the mental organ, also considered the seventh consciousness, through which false discrimination, self-conceit, self-centeredness and spiritual blindness (avidā) manifest themselves, and store consciousness as the eighth ; (4) three kinds of "nature" (*trisvabhāva*), *viz. i parikalpita* , imaginary nature characterized by erroneous attributions projected on to both 'internal' and 'external' phenomena (*dharma*), b) *paratantra*, relative nature referring to dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) and dependently arisen phenomena , and c) *pariniṣpanna*, absolute nature or ultimate reality whose realization culminates in Buddhahood. Later on these key terms were systematically expatiated upon first and foremost by Asaṅga (Maitreyya) and Vasubandhu either in Abhidharma –inspired long treatises or in mnemonic verses of extraordinary concision or in expositions commenting on such verses (See ASAṄGA, VASUBANDHU).

Similes in passages likes. *S*.III, p. 142 f. , by means of which the five aggregates are, respectively compared to foam bubbles, to a mirage, plantain-trunk and to *māyā*, deceit or magic, must have been conducive to the development of the mainstream Mahāyāna ontology of *māyāvāda*. According to this 'new sense of reality', further nurtured by the 'Pūrvaśailas' thesis (criticized at *Kv*., p. 621 (22. 218) that all phenomena exist for just one thought-instant (*ekacittakṣaṇa*), not only the aggregates are illusions but the whole of things or phenomena. It is in early mainstream Mahāyāna discourses such as the *Lokottaraparivarta* or *Dharmasaṃgīti* that *māyāvāda* is expanded into the teaching of *cittamātra*,[9] already known to the early Mādhyamikas not as a term of later Yogācāra idealism but of therapeutic philosophy to overcome false discrimination (*vikalpa*) and finally realize non-dual gnosis (*advayajñāna*) through *nirvikalpasamādhi*, meditation free of false discrimination. Just as in early Buddhism, apart from tranquility and insight meditation, rational analysis and argument had become one of the basic ingredients, similarly in the Mahāyāna schools besides *yoga* great store was set by epistemology and ontology so as to bolster up their soteriologies. The Mādhyamikas made use of their dialectics and teaching of two levels of truth (*satyadvaya*). To rid oneself of conceptual clinging to the world being like illusion , the conventional or relative truth has to be relied upon before, at the level of absolute truth, by gaining insight into the true meaning of the Middle Path, viz. by ridding oneself of 'ontological' extremes, one realizes final emancipation , the stilling of all mental proliferation (*prapañca*) or *vikalpa*. Ontologically speaking the Mādhyamikas neither confirm nor negate .Responding to the *satyadvaya* teaching, early Yogācāra considered the Mādhyamika interpretation of the *madhyamāpratipad* too negative and wanting in a positive ontology.

Yogācāra critique of Sūnyavāda, ascertainable through a reference in Bhāvaviveka, can be found, for instance, in Asanga's Bodhisattvabhmi. *Tattvārthapaṭala*.[10] What the whole critique is about is succinctly put at *Madhyāntavibhāga –Bhāṣya* I. 4, [11] viz. that which is unreal imagination is, nevertheless, not entirely unreal; for otherwise release from bondage or getting rid of mental defilements would make no sense. Moreover, in the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* it is stated that relative or dependent nature (*paratantra*) has two aspects: on the one hand it is unreal imagination (*parikalpita*) and on the other absolute reality (*pariniṣpanna*) .[12] Thus, that which is unreal, but not entirely unreal, is the *paratantrasvabhāva* thanks to which moral purification and emancipation are rendered possible. In this way, put in a nutshell, Yogācāra set forth the doctrine of *trisvabhāva*, claiming to supersede the Mādhyamikas' *satyadvaya* teaching.

In spite of the abovementioned passage at *Madhyāntavibhāga –Bhāṣya* I. 4 the philosophy –cum-soteriology of Asaṅga (Maitreya/Maitreyanātha) and Vasubandhu has been characterized as *nirākāravāda*, 'the teaching [that the objects of perception are] without an appearance ', i.e. absolutely unreal (*parikalpita*) . In a remarkable way Dignāga (ca. 480-540) and Dharmakirti (ca. 600-660) (See DINNĀGA, DHARMAKIRTI) further developed the Mind OnlySchool . Being both logicians and followers of Vijñānavāda, they held that what was later called *nirākāravāda* did not explain how real perception at the level of *paratantrasvabhāva* could contain an absolutely unreal object (*parikalpitasvabhāva*) or – in other words – how real perception according to *nirākāravāda* has no object. To cope with this paradox,

they introduced an altogether new epistemology into Yogācāra whose gist is that 'objects of sense' are no objects at all, but just products or parts of perception or cognition. So 'objects of sense' are just as real as perceptions and, furthermore, all perception of 'objects' is reducible to self-perception (*svasaṃvitti*). This new branch of Yogācāra was later called sākāravāda, 'the teaching [that perception/cognition invariably contains the objects produced by it; that it is always] accompanied by [internal] appearances [conditioning it].' Thus it says in Dignāga's *Ālambanaparīkṣā*, v. 6: "That which is cognizable [only] as the internal (subjective) appearance, appearing as if it were external, is the [so-called] object of cognition since it is both the latter's appearance and condition."[13]

Quoted in Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, (See Dwarikadas Shastri (ed.), *Tattvasaṃgraha* One of the presuppositions for this new *sākāravāda* epistemology seems to be the above-mentioned teaching of *ekacittakṣaṇa* ascribed to the Pūrvaśailas and Sautrāntikas. Thus, with reference to the theory of perception as propounded by Dharmakirti and his commentator Dharmottara it has been observed that, in view of the infinitesimal duration of phenomena, "what really is immediately perceived is not the external object but a copy or image of it imprinted on the consciousness... Perception of an external object is therefore only the perception of the idea believed to be a copy or picture of the same."[14] The Buddhist logicians' perception (*pratyakṣa*) none the less, is a means of authentic knowledge (*pramāṇa*), being free from conceptual constructions (*kalpanāpoḍha*). According to them, objective reality lies outside the mind and cannot directly be cognized by the mind due to its momentary character. Although "It is only the image or copy of it that is directly cognized," it is confirmed that "the supposed likeness of the percept, that is the idea in the mind, to the extra mental reality is to be regarded as the cause and warrant of its validity."[15]

The goal of the promulgators of *nirākāravāda* and *sākāravāda* is, of course, the same: *nirvikalpasamādhi* and *ālayaparāvṛtti*. Towards the achievement of this goal the *sākāravādins* introduced the concept of yogic perception (*yogijñāna*), *yogipratyakṣa*) free from all false discrimination and brought about through meditation. If everything is simply perception which does not depend on an external object, the question arises as to how lower and higher forms of perception can be distinguished. The *sākāravādin*'s answer is that there are different degrees of perception depending on its clarity. For perception to be authentic it must be supported by authoritative canonical texts/verbal testimony (*āgama*), by reason/logic (*yukti*) and meditative practice (*bhāvanā*). The highest perception or cognition to be realized is *yogipratyakṣa*, termed *spaṣṭa*, 'clear' and without mental proliferation (*avikalpaka*).

As for the subsequent interaction of Yogācāra with the Mādhyamikas, just a few outstanding philosophers-among many others-can be mentioned here whose works have partially been made accessible to us. Thus only recently Kambala's (6[th] century A.C.) Ālokamālā was published and translated.[16]

His work shows him to be a rather syncretistic philosopher-cum-poet aiming at assimilating Mādhyamaka to Yogācāra, defining the Middle Path being both *śūnya* and *vijñaptimātratā* and as standing for the ultimate non-duality of imaginary nature and relative nature, viz. *pariniṣpannasvabhāva*. Kambala did not subscribe to *sākāravāda* but wanted to propagate a 'progressive' *nirākāravāda* like Sthiramati, his contemporary and renowned commentator of key treatises of the Yogācāra School.

The most prominent critics of Yogācāra were Bhāvaviveka/Bhāvya (6[th] century), Candrakirti (ca 600-650 A.C.), Jñānagarbha (8[th] century) and Śāntideva (8[th] century). Bhāvaviveka, for instance, criticizes Yogācāra for attempting to interpret the *Prajñāpāramitā* discourses from the *trisvabhāva* perspective in contrast to Nāgārjuna's teaching of two levels of truth. Like Candrakīrti, Jñānagarbha and Śāntideva, he finds fault with the *sākāravādins*' notion -even in a provisional sense –of self-perception or cognition, cognizing itself (*svasaṃvitti*). The term *cittamātra* as used by the adherents of *māyāvāda*, as mentioned, is acceptable to *Bhāvaviveka*, according to which, conventionally speaking, the external world is created by consciousness (*citta*); yet this *citta*, importantly, is to be taken as *adravyasat*, as 'being without substantive own being'. The most frequently cited Mādhyamika critique of Yogācāra occurs in the ninth chapter of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* a specimen of which may be given here bearing on what the Mādhyamika considers an untenable teaching of *sākāravāda*, viz. that the external object is an illusion

whilst its likeness or appearing image is taken to be part of the perceiving mind that really exists: (16) "[Mādhyamika:] When according to you illusion itself does not exist, what is perceived? [Yogācāra :] It is that which appears to the mind itself, even though it (appearance) differs from reality.(17)[Mādhyamika:] If illusion is [the same as] the [perceiving] mind, then what is seen by what? The Protector of the World has certainly taught that mind does not perceive mind. (18a)Just as the blade of a sword does not cut itself, so [it is with] the mind."[17]

Finally, Mādhyamika- Yogācāra interaction reaches its climax with Sāntarakṣita's Yogācāra Madhyamaka synthesis. The ground for this enterprise was already prepared by Bhāvaviveka and Jñānagarbha who had assimilated the Yogācāra notions of imaginary nature and relative nature to 'false' and 'correct' relative truth (*mithyā* and *tathyasaṃvṛtisatya*), although they had not acknowledged, as said, even the provisional validity of self-perception posited by Dharmakirti. Sāntarakṣita(8th century) on the other hand, finalizes the synthesis of the two great Mahāyāna schools by identifying the concept of illuminating self-perception with *tathyasaṃvṛtisatya* . Sāntarakṣita's synthesis is backed up and restated by his disciple Kamalaśīla and by Haribhadra (later part of the 8th century). To all the above-mentioned authors of great renown extremely learned Sanskrit treatises are due whose final purpose though, it should be stressed, was a soteriological one, relevant to "Those whose Practice is Yoga".

To complete the sketch of the Yogācāra School, first Yogācāra in China will be outlined with its spread into Japan via Korea and, in conclusion, a few remarks will be made about Yogācāra in Tibet and areas under the influence of Tibetan Buddhism. Just as the authoritative translator of Mādhyamaka texts into Chinese was Kumārajīva (344-413 A.C.), it was Paramārtha (499-569) and, above all, Hsüan Tsang (ca.600-664)who translated the fundamental Yogācāra works into Chinese (See HSÜAN TSANG). In the context of the development of Yogācāra outside India the Fa-hsiang School must be mentioned, the Dharmalakṣaṇa or "Marks –of-Phenomena School", as a very important indigenous tradition continuing Indian Yogācāra in terms of *sākāravāda*. The fa-hsiang School was founded by Hsüan Tsang and his chief Disciple K'uei-chi (638-682) who further systematized the Dharmalakṣana teaching. The seminal magnum opus of the new school in China is Ch'eng wei-shih Lun (Taisho No. 1585), the *Vijñaptimātratasiddhiśāstra* or "treatise of the Proof of Ideation Only", compiled and translated by Hsüan Tsang. This *śāstra* is an elaborate exposition based on Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikāvijñaptikārikāḥ* and includes a synthesis of ten commentaries –*inter alia* those of Dharmapāla and Sthrimati – on Vasubandhu's "Thirty verses". The *śāstra* contains valuable, if recondite, doxographical items also throwing some light on the controversy ascribed to Sthrimati and Dharmapāla. On the basis of Hsüan Tsang's account and K'uei-chi's comments it can be maintained that Sthrimati was nirakaravadin criticized by Dharmapala, a staunch sakaravada supporter[18] and teacher of Śīlabhadra who, in 633 at Nālandā, expounded to Hsüan Tsang the *Yogācāra bhūmiśāstra* and other important texts. Another influential disciple of Hsüan Tsang was the Korean monk Wonch yuk (813-696) and eventually the Fa-hsiang traditon was transmitted to Korea where it thrived during the Silla (668-935) and Koryo dynasties (918-1392). The Dharmalakṣaṇa philosophy was also imported into Japan from China and Korea, succeeding as the Hossō School during the Nara period (710-784). Towards the end of the T'ang dynasty (10th century) the influence of Fa-hsiang Yogācāra declined in China, and so it did later on in Korea and Japan largely due to the fact that it had to face stiff competition with other East Asian schools of Buddhism. In all likelihood one particular reason for the Dharmalakṣaṇa School's decline even though its treatises continued to exert a considerable influence on the rival schools, is what has been interpreted as its denial that all sentient beings possess the Buddha nature and can eventually realize final emancipation. The interpretation concerns the category of persons called *icchantikas*, taken to mean "Those destitute of the Buddha nature" although, more literally, the term simply means "hedonists", confirmed by its Tibetan and Chinese translations. Since the late 19th century in a way Fa-shiang Yogācāra has been seeing a surprising revival thanks to the great interest taken in its teachings by Chinese philosophers and, ever since, likewise, notably Japanese scholars – together with leading Indian and Western specialists- have been doing a tremendous amount of research going a long way towards making accessible again original Yogācāra works.

The introduction of Yogācāra to Tibet in the 8th century is linked with Śāntarakṣita and his disciple Kamalaśīla, mentioned above with respect to Yogācāra Mādhyamaka synthesis. Among the earliest Buddhist missionaries in the Land of Snows both masters are the best-known. While Yogācāra never formed an independent school there as in India and East Asia, to its epistemology and ontology, nevertheless, all Tibetan schools have been giving their undivided attention. As the Tibetans embraced Buddhism rather late in comparison with its introduction to China, for their understanding of Yogācāra they drew on both Indian and Chinese sources over whose translation into Tibetan in general exceptional care was taken. A special feature observable until today with the Tibetan monastic communities is their cultivation of the art of debate and, consequently, in the course of regular and often heated debates the Mādhyamaka Yogācāra and *nirākāravāda* controversies of the days of Bhāvaviveka and Dhaarmapala are impressively kept alive.

Bhikkhu Pasādika

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1. On the difficulties of translating *vijñāna* and related terms in the Yogācāra context See Bruce Cameron Hall, "The Meaning of *Vijñapti* in Vasubandhu's Concept of Mind", in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* Vol. 9, No. 1(1986), pp. 7-23. As for *Vijñaptimātra*, see n. 7 below.
2. As for likely thematic precursors of *Vijñānavāda* found in the Pali canon, see Hans Wolfgang Schumann, *Handbuch des Buddhismus. Die zentralen Lehren: Ursprung und Gegenwart*, Munich, 2000,p. 204 ff.For further striking examples see ASAṄGA.
3. ... *imasmiṃ yeva byāmamatte kalebare saññimhi Samanake lokañca paññapemi...* For the English transl. see F.L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings* II (PTS). London , 1933, reprint 1982, p. 57.
4. *Kattha āpo ca paṭhavī tejo vāyo na gādhati? ... Viññāṇaṃ anidassanaṃ anantaṃ sabbato pabhaṃ... Ettha... uparujjhatīti.* See Maurice Walshse, Thus Have I Heard. The Long Discourses of the Buddha. London, 1987, p. 179 f. See also Konrad Meisig, :A translation of the Chinese Kevaddhasutta Together with the Critical Apparatus of the Pāli Text", in Freidrich Wilhelm (ed.), *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff*. Reinbek, 1996, pp. 195, 200.
5. See Étienne Lamotte , *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*. L'explication des mysteres. Louvain, Paris,1935, p.25; according to the editor and transl. of this discourse, the text was compiled during the 2nd century A.C. , and its final version was fixed at the beginning of the 3rd, being contemporaneous with the compilation of the most ancient parts of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*.
6. See SANDHINIRMOCANA SŪTRA and LANKĀVATĀRA SŪTRA
7. *Vijñapti* literally means 'notification', designating the functioning of sensory perception and cognition. Their functioning is taken to be a person's being notified of objects of sense. The Yogācāra term *Vijñaptimātra* indicates that on becoming conscious of an object of sense it is only this process of perceiving that obtains instead of an object 'outside' of one's being 'notified'. On *Vijñaptimātra (tā)* see Lambert Schmithausen's entry in J. Ritter *et al.* (ed.), *Historisches Worterbuch der Philosophie* Vol. II (U-V). Basle, 2001, pp. 1058-61.
8. Most probably an important prerequisite for the term store consciousness is Sautrāntikas' teaching of the existence of a refined consciousness as the basis of human existence and persisting throughout transmigration. This Sautrāntika notion of continuity of subtle consciousness, all the same, consists of an uninterrupted succession of composed (*saṃskṛta*) instants permanently subject to change (*anyathātva*). On these terms ascribed to the Sautrāntikas see André Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, Paris, 1955, p. 155 ff.
9. The following sketch of *cittamātra* in the course of Mādhyamika – Yogācāra interaction owes much to Christian Lindtner, , "Cittamātra in Indian *Mahāyāna until Kamalaśīla*", *in: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* XLI (1997), pp. 159-206), who again, has drawn, essentially, on works by Eckel , Frauwallner, Hattori, Ichigo, Kajiyama, Mimaki,Nagatomi,Schmithausen and others.
10. See Lindtner 1997, p. 170 f.
11. See Gadin M. Nagao ed., Tokyo, 1964, p. 19: abhūtaparikalpat *vaṃ siddhaṃ... na tathā sarvvathā 'bhāvāt/tat-kṣayn muktir iṣyate// anyatā na bandho na mokṣaḥ prasidhyed iti*...Interestingly, in his *Madhyantavibhāga* –

Tika Sthiramati criticizes the the Mādhyamika's *satyadvya* teaching, including that which is designated as 'conventional or worldly (*saṃvṛti*, lit.'covering')truth', by making use of- what we would call nowadays- a pun. Thus, according to Sthiramati, unreal imagination corresponding to *saṃvṛti* has also a positive aspect, viz. *saṃvṛti* (derived from the root *-vṛt*,'to be, exist, show, manifest'), by means of which absolute truth is manifested. See G.M. Nagao, *Mādhyamika and Yogācāra.* A Study of Mahayana Philosophies. New York, 1991, p. 16 f.

12. See E. Lamotte (ed., transl.), *La somme du grand vehiule d''Asanga.* Louvain-la-Neuve, 1973 Vol. I, p. 39, Vol. II,p.125 (Chapter II, 28). with *pañjikā* Vol. II, Varanasi, 1968, p. 710; *yad antarjñeya rūpaṃ tubahirvad avabhāsate /so'rtho vijñānarūpatvāt tatpratyayatayāpi ca//*

14. See Satkari Mookerjee, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux.* Calcutta, 1935, p. 338

15 Ibid. p. 339. See also Chandrasekhera Sastr (ed.), *The Nyāyabindu of Dharmakirti with the Commentary by Dharmottara* Varanasi, 1954, p.18f : *arthasārpyam asya pramāṇam/tadvaśād Arthapratitisiddher iti/* "The similarity [of the image] to the object is its (perception's/ cognition's) Means of authentic knowledge. By means of this [similarity] it makes for indisputable ascertainment of the object."

17. See Vidhusekhara Bhattacarya (ed.), *Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāndtideva* (Sanskrit text with Tibetan transl.) . Calcutta , 1960, IX, vv. 16-18a: *yad māyaiva te nāsti tadā kim upalabhyate/ cittasyaiva sa ākāro yady apy anyo 'stitattvataḥ// cittam eva yāda māyā tadā kiṃ kena dṛśyate/uktaṃ ca lokanāthena cittaṃ cittaṃ na paśyati// nacchi natti yathāmānam asidhārā tathā manaḥ/*

18. See Yuichi Kajiyama, "Controversy between the sākāra – and nirākāravādins of the Yogācāra choolsome materials ", in : Katsumi Mimaki *et al.* (eds.), *Y. Kajiyama, Studies in Buddhist Philosophy*, Kyoto, 1989, p. 396 ff.

YOGATANTRA See **TANTRIC BUDDHISM**

YONA is the Pāli equivalent for Ionian, a term that refers to an ancient Greek tribe with settlements mainly on the islands between Greece and Asia Minor, as well as in Attica and Anatolia. In its general usage, Yona or its Sanskrit equivalent Yavana seem to have served as umbrella terms for the Greeks in general, be these Ionians living in Asia Minor, mainland Greeks, "Greeks living in the Northwest of India ... and even, as in Tamil literature, ... merchants sailing to the harbours of South India. Later ... the name was used for all westerners, especially for Arabs".[1] The term as such appears to have been in use relatively early, as the Sanskrit form Yavana occurs in Pāṇini (4.1.49), and its Persian equivalent Yauna is found in an inscription of Darius I (522-486).[2]

In the Pāli canon, the Yona country is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as the region converted to Buddhism after the third council by Mahārakkhita, being also the country of origin of Dhammarakkhita (*Mhv.* verse 12.4-5).[3] The *Milindapañha* refers to Yona in relation to King Milinda, whom it presents as a native of the Yona district (*Mil.* 1, 82 and 83). Other instances can be found e.g. in the *Mahāniddesa* (*Nd.* I, 155 and 415), which speaks *Yona* and *Paramayona*; in the *Cullaniddesa* (*Nd.* II, 37: *Yonā*), and in the *Apadāna* (*Ap.* II, 358: *Yonaka*).

The term Yona occurs not only in such comparatively later texts, but already makes its appearance in an early discourse. This is the *Assalāyana Sutta* which, in agreement with its *Madhyama Āgama* parallel, specifies that among the Yonas a two-class society can be found, consisting of masters and slaves (*M.* II, 149 and *T.* I, 664a18).[4] Some scholars have suggested that here Yona refers to the Greek-Bactrian kingdom, based on which they conclude that this reference must have originated at a time shortly before Asoka.[5] Yet, a close look at ancient Greek history suggests that this need not be the case.

In the year 480 before the present era, the Persian king Xerxes had begun an invasion of mainland Greece. The Persian invasion was in revenge for the Greek support of a revolt by the Ionians (living in Asia Minor) against Persian dominion. For the purpose of this campaign, Xerxes mustered a staggeringly large army, among which there were also Indian contingents.[6] Under the leadership of the Spartan Leonidas, the outnumbered Greeks tried to resist the Persian attack at the pass of Thermophylae. Being informed by a traitor of a narrow by-pass, the Persians circumvented the Greek defenders and attacked them from the rear as well. In order to enable on orderly withdrawal of the Greek army, Leonidas remained with a small group to defend the pass of Thermophylae, heroically

resisting until the last man. The heroism of the Spartans made a great impression on the soldiers under Xerxe's command.

In view of this historical background, it would not be surprising if a report of valiant soldiers from a master-slave society in Greece should have been brought home by the Indian soldiers that had participated in Xerxe's campaign.[7] Since according to modern scholarship the teaching activities of the Buddha are probably best assigned to the second half of the fifth century,[8] by this time the tale of the heroic Spartans may well have reached the Ganges area. Notably, according to the *Assalāyana Sutta* and its *Madhyama Āgama* parallel the Buddha inquired from his visitor if the latter had already heard about, *sutan te?*, the master-slave society among the Yonas, (*M.* II. 149, with its Chinese counterpart in *T.* 1, 664a18). This gives the impression as if he was referring to something that was a relatively new piece of information. Hence there seems to be no need to assume that the reference to Yona in the *Assalāyana Sutta* is anachronistic. In fact, apparently "the term *Yona-* ... cannot be attributed to a direct contact with the Greeks", but instead seems to have been "taken over into Indian from the Old Persian form *Yauna-* some time about the end of the sixth century B.C.".[9] Thus "references to *yona*, etc., in the Pali canon need not be later interpolations, added after Alexander's campaign. They may well go back to the oldest layers of the canon".[10]

Anālayo

References

1 Karttunen: *India and the Hellenistic World*, Helsinki 1997: 316; cf. also Childers: *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, Madras 1993: 605; and Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Delhi 1998: 699.

2 Narain: *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford 1957: 165; cf. also Kent: *Old Persian*, New Haven 1953: 204 s.v. *Yauna*.

3 Cf. also *Dpv.* verse 8.7-9; on the location cf. Fussman: "L'Indo-Grece Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville Revisité", *Journal Asiatique*, 281, 1993: 70, and Lamotte: *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain 1988: 300.

4 A similarly worded reference is found in Aśoka's fifth rock edict, cf. Hultzsch: *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Oxford 1925: 191.

5 Cf. e.g. Bechert: *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Verssammlungen aus Zentralasiatischen Sanskrithandschriften*, Berlin 1961: 41 note 2; Lamotte: "La Critique d'Authenticité dans le Bouddhisme", *India Antiqua*, Leyden 1947: 217; or Winternitz: *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, 2, Stuttgart 1968: 40.

6 Herodot in his *Histories* 7.65 lists an Indian contingent in Xerxes' army, describing that they were clad in cotton and armed with reed bows and iron-tipped arrows.

7 Bühler: *On the Origin of the Indian Brahmī Alphabet*, Varanasi 1963: 27 note 1 comments that "it seems to me not wonderful that an author ... whose countrymen, the Gandhāras, had furnished a contingent for Xerxe's invasion of Greece, should mention the old Oriental name of the Greeks".

8 A collection of articles on the topic can be found in Bechert: *When did the Buddha live?*, Delhi 1995.

9 Töttössy: "The Name of the Greeks in Ancient India", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 3, 1955: 310-311.

10 Halbfass: "Early Indian References to the Greeks", in Bechert: *When did the Buddha live?*, Delhi 1995: 199.

YONAKADHAMMARAKKHITA: As indicated by the first part of the name, he appears to be a recruit to the Buddhist Saṅgha from the Yavana (Pāli- *Yona*) community of the Indian sub-continent. According to Sri Lankan Pāli chronicles, the *Mahāvaṃsa* (12.4) and the *Dīpavaṃsa* (8.7) and also the Pāli *Vinaya* commentary of Buddhaghosa (*VinA.* 1.67) he was the leader of the Buddhist mission sent by Arahant Moggalīputta Tissa, after the Third Buddhist Council, to Aparantaka, probably the extreme western region of India. Geiger[1] has identified the region with the 'western ends' (of India) comprising the territory of northern Gujarat, Kāthiāwar, Kachchh and Sind.(s.v. Aparantaka for more details regarding the identification). The Burmese Pāli chronicle, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, according to Hazra[2], takes Aparantaraṭṭha to be Sunāparanta of the Burmese, the region lying to the west of the Upper Irrawaddy. But Hazra regards this identification a late one. According to him Aparanta is identified by scholars with Northern Konkan with its capital at Surpāraka or

Suppāraka which is identified with Supārā or Sopārā in the Thana district in Bombay in western India. However this *Sasanavamsa* statement should be the result of a Burmese attempt at identifying Indian place names with various locations in Burma and other Buddhist countries in South East Asia.

Regarding the services of the Elder Yonakadhammarakkhita in Aparantaka, the *Mahavamsa* (12.34-36) states that the Elder, who was an expert in what is right and wrong, made the assembled 37,000 people to drink the ambrosial Dhamma by preaching the *Aggikkhandhopama Sutta*— Discourse on the Mass of fire—amidst the people. At this a thousand men and even a greater number of women from the Kṣastriya Clan alone left home and were ordained. The commentary, according to some manuscripts[3], gives the number of women ordained to be six thousand. But significantly, unlike in the case of the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka, the chronicle does not reveal the name of the *bhikkhuṇī* responsible for the ordination of women, for the Elder Dhammarakkhita could not have achieved this task without the services of a *bhikkhuṇī*.

The *Sammohavinodanī*, commentary to the *Vibhaṅga* of the Abhidhamma Pitaka (p.389; *SHB*.xxiii. 273) also refers to an Elder by the same name, Yonakadhammarakkhita, who lived in India and attracted students to himself from even foreign lands. A Buddhist monk named Punabbasukuṭum-bhikaputta Tissa of Sri Lanka went cross to India to study under him. Concluding his studies[L], the monk Tissa took leave of his teacher, and was on his way back to Sri Lanka, when at the sea port realized that he has doubts regarding a certain word and decided to cut short his journey and return immediately to his teacher. Walking back, a distance of one hundred leagues, he revealed his problem to a certain householder he met on the way. Quite pleased with the monk, the lay devotee presented him with a blanket worth a hundred thousand pieces of money. Back with his teacher he, in his turn, presented the blanket to him. The teacher, in his turn, cut up the blanket and made a seat cover with it. The Elder did this out of compassion for future generations who he thought would, considering the path followed by him, make an effort to follow a principled life as fellows of the noble life. Having cleared his doubt the monk Tissa returned home to Sri Lanka. Others later realized him to be a person free from attachment. Since he lived at a time when Buddhism was well established in Sri Lanka he could not be the same Yonkadhammarakkhita, the missionary monk who propagated Buddhism in Aparantaka.

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References

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2. Hazra, Kanai Lal, *History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 1982 p.59 *f.*
3. Tr. Jayawickrama, N.A., *Inception of Discipline and Vinaya-Nidāna* p.59;*VinA*.1.67.n.8

YONISO MANASIKĀRA stands for a form of "attention" that is "thorough" and "penetrative", and therefore also "wise". To explore the connotations of *yoniso manasikāra*, the present article will begin by examining the terms *yoniso* and *manasikāra* individually, followed by surveying passages that are of relevance to the implications of the expression *yoniso manasikāra*, and to its importance in the thought world of the Pāli canon.

Yoniso

The term *yoniso* derives from *yoni*, which stands for a "womb", a "matrix", or a "place of origin". Thus *yoniso* can convey the sense of doing something "thoroughly" or "penetratively", in the sense of going "down to its origins". The idea of doing something in a penetrative manner can be seen in a simile that describes how examining a lump of foam in a manner that is *yoniso* leads to the realization that this lump of foam is empty of any substance (*S.* III, 140). In the context of this simile, *yoniso* conveys the idea of penetrating through the outer surface of phenomena – in this case the surface of a lump of foam – and realizing the true nature of what is found beneath this surface.

The nuance of thoroughness, in the sense of doing something intensively, seems to be prominent in a description of someone who is stirred by the prospect of disease or death and thereon "thoroughly" endeavours, *saṃviggo yoniso padahati*, in order to progress on the path to liberation (*A.* II, 115).[1] Another example would be a verse, which proclaims that the

deathless can be attained even today by those who "thoroughly" apply themselves, *amatam ajjāpi ca labhanīyam idam, yo yoniso payuñjati* (*Thig.* 513). A monk who in this way "thoroughly" endeavours, will reach the destruction of - *dukkha*, *yoniso padaham bhikkhu, khayam dukkhassa pāpuṇe* (*It.* 10). The idea of thoroughness would also be relevant for an occurrence of *yoniso* in a verse that compares "thoroughly" restraining the mind to a mahout who controls an elephant, *cittam ... tad ajj'ahaṃ niggahessāmi yoniso, hatthippabhinnaṃ viya aṅkusaggaho* (*Dhp.* 326).

At times, *yoniso* can also convey the sense of "proper" or "appropriate". This meaning underlies a passage where a king finds out that the Buddhist monks make good use of robe material given to them, as once their robes become worn, they employ the cloth as mattress coverings, foot-wipers etc., and the shreds left over after such usage are kneaded with mud and used for construction work. This convinces the king that the monks make use of the cloth they receive in a "proper" manner, *yoniso upanenti* (*Vin.* II, 292). The nuance of appropriateness could also be relevant to a passage in the *Bhūmija Sutta*, according to which it is not beneficial to live the holy life in an "improper" manner, *ayoniso brahmacariyaṃ carati* (*M.* III, 138).

Besides the nuances of thoroughness and appropriateness, *yoniso* often conveys the idea of doing something in a "wise" manner. This sense of the term becomes particularly evident with a set of similes, where the opposite term *ayoniso* stands for doing something in an "unwise" or even "foolish" manner. One of these similes describes a woman wondering if the child she is pregnant with will be a male and thus become the heir to the family's wealth. In order to find out, she takes a knife and cuts open her own belly. As a result, she passes away together with the embryo. Such a way of acting is to seek for an inheritance in an "unwise" manner, like fools would do, *yathā taṃ bālā ... ayoniso dāyajjaṃ gavesanti* (*D.* II, 331). The same imagery of seeking for something in an unwise manner, *ayoniso*, recurs in another simile which describes how a group of villagers tries to find the sound of a trumpet by speaking to the trumpet, shaking it and hitting it (*D.* II, 337). A third instance of the same imagery involves making a fire. Here someone tries to kindle a fire by just chopping up the fire sticks, a rather "unwise" manner, *ayoniso*, of searching for fire (*D.* II, 341). These three similes employ *ayoniso* in a way that clearly suggests the nuance of "wisely" for the opposite term *yoniso*.

The meaning of "wisely" as a central implication of the qualification *yoniso* can be seen in several occurrences of the term itself. Thus to put questions in a way that is *yoniso*, or to answer them in such a way, is the hallmark of a wise person, a *paṇḍita* (*A.* I, 103). In contrast, one who is not capable of asking questions in such a manner will be reckoned a fool (*D.* I, 118). Another type of context involves "wisely" reflecting on the import of the teachings one has heard, *yoniso paccavekkhisaṃ* (*Thag.* 347). To investigate the teachings in a manner that is *yoniso* leads to purification and wisdom, *yoniso vicine dhammaṃ, evaṃ tattha visujjhati* (*S.* I, 34); *yoniso vicine dhammaṃ, paññāyatthaṃ vipassati* (*A.* IV, 3). Thus *yoniso* can qualify the type of wise mental investigation that leads to liberation, *vicinantiyā yoniso* (*Thig.* 85); or stand for wisely seeing with insight the true characteristics of reality, *aniccaṃ dukkan 'ti vipassa yoniso, suññaṃ anattā 'ti* (*Thag.* 1117).

In sum, then, *yoniso* in its early canonical usage conveys a sense of doing something "thoroughly", in an "appropriate" manner, and "wisely". These nuances cannot be neatly separated from each other and, even though at times one of these meanings may be more prominent, in other instances it would be difficult to decide on any of them. Thus the above selection of instances only intends to reflect the range of nuances conveyed by *yoniso*, without thereby implying that each occurrence has to necessarily correspond to only one of these three related meanings. An example for the convergence of these three nuances would be a verse that describes how a monk reached liberation after having practised in a *yoniso* manner, *yoniso paṭipajjitvā* (*Thag.* 158). His practice would have to have been "thorough", must have been "proper", and certainly was "wise".

Manasikāra

Translated literally, *manasi karoti* means to "do" or to "make" something "in the mind". Being one of the constituents of *nāma* (*M.* I, 53), *manasikāra* is an ever-present aspect of the mind.[2] As such, *manasikāra* lies at the origin of all experienced phenomena, *manasikārasambhavā sabbe dhammā* (*A.* IV, 339); since once attention arises, phenomena will arise, *manasikārasamudayā dhammānaṃ samudayo* (*S.* V, 184).

Given that *manasikāra* is present in all states of mind, the crucial question is: to what object and in what manner is this faculty of attention directed? If, for example, *manasikāra* focuses on the feature of physical beauty, lust will invade the mind, *subhanimittassa manasikārā rāgo cittaṃ anuddhaṃsessati* (*M.* I, 26). Or else, if *manasikāra* dwells on the bad qualities of another person, anger will arise (*A.* III, 187). Taking into account the need of avoiding the dire consequences of wrongly directed *manasikāra*, the Buddha would teach his disciples how attention should be directed, *evaṃ manasikarotha, mā evaṃ manasākattha* (*D.* I, 214). This "how" of directing attention, as one might well suspect from the thrust of the present article, should be *yoniso*, that is: "wise", "thorough" and "appropriate".

The implications of *yoniso manasikāra*

Yoniso manasikāra is thus a form of "attention" purposely directed in a manner that is "wise" and at the same time "thorough" and "appropriate".[3] A central task of *yoniso manasikāra*, in line with its nature as a form of attention that goes to the very origin of things,[4] is to explore the conditioned nature of phenomena. A case in point can be seen in the description of the process of mental development that preceded the awakening of Vipassī bodhisattva. His understanding of the dependent arising of each of the links of *paṭicca samuppāda* – old age and death, birth, etc. – took place through *yoniso manasikāra* (*D.* II, 31 or *S.* II, 5). *Yoniso manasikāra* performed the same role in relation to the awakening of other previous Buddhas, including Gotama Buddha, who similarly developed insight into the links of *paṭicca samuppāda* with the help of *yoniso manasikāra* (*S.* II, 9-10; See also *S.* II, 104).

In all these cases, *yoniso manasikāra* was instrumental in arousing the wisdom that led to realization, *yoniso manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo*. Since Buddhas awaken on their own, without being taught the way to liberation by others, the potential of *yoniso manasikāra* in preparing the ground for the arising of liberating insight can hardly be overestimated. That *yoniso manasikāra* performed a rather crucial role in relation to Gotama Buddha's attainment of supreme liberation is also reflected in another discourse, which highlights that the Buddha's awakening took place through *yoniso manasikāra* and through striving that was similarly directed in a *yoniso* manner, *yoniso manasikārā yoniso sammappadhānā anuttarā vimutti anuppattā* (*Vin.* I, 22 or *S.* I, 105).

The practical implications of *yoniso manasikāra* in relation to *paṭicca samuppāda* are spelled out in several discourses, which clarify that such wise and penetrative attention focuses on the specific conditionality of phenomena: "when this is, that comes to be, with the arising of this, that arises" etc., *imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti, imassa uppādā idam uppajjati* (e.g. *S.* II, 95).

Paṭicca samuppāda is, however, certainly not the only object of *yoniso manasikāra*, a mental quality which much rather is of relevance to the entire field of insight. *Yoniso manasikāra* directed to the impermanent nature of the five aggregates of clinging, in particular, has a considerable potential of leading to the destruction of lust and therewith to liberation (*S.* III, 52). It goes without saying that a similar outcome can also be attained if *yoniso manasikāra* is directed to the impermanent nature of the senses or their objects (*S.* IV, 142). Besides awareness of impermanence, the range of *yoniso manasikāra* also comprises giving attention to the five aggregates of clinging as something that is unsatisfactory, a disease, a tumour, a dart, a misery, an affliction, alien, disintegrating, empty and not-self (*S.* III, 167).

Yoniso manasikāra as a form of attention directed to the true nature of phenomena stands in direct contrast to *ayoniso manasikāra*, which according to the *Vibhaṅga* can be characterized as 'mis'-taking what is impermanent for permanent, *anicce 'niccan'ti ayoniso manasikāro*, or mistaking what is unsatisfactory for being satisfactory, what is not-self for being self, and what is not beautiful for being beautiful (*Vibh.* 373).

Cultivated in this way, *yoniso manasikāra* can become a powerful tool for de-conditioning the way to perception, *saññā*, misinterprets the world of experience. Such misinterpretations are traditionally listed as the *vipallāsas*, corresponding to the four types of *ayoniso manasikāra* listed in the *Vibhaṅga* passage above. The operational mechanism of such perceptual misinterpretations through *ayoniso manasikāra* is based on the very nature of *saññā*, whose task is to match information received through the sense doors with mental labels and concepts, leading to various associations and memories. Such

concepts and associations are only too often tinged by desire, aversion and delusion, being the outcome of habitual reactions under the influence of defilements. Such habits have been built up throughout the past and continue to be fortified in the present, whenever such reactions recur. Due to the influence of these habitual reactions and associations, whatever is experienced will be apprehended together with the subjective notions the mind projects onto the data of the senses. Both come together in an almost inextricable mix, and the perceiver is mostly unaware of the degree to which his or her experience is influenced by preconceived notions and thereby mirrors and confirms subjective prejudices.

Ayoniso manasikāra as a form of unwise and perhaps also somewhat 'superficial' attention perpetuates this state of affairs, where the falsification of data through *saññā* remains unquestioned. The remedy here is *yoniso manasikāra*, a wise and penetrative form of attention that goes beyond the superficial appearance of things in order to come to know their true nature, however much disappointing this may be. Continuous training in *yoniso manasikāra* will eventually change the way perception apprehends the world, whereby awareness of the true characteristics of reality will gradually become as ingrained in perceptual appraisal as the earlier habitual reactions.

In view of this potential, it comes as no surprise that *yoniso manasikāra* is a central condition for the arising of the awakening factors, just as its opposite *ayoniso manasikāra* is responsible for the arising of the hindrances (*S.* V, 94 and *S.* V, 84). The discourses express this by reckoning *yoniso manasikāra* the "nutriment", *āhāra*, for the awakening factors (*S.* V, 104). That is, "attention" that is "thorough" or "wise" quite literally "nourishes" the arising and establishment of those mental conditions that are directly responsible for awakening.

In particular, *yoniso manasikāra* directed to the distinction between what is wholesome and what is unwholesome nourishes the awakening factor of investigation-of-phenomena, *dhammavicaya*; *yoniso manasikāra* aimed at exertion and effort nourishes the awakening factor of energy; *yoniso manasikāra* in regard to tranquillity of body and mind nourishes the awakening factor of tranquillity; and *yoniso manasikāra* directed to the characteristic of tranquillity and collectedness of the mind nourishes the awakening factor of concentration (*S.* V, 104). In the case of the awakening factors of mindfulness, joy and equanimity, *yoniso manasikāra* should be aimed at whatever constitutes a basis for these awakening factors, their respective *sambojjhaṅgaṭṭhāniyā dhammā*.

Besides standing in a close relationship to the development of the awakening factors, *yoniso manasikāra* is also relevant for examining if the factors of awakening are well established in one's mind (*S.* V, 76), or if the mind of another is ripe for attaining any of the four levels of awakening (*D.* III, 107).

The imagery of providing a "nutriment" for certain mental qualities or factors also applies to the hindrances. Here *yoniso manasikāra* has the task of attending in such a way as to deprive the hindrances of nourishment. This takes place by directing *yoniso manasikāra* to the absence of beauty, to loving kindness, to exertion and effort, to peacefulness of the mind, and to the distinction between what is wholesome and what is unwholesome in order to "de-nourish", as it were, the hindrances of sensual desire, ill-will, sloth-and-torpor, restlessness-and-worry, and doubt (*S.* V, 105).

In a more general way, the task of *yoniso manasikāra* comprises overcoming all three roots of evil. By wisely and thoroughly attending to the absence of beauty, the root defilement of lust, *rāga*, will no longer arise in the mind. Attending to loving kindness with *yoniso manasikāra* will lead to overcoming the root defilement of anger, *dosa*; and by dint of simply developing *yoniso manasikāra* as such it will be possible to overcome delusion, *moha* (*A.* I, 200). It is notable that just *yoniso manasikāra* itself is the chief factor responsible for avoiding delusion, which further reinforces the importance of its role as a "wise" form of attention that leads to liberating insight.

A practical example of how one should deal with unwholesome mental qualities through *yoniso manasikāra* can be found in a discourse that describes a monk whose mind is full of thoughts related to sensuality, ill-will and harming. A *deva*, who has become aware of the monk's condition, admonishes him (*S.* I, 203). The *deva* tells the monk that his condition is due to *ayoniso manasikāra* and advises him that he should give up such unwise forms of thinking, *ayoniso paṭinissajja*. Instead, he should direct

his thoughts in a more appropriate manner, *yoniso anucintaya*. This he could do by recollecting his teacher, the teaching, the community, or his own virtue. Directing his thoughts in such a *yoniso* manner, joy will arise and lead him onwards on the path to liberation from *dukkha*.

A whole range of practical examples for *yoniso manasikāra* can be found in the *Sabbāsava Sutta*, whose exposition presents a series of activities that lead to overcoming the influxes. According to the introductory statement in this discourse, the destruction of the influxes requires knowing and seeing, and such knowing and seeing comes about through *yoniso manasikāra*. (*M*. I, 7). Thus *yoniso manasikāra* serves as a heading for all the methods listed in the *Sabbāsava Sutta*.

Of the altogether seven methods for overcoming the influxes listed in the *Sabbāsava Sutta*, the first requires developing a vision of the four noble truth. Such vision stands in contrast to unwisely attending, *ayoniso manasikāra*, to meaningless questions of the type "am I at present?" etc. (*M*. I, 8). The other six methods involve "reflecting wisely", *paṭisaṅkhā yoniso*, in order to: establish sense-restraint; properly use one's requisites; patiently endure vicissitudes of climate etc.; avoid dangerous situations such as encountering wild animals etc.; remove unwholesome thoughts from the mind; and develop the factors of awakening. The range of activities assembled here reflects the compass of *yoniso manasikāra*, which covers proper use of requisites just as much as developing the mental qualities required to experience awakening. Whether one is wisely reflecting that food should not be taken for amusement, but only in order to maintain the body, or whether the factors of awakening are developed in such a manner that the mind inclines towards cessation and letting go – all such activities fall under the heading of *yoniso manasikāra*, developed for the sake of removing the influxes.

The presentation given in the *Sabbāsava Sutta* shows that *yoniso manasikāra* can take place at a reflective conceptual level of the mind as well as during deep meditation. Several discourses show how a more reflective type of *yoniso manasikāra* can serve as a transition from hearing teachings to engaging in actual practice. Yet, *yoniso manasikāra* is also part of the practice itself, since it includes the wise form of attention that is present during deeper stages of insight contemplation.

The importance of *yoniso manasikāra*

The importance of *yoniso manasikāra* for progress on the path to liberation can be gauged from its appearance in several listings of the factors that are required for reaching stream-entry. A rather brief listing speaks of two main factors for arousing right view: the voice of another and *yoniso manasikāra* (*M*. I, 294 or *A*. I, 87). Elsewhere in the discourses, the same theme is treated in more detail by listing altogether four factors of stream-entry. These comprise association with superior human beings and listening to the proper teachings, followed by *yoniso manasikāra* and practice undertaken according to these teachings (e.g. *D*. III, 227). The listing clearly follows a temporal sequence, delineating the main steps that lead up to the attainment of stream-entry. The obvious and most basic requirement is to come in contact with a superior human being who transmits the type of proper teachings that, on being put into practice, lead to liberation. Another basic requirement is to be willing to listen to such teachings. Given that much, one needs to listen to the teachings without being mentally distracted, *avikkhittacitto dhammaṃ suṇāti*, in order to be able to develop single-minded *yoniso manasikāra* on such an occasion (*A*. III, 175).

Additional detail on this series of steps leading up to stream-entry can be gathered from some discourses, which depict a progression from listening to the proper teachings via the establishment of "faith" or "confidence", *saddhā*, to *yoniso manasikāra* (e.g. *A*. V, 115). The inner confidence or faith gained from listening to the proper teachings thus serves as a "nutriment" for *yoniso manasikāra*, since the inspiration developed in such way quite literally nourishes the development and maintainence of wise and thorough attention (*A*. V, 115). To be able to rouse such inspiration requires overcoming three adverse conditions: forgetfulness, thoughtlessness, and confusion (*A*. V, 145).

Once that much has been achieved, *yoniso manasikāra* plays its crucial role in bridging the transition from passive reception of the teachings to their active application. In this way, *yoniso manasikāra* can become the basis for overcoming sensuality and other unwholesome qualities; for

tranquillizing any gross type of activity by way of body, speech and mind; and for developing insight into what is wholesome and what is unwholesome (*D* II, 214).

The directional input provided by *yoniso manasikāra* for undertaking practice is comparable to the early morning dawn. Just as the early morning dawn is the harbinger of the rising of the sun, so *yoniso manasikāra* is the harbinger of the noble eightfold path (*S.* V, 31) and of the seven factors of awakening (*S.* V, 79). *Yoniso manasikāra* is of such importance in relation to these two sets, that some discourses declare no other mental quality to be more helpful for arousing the noble eightfold path (*S.* V, 35), or for developing the awakening factors (*S.* V, 101).

In short, all wholesome qualities have their root in *yoniso manasikāra* (*S.* V, 91), and the proper directional input given by *yoniso manasikāra* is the decisive factor for undertaking wholesome deeds (*A.* V, 87). Thus *yoniso manasikāra* is the factor par excellence for arousing wholesome qualities and for overcoming unwholesome qualities (*A.* I, 13), thereby leading to great benefit and ensuring the endurance of the teachings (*A.* I, 18). Besides, the development of *yoniso manasikāra* also constitutes a source of delight, joy and happiness, *yonisomanasikaroto pāmojjaṃ jāyati, pamuditassa pīti jāyati, pītimanassa ... sukhaṃ vedeti* (*D.* III, 288).

As a form of actual practice, *yoniso manasikāra* is of continuous relevance all the way from the first steps of practice to final liberation, a progressive development during which what initially was a form of reflection on teachings one has heard grows into a silent attention directed to the true nature of reality during deeper stages of meditation. As a form of attention present during deeper stages of insight, *yoniso manasikāra* directed to the impermanent, unsatisfactory and selfless nature of the five aggregates of clinging is a form of meditation practice that is relevant to the stage of a worldling as well as to an *arahant* (*S.* III, 167). That is, independent of what level of liberation someone may have already reached, *yoniso manasikāra* developed in this way constitutes the path to the next higher stage. For those who have completed the path, the fully awakened ones, *yoniso manasikāra* is still of continuous relevance, since it provides a pleasant abiding in the present moment and because it engenders mindfulness and clear comprehension.

The importance of *yoniso manasikāra* as a form of attention that leads to various stages of awakening is also reflected in the *Theragāthā*, where verses related to the attainment of liberation repeatedly indicate how on that occasion *yoniso manasikāra* arouse in the mind, *tato me manasikāro yoniso udapajjatha*. In such contexts, the task of *yoniso manasikāra* is to reveal the true nature of experience and thereby cause the arising of utter disenchantment. Examples are the verses of Nāgasamāla, who attained liberation when directing *yoniso manasikāra* to the vision of a dancing girl giving a performance (*Thag.* 269); Sundarasamudda, who faced temptation by a courtesan with *yoniso manasikāra* (*Thag.* 464); Candana, who maintained *yoniso manasikāra* when encountering his former wife (*Thag.* 301); Rājadatta, who kept to *yoniso manasikāra* when contemplating a corpse (*Thag.* 318); Bhagu, who was full of *yoniso manasikāra* after struggling to overcome torpor (*Thag.* 273); and Sappadāsa, who was saved from committing suicide by *yoniso manasikāra* (*Thag.* 409).

In the majority of these cases, *yoniso manasikāra* appears to be directed to the absence of beauty in particular, *asubha*, whereby not only the hindrance of sensual desire can be overcome, but even, as these instances show, the goal of final liberation can be won. But struggle with sensuality is clearly not the only occasion when *yoniso manasikāra* can unfold its awakening potential, as the above examples show that it can also serve its purpose when having to confront torpor or being under the influence of suicidal intentions.

In sum, then, *yoniso manasikāra* as a "wise" and at the same time "thorough" and "appropriate" type of attention has a remarkably broad scope within the context of early Buddhist mental training, ranging from attention given to the proper attitude towards food and similar requisites, or from attending single-mindedly to the oral delivery of teachings, all the way up to the penetrative type of attention that heralds the breakthrough to awakening. Given its range of applicability, *yoniso manasikāra* thus stands out as one of the key aspects of the early Buddhist path to liberation, a quality whose gradual development offers a substantial contribution to various aspects of the path to deliverance. In sum:

"Wise attention - this is one factor that conduces to distinction

Unwise attention - this is one factor that conduces to ruin".

Yoniso manasikāro - ayaṃ eko dhammo visesabhāgiyo.
Ayoniso manasikāro - ayaṃ eko dhammo hānabhāgiyo (*D.* III. 273).

Anālayo

References

1 Cf. also *It.* 30, which indicates that to be stirred and to thoroughly endeavour are two conditions that are a source of abundant happiness here and now, and that lead to the destruction of the influxes. According to *Dhs.* 234, these two – *saṃviggo* and *yoniso padhāna* – stand for the four aspects of right effort (i.e. preventing the arising of unwholesome states, removing arisen unwholesome states, arousing unarisen wholesome states, and strengthening arisen wholesome states).

2 The *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha* 2.2 expresses the same by reckoning *manasikāra* a *sabbacittasādhāraṇa*, a mental factor that is common to any state of mind.

3 Cf. also *DA.* II, 643, which glosses *yoniso manasikāra* as *upāyamanasikāra*.

4 The idea of attending to something in a penetrative manner, down to its very origins, can also be seen in a literal manner when Mahāmoggallāna directs *yoniso manasikāra* to his own body in order to find out what is afflicting his bowels (*M.* I, 332).

YUAN-CHUANG See **HSUAN TSANG**

YUGANADDHA SUTTA is the title of a discourse found among the Fours of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* II, 157). The *Yuganaddha Sutta* takes its title from the third of altogether four modes of arriving at awakening, described in this discourse. These four approaches are:

(1) insight preceded by tranquillity, *samathapubbaṅgama vipassanā*
(2) tranquillity preceded by insight, *vipassanāpubbaṅgama samatha*
(3) tranquillity and insight conjoined, *samathavipassana yuganaddha*
(4) (overcoming) restlessness in regard to the teachings, *dhamm'uddhacca*

Each of these four modes leads to the experience of the path, *maggo sañjāyati*, which the commentary explains to refer to the attainment of stream-entry, *paṭhamo lokuttaramaggo nibbattati* (*AA.* III, 142). Further development and practice of this path, *taṃ maggaṃ āsevati bhāveti bahulīkaroti* (*A.* II, 157), leads to the removal of the fetters and underlying tendencies. According to the introduction to the discourse, all those who have made declarations of final liberation in the presence of Ānanda, have done so following one or the other of these four approaches.

The importance of this exposition is reflected in the circumstance that the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* dedicates a whole chapter to it, which begins by quoting the entire discourse (*Ps.* II, 92). According to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*'s explanation, the first mode of developing insight preceded by tranquillity involves insight contemplation practised after previous establishment of a basis in meditative concentration. Such concentration stands for one-pointedness of the mind and absence of distraction, *cittassa ekaggatā avikkhepo samādhi*, whereas insight here refers to contemplating the three characteristics of *anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta* (*Ps.* II, 93).

The second mode of undertaking tranquillity preceded by insight then begins straightaway with contemplation of the three characteristics. This is followed by developing concentration through letting go, *vossagga*, perhaps as a result of the detachment brought about by insight (*Ps.* II, 96).

According to the commentary on the *Yuganaddha Sutta*, the third mode of practicing tranquillity and insight conjoined, *yuganaddha*, refers to insight practiced in alternation with the attainment of a *jhāna*. The commentary gives the example of attaining the first *jhāna*, emerging from it to contemplate its constituents, then attaining the second *jhāna*, then emerging from it to contemplate the constituents of the second *jhāna*, then attaining the third *jhāna*, etc. (*MA.* III, 142). The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* treats the *yuganaddha* mode of practice from altogether sixteen perspectives (*Ps.* II, 97). The basic point of its presentation seems to be to highlight the role of tranquillity and insight during the experience of the supramundane path, where the two are conjoined in the sense of converging on cessation, *nirodha*.

On reading the discourse itself, it remains uncertain if this is indeed its original implication. The third method of undertaking tranquillity and insight conjoined describes the experience and subsequent development of the path, *magga*, in exactly the same terms as in the two earlier cases, where *samatha* and *vipassanā* were practiced after each other. Since the formulation in these three cases is the same, one would expect that to undertake tranquillity and insight conjoined, *samathavipassana yuganaddha*, also stands for something that is developed previous to the experience of the supramundane path, in analogy to the other two cases of practising the two in sequence. The reference to further development and practice of this path in all three cases, *taṃ maggaṃ āsevati bhāveti bahulīkaroti*, suggests that here *magga* would not intend the moment of experiencing the supramundane only,[1] but have a more extended sense of a path of practice that is being developed over a period of time (which is in fact the connotation of *magga* in the early discourses).

A reference to tranquillity and insight practiced in conjunction can also be found in the *Mahāsaḷāyatana Sutta*. This discourse describes the development of insight in regard to sense experience, which then leads to developing the eightfold noble path and the other *bodhipakkhiya dhammas*. In this way, according to the *Mahāsaḷāyatana Sutta* tranquillity and insight proceed in conjunction, *tass' ime dve dhammā yuganandhā vattanti, samatho ca vipassanā ca* (*M.* III, 289). Though the commentary explains this to refer to the supramundane path (*MA.* V, 104), here, too, a more extended type of development may have been the original implication. These two perspectives are perhaps best understood as complementary. Thus the perspective on *yuganaddha* in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and in the commentary on the *Mahāsaḷāyatana Sutta* could be seen as highlighting the culmination point of a process of developing *samatha* and *vipassanā* in conjunction, a culmination point that would be the result of a previous meditative development that combines these two over a more or less extended period of time.

The description of the fourth method in the *Yuganaddha Sutta* speaks of restlessness in regard to the teachings, *dhamm'uddhacca* (See also UDDHACCAKUKKUCCA). According to the commentary and the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga*, this expression refers to the imperfections of insight, *vipassanupakkilesa* (*AA.* III, 143 and *Ps.* II, 100). Not understanding these to be an imperfection and failing to notice their impermanent nature then leads to the arising of restlessness. An alternative interpretation would be to take *dhamm'uddhacca* to stand for "mental distress brought on by eagerness to realize the Dhamma, a state of spiritual anxiety that sometimes can precipitate an instantaneous enlightenment experience",[2] such as apparently was the case with Bāhiya (*Ud.* 8).

Examples for the fourth mode of arriving at stream-entry, described in the *Yuganaddha Sutta*, could then be those occasions when someone attains stream-entry during a discourse given by the Buddha (see also SOTĀPATTI). In several such instances, as for example in the case of the stream-entry of the leper Suppabuddha (*Ud.* 49) or of hired killers that had the mission to murder the Buddha (*Vin.* II, 192), it can safely be assumed that the persons in question had not previously engaged in the systematic meditative development of *samatha* or *vipassanā*. The standard descriptions of stream-entry during a gradual discourse given by the Buddha regularly refer to the mind of the listener being free from the hindrances, *vinīvaraṇacitta* (e.g. *M.* I, 380). These could well be instances that fit the fourth case envisaged in the *Yuganaddha Sutta*, in the sense that the Buddha's skill at exposition was such that he could bring about what otherwise can only be achieved through the systematic development of *samatha* and *vipassanā*: a balanced state of mind that is able to break through to stream-entry due to having overcome the hindrances (and also any *uddhacca* related to the *Dhamma*) while hearing a penetrative exposition given by the Buddha.

Whatever may be the final word on the implications of the final two approaches described in the *Yuganaddha Sutta*, there can be no doubt that the point made in this discourse is that *samatha* and *vipassanā* can either precede or else follow each other. That is, this discourse does not provide any indication that one of the two invariably has to be practiced before the other is undertaken. Instead, each can be practiced first, or else both can be practiced together. In addition, there is also a possibility of attaining stream-entry without having developed either *samatha* or *vipassanā*. However, to reach the path with only one of the two, practised at the exclusion of the other, is a possibility not envisaged in this discourse at all. Moreover, once stream-entry has been

attained, both are needed for further progress (*M.* I, 294).

This provides an important perspective on the practice of *samatha* and its relation to the development of insight (See also VIMUTTI). The *Yuganaddha Sutta* indicates that *samatha* neither leads on its own to awakening, nor is it an absolute requisite that needs to be developed up to a certain degree before undertaking the development of insight (see also SAMATHA & VIPASSANĀ), nor can its development be completely neglected for the sake of insight. That is, the development of *samatha* is a necessary companion to the development of *vipassanā*, but the way in which this companion is related to the practice of insight is up to individual choice. Monoculture, however, should definitely be avoided, in order to ensure that tranquillity and insight perform their purpose of leading to final liberation.

Anālayo

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1 This is also recognized in the commentary *AA.* III, 143, which explains that the reference to development cannot intend only the supramundane path, *ekacittakkhaṇikamaggassa āsevanādini nāma n'atthi.*

2 Ñānaponika & Bodhi: *Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*, Delhi 2000: 295 note 69.

ZA A-HAN See **SAṂYUKTA ĀGAMA**

ZEN: Zen (*Ch'an* in Chinese) derives its name from the Sanskrit word '*dhyāna*' (trance, meditation) and is an important school of Buddhist thought in Japan. The origins of Zen date back to the long Indian tradition of Yoga, which Early Buddhism subsequently adopted as a basic practice. It is believed that the Buddha before the attainment of Enlightenment learnt yogic trances from Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta.[1] He is said to have practiced some breath-control (*ānāpānasati*)[2] in the course of trying different methods of meditation.

The transmission of meditation to China as a form of practice for the attainment of enlightenment has a long history. From the early phases of Buddhism in China, due perhaps to the fact that the Chinese found a close affinity between Indian methods of meditation and Taoist practices, a good number of books on meditation were transmitted through translators like An Shih-kao, a native of Parthia in Central Asia, who came in the mid-second century to Lo-yang, a thriving centre of cultural activities in China at that time. The interest shown to meditation by the Chinese continued and it was Kumārajīva (350-413) who, it is said, had been brought to China as a captive from Central Asia and with the help of his able disciples Seng-chao (384-414) and Tao-sheng (ca. 360-434) generated a further interest in meditation practices. Five varieties of Indian meditation are said to have been brought to China: 1) Breath control as a means of concentration; 2) Visualization of impurities, such as the decomposition of a corpse; 3) Visualization of compassion, extended towards all beings; 4) Visualization of the functioning of the law of cause and effect; and 5) *Nembutsu* (Chinese: *nien-fo*) visualization, utilizing Amida's image and chanting the *nembutsu* to attain purity of mind.[3]

Zen Buddhism, being a Mahāyāna school itself, shares features common to the other Mahāyāna schools of Buddhist thought. One such instance is the influence of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, the oldest of which can go back to the first century B.C.[4] The *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* uphold the religious experience in which both the emptiness of things and their thus-ness are comprehended simultaneously and in one. Ch'an Buddhism in China regarded itself as the legitimate heir of the wisdom of these literary texts. According to the legend, the *sūtras* containing such profound wisdom could not be comprehended by contemporaries and were hidden in the Serpent Palace until the time when they were brought forth by Nāgārjuna (2nd century), who is reckoned among the patriarchs of different schools of Buddhist thought including Zen as the most important link in the long chain of witnesses since Śākyamuni. The chief elements of this literature such as negativism, paradox, religious experience in intuitive cognition, the comprehension of things in the thus-ness – all flowed from the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* through Nāgārjuna into Zen. Hence the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, especially the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, are eagerly studied and recited in Zen monasteries.

Secondly, Buddhahood of all sentient beings is the central Mahāyānist doctrine, the identity of the

absolute state in Nirvāna and relative phenomenal world of samsāra, and the enlightened way of the Bodhisattva, who with wisdom (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karunā*), would lead beings caught in the cycle of rebirths to Buddhahood. All these ideas are found in the core of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. It also prefers the negative mode of expression, probably stemming from the philosophy of emptiness of all things. The doctrine of the *Avatamsaka* is a religious cosmotheism. Zen attitude to nature draws its nourishment from this cosmo-theistic view from this *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. The search for the fulfillment of one's own deepest being by fusion with nature prompts interaction with nature, and this is reflected in life in the Zen monastery which is immersed in nature. Zen art expresses reverence for the sanctity of the universe. The *Avatamsaka Sūtra*'s influence is felt and seen in different aspects of Japanese culture, especially in the appreciation of nature by the Japanese.

Perhaps Zen may owe its meditation in its worldly sense to the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra* which is another text that had some influence upon Zen Buddhism. Vimalakīrti, a layman but with a high degree of enlightenment, imparts the way of right meditation. Right meditation is concentration of mind even while one is engaged in worldly activities. In this context mindfulness of whatever one does holds the key to Zen meditation. This Sūtra also teaches non-duality through conversations between the Bodhisattva of Wisdom Mañjuśri and Vimalakīrti. When Mañjuśri expressed his view, "With regard to all things there is nothing to be said nor to be expressed, nor to be thought about them; they transcends all questioning and answering." But Vimalakīrti remained silent when asked about his view. The Bodhisattva Mañjuśri knowing Vimalakīrti's intention praised him saying, "Not to have any letters or words." The unity which transcends all contradictions is unspeakable. Non-duality is precisely the viewpoint of Zen. It is well known that this concept of 'non-duality' had influenced the swordsmanship in Japan. D.T.Suzuki cites an anecdote as follows: When Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336), a renowned swordsman and lord at that time, came to a Zen monastery before he was to meet an overwhelming army and asked the master, "When a man is at the parting of the ways between life and death, how should he behave?" The master answered, "Cut off your dualism, and let the one sword stand serenely by itself against the sky!"[5] This sword is neither the sword of death nor the sword of life. It is the sword from which this world of dualities issues.

Of all the scriptures of Buddhism which had influenced Zen thought in one way or another, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* may be regarded as one coming closest to Zen. The text consists primarily of a dialogue between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva Mahāmati. Their questions and answers exhibit irrational character, which fact reminds us of the Kōan in Zen, to show that reasoning is inadequate, and pure experience is the matter to be pursued. One of the controversies that divided Ch'an Buddhism in its history in China into two main streams of thought was on the question of whether enlightenment was instantaneous or gradual. Though this Sūtra has enlightenment as an important topic for dialogue between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva Mahāmati, it is not clear which side the Buddha takes when he says: "Sometimes instantaneously, sometimes by degrees."

In China, Zen Buddhism received some influences from its indigenous religions. D.T.Suzuki emphasizes that in its metaphysics Zen absorbed much of Taoist teachings modified by Buddhist speculations.[6] Heinrich Dumonlin also admits that the root for the striking inner kinship between the basic ideas of Buddhism and Taoism lies in the naturalistic apprehension of the world and of life which inspires the Mahāyāna sūtras as well as Chinese thinkers such as Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu.[7] Such affinity could be the result of a long history of Buddhism's interaction with Chinese culture dating back to the beginning of the Christian era. For instance, it is said that the Taoist concept of '*pên-wu*' (Primal Nothingness) prepared the way for the understanding of the Buddhist negativism of the Non-self, the Void and the nirvāna, while the Middle Way of Mahāyānist philosophy was prefigured in the teaching of Non-acting (*wu-wei*). Meditation, the forte of Zen Buddhism, is also not foreign to the Chinese. Taoism teaches ways of meditation and recommends the mastery of breathing as a means to spiritual concentration and longevity.

Traditionally Bodhidharma (died before 534 A.C.) (s.v.), legendary figure who hailed from India, is regarded as the founder of Ch'an Buddhism in China. Many legends around him have come down to us. His philosophy was the direct experience of enlightenment;

hence scriptural study was denied. The following stanza is ascribed to him:

A special tradition outside the scriptures;
No dependence upon words and letters;
Direct pointing at the soul of man;
Seeing into one's own nature, and the attainment of Buddhahood.*

He had a successor named Hui-k'o (s.v). One legend tells that Hui-k'o seated in the snow so earnest in his plea to become a disciple of Bodhidharma cut his arm and presented it to Bodhidharma who finally admitted him as his disciple.

The important development of Ch'an Buddhism in China was the split of the disciples into two main schools of thought, one headed by Shên-hsiu (died 706) and the other by Hui-nêng (638-713), both of whom were the disciples of the fifth patriarch Hung-jên. It is said that just before the master Hung-jên was to appoint his successor, although in the view of the peers Shên-hsiu, learned and able, deserved the succession, one day the master asked everyone to compose a stanza. Shên-hsiu at night wrote the following verse on the wall of the pillared hall of the monastery:

The body is the Bodhi tree,
The mind is like a clear mirror standing.
Take care to wipe it all the time,
Allow no grain of dust to cling.

Hui-nêng, who allegedly was a humble man with no literary background, heard of the verse and requested a fellow monk to inscribe the following verse on the wall:

The Bodhi is not like a tree,
The clear mirror is nowhere standing.
Fundamentally not one thing exists;
Where, then, is a grain of dust to cling?

The legend relates that the teacher Hung-jên secretly called Hui-nêng and conferred the patriarchal insignia upon him and advised him to immediately flee. The contrast between these two verses expresses the major differences between Northern and Southern Ch'an Buddhist thought. Shên-hsiu, regarded as the founder of the Northern school of Ch'an, and his followers considered the mind to be 'Originally Enlightened', hence the path to salvation lies in the internal reflection on the purity and pollution, sweeping the imperfections away like dusting a mirror, and allowing the true nature of 'Original Enlightenment' to awaken. This method is popularly known as 'Gradual Enlightenment,' since it entails two actions: firstly, wiping away false discriminative thought, and secondly, the awakening of 'Original Enlightenment.' Shên-hui, the disciple of Hui-nêng, and his colleagues vehemently opposed this view, saying that the mind is not a static entity and therefore cannot reside at any given point; hence it is futile to reflect the mind with the mind. Shên-hui taught direct penetration of the 'Originally Enlightened' mind. His method came to be known as 'Sudden Enlightenment' of the Southern school of Ch'an Buddhism in China. Shên-hui claimed his views to be totally derived from his master Hui-nêng.

The period covering about one and a half centuries from the death of Hui-nêng in 713 to the time of the Emperor Wu-tsung (845) under whom Buddhism was severely persecuted is generally regarded as the Golden Age of Chinese Ch'an. Among the many disciples of Hui-nêng, only two lines of transmission survived. Among them special mention must be made of Ma-tsu (707-786) whose line became instrumental in giving rise to the powerful Lin-chi (Jpn: Rinzai) school. He was the first to use 'shouting' known as 'ho' (Jpn. katsu) as a means to bring the disciple to enlightenment. This method later became famous by Lin-chi school.

After the Emperor Wu-tsung's great persecution in 845, the persecution inflicted upon all the Buddhist schools at the close of the T'ang period, maybe with the exception of Ch'an Buddhism. It is at this period and thereafter that the 'Five Houses' in the history of Ch'an came into being. However, all these 'Five Houses' were branched off from the two lines of transmission referred to above. (1) The earliest of the five was the Wei-yang (Jpn: Igyō) School founded by Ling-yu (771-853) in 806. This sect survived some one and a half centuries before it gradually emerged with the Lin-chi School. (2) Founded by Yün-men (d. 949) was the school named Yün-men (Jpn. Unmon). During the Sung dynasty this sect is said to have been as powerful as the Lin-chi School, but it completely disappeared in subsequent times. One of Yün-men's original contributions to Ch'an was the method of reply concerning enlightenment in a single word or a single character. This innovation is known in Zen

history as the 'pass of a single word.' (3) The third 'House' is known as Fa-yen (Hōgen) School. This school founded by Fa-yen (885-958) is a sect of lesser importance in terms of its influence in later periods and in fact disappeared quickly by mid-Sung period. (4) The Lin-chi (Jpn: Rinzai) School is perhaps the most important school among the 'Five Houses.' The founder Lin-chi (d. 867) was a man of great intelligence and the *Collected Sayings of Lin-chi* is regarded as one of the most important writings of the Zen sects. The rejection of formalistic practices of meditation reached its apex under Lin-chi who advocated the essence of Zen within the humblest human actions and said that ordinary activities of man were the manifestation of the Buddha-nature, the central philosophy common to practically every Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. This interpretation of the Buddha-nature paved the way for the assertion that the normal state of mind was the way to Enlightenment, and subsequently daily activities such as eating, sleeping, drinking, etc. became elevated to equal meditation. Although such a belief met with some criticism from different corners in China, it is understandably an important ingredient to be accepted as a common man's religion. (5) The last of the 'Five Houses' is the Ts'ao-tung (Jpn: Sōtō) School. The name of this sect comes from its two founders, Tung-shan (807-869) and Ts'ao-shan (840-901). This school became one of the two major currents in Chinese Ch'an along with the Lin-chi School, and both schools were introduced to Japan and played a dominant role there.

Generally speaking, Buddhism during the Sung period declined, though the emperors during this period were well disposed towards Buddhism. It is said that only the Ch'an sects withstood the decline. From the cultural point of view, the Sung period witnessed the emergence of various cultural activities despite its political instability. Ch'an Buddhism is said to have contributed to this greatly. Ch'an monks were in fact among the eminent painters of the period. The Ch'an spirit was so absorbed by the art of this period that even today Sung art can be regarded as the typical artistic expression of Ch'an.

Within the Lin-chi School in the seventh generation after Lin-chi there was a split into two branches: (1) the Huang-lung (Jpn: Oryū) Sect founded by Hui-nan (1002-1069) who resided on the mountain Huang-lung. This is the school which was subsequently brought to Japan by Eisai; and (2) the Yang-chi Sect founded by Fang-hui (996-1049) who resided on Mt. Yang-chi. With these two branches within the Lin-chi School, the Ch'an Buddhism in China was generally known as the 'Five Houses and Seven Schools,' which fact does not imply that they followed solid sectarian lines.

The rise of the Kōan (Chn: kung-an), one of the most important methods of penetrating into the true nature of things as they are, is associated with the names of Yüan-wu (1063-1135) and Ta-hui (1089-1163). 'Kō-an' means literally 'public notice' or 'public announcement.' In Zen, anecdotal events or utterances of the masters are given to the disciples as problems for practice. During the Sung period, such problems meant for methodical guidance to enlightenment were collected. There are two important kōan collections: (1) the *Pi-yen-lu* (Jpn: Hekiganroku – Blue Cliff Record), and (2) the *Wu-nen-kuan* (Jpn: Mumonkan). In all the number of koan is said to be 1,700. In almost all the kōan, the striking feature is the illogical or absurd act or word. Kōan is a method which leads to enlightenment but is not the enlightenment itself. The essence of Zen is the experience of seeing into one's nature and becoming a Buddha. The kōan is to stir the individual's inner reflections.

The transmission of Zen to Japan and establishment thereof owes to two eminent monks during the Kamakura Period (1185-1333), Eisai (1141-1215) and Dōgen (1200-1253). Eisai who first studied the Tendai teachings at Mt. Hiei went to China. But on his first journey to China about which time he came to know of the popularity of Zen Buddhism in China, it is said that he only brought back some T'ien T'ai scriptures. Upon his return to the Enryakuji temple, the headquarters of the Tendai School, he began to study the Tendai tradition of Zen. On his second journey to China, Eisai studied Lin-chi (Jpn: Rinzai) Zen of the Huang-lung School. In 1191 upon return from China, Eisai built the Hōonji temple, supposedly the first Zen temple in Japan. Apart from being the founder of the Rinzai School of Zen Buddhism in Japan, Eisai is known for his introduction of tea to Japan.

Dōgen, the transmitter of the Chinese Ts'ao-tung (Sōtō) School of Zen to Japan, was born in a Fujiwara family, aristocratic family at the time. Abandoning his lay life, he went to his mother's brother on Mt. Hiei, the Tendai headquarters, for advice. However,

becoming more disillusioned by the real life of monks on Mt. Hiei, he left the place and went to Kōin who happened to be a disciple of Hōnen (the founder of Jōdo School). It is believed that Kōin, realizing that Dōgen would not be satisfied with the Pure Land teachings, sent him to the Kenninji temple where he met Eisai. The question whether or not Dōgen met Eisai and studied under him is difficult to resolve, but according to the *Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki* (Records as I heard of the Treasury of Knowledge regarding the True Dharma), edited by Ejō, Dōgen repeatedly mentions the example of Eisai. Later he became a disciple of Myōzen with whom he left for China in 1223. In 1227 after a sojourn in China for four years, he returned to Japan, and immediately afterwards his first work called the *Fukan Zazengi* (General Teachings for the Promotion of Zazen), a summary of the essence of zazen (sitting meditation), was written. He first resided in Kyoto, but due perhaps to political turmoil he withdrew from the capital and went to reside at the Eiheiji temple built by a lay disciple of his, which was later to become the headquarters of the Sōtō School of Zen Buddhism.

Another notable Zen school in Japan is the Obaku School introduced by Ingen in 1654 during the Tokugawa regime. With the continuous visits of the Chinese monks to Japan, new writings and teachings also came to Japan. The three temples, namely, Kōfukuji, Fukusaji and Sōfukuji, all in Nagasaki, were the places where numerous Chinese monks came and stayed. During the stay of Yin-yüan (Jpn: Ingen, 1592-1673), Chinese Zen master, these three temples were incorporated into the Obaku sect. When moving to Kyoto, Ingen established a new temple near Kyoto, and the temple was known as Obakusan Mampukuji (Temple of Ten-thousand-fold Bliss on Mount Huang-po). The Obaku sect was noted in Japan for its distinct Chinese character, but it incorporated the practice of the *nembutsu* and even certain Tantric *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* which dominated the Chinese Zen after the Sung dynasty. The Obaku was officially recognized as an independent sect of Buddhism in 1876.

Zen exerted its influence upon Japanese culture. D.T.Suzuki, perhaps one of the best known exponents of Zen Buddhism in the West, summarizes contributions made by different Buddhist sects in Japan as follow: "The Tendai, the Shingon, and the Jōdo contributed greatly to imbue the Japanese with the spirit of Buddhism, and through their iconography to develop their artistic instincts for sculpture, color painting, architecture, textile fabrics, and metalwork."[9] He also writes that the Zen monasteries were almost exclusively the repositories of learning and art, at least during the Kamakura and the Muromachi eras; the aristocrats and the politically influential classes of Japan were patrons of Zen institutions and were willing to submit themselves to the discipline of Zen – Zen thus worked not only directly on the religious life of the Japanese but also most strongly on their general culture.[10] Takakusu also comments on general influence of Zen upon Japanese culture as follows: "When we see the Zen influence so conspicuously discernible in literature (poetry, short poems, etc.), drama (*Nō* ballad-drama), painting (monochrome, portraiture), architecture (temple-building, paper windows, tea houses), industrial arts (lacquer, etc.), and the social life (tea ceremony, vegetable cookery, flower arrangement, interior decoration), and at present in the educational training of Japan, the Zen ideas can be regarded as almost inseparable from the Japanese national life. Probably the national ideal of simplicity, purity and sincerity can find its expression most appropriately in the Zen practice of Buddhism."[11]

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8 See, *ibid*., p. 67

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10 *Op.cit.*

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ZENG-YIA-HAN or Tseng-i A-han the "collection of texts increasing by one", is the title of the counterpart to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* that has been preserved in Chinese translation as entry no. 125 in the Taishō edition (Nanjio no. 543). Judging from extant Sanskrit references, the corresponding Sanskrit term would be *Ekottarika Āgama*.[1]

The *Ekottarika Āgama* found at Taishō no. 125 carries a preface by Dao-an, according to which the translation was undertaken during the years 384/385 of the common era by Zhu Fo-nian,[2] based on an original recited by the Tocharian Dharmanandin (*T.* II, 549a14),[3] an original that appears to have been in a Prākrit.[4] There is some uncertainty in the records of translation activities about whether later on Gautama Saṅghadeva did a revision of this *Ekottarika Āgama* translation, or whether what is now found in the Taishō edition is a new translation made by him.

This is, in fact, what happened with the *Madhyama Āgama*, where an earlier *Madhyama Āgama* translation by Zhu Fo-nian and Dharmanandin was replaced by a new *Madhyama Āgama* translation by Gautama Saṅghadeva. A close inspection of the two collections extant in the Chinese canon shows, however, that the translation vocabulary found in *Madhyama Āgama* rendered into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva differs considerably from the terminology employed in *Ekottarika Āgama* discourses. These differences make it improbable that the two collections could stem from the same translator.[5]

Another uncertainty regarding this *Ekottarika Āgama* collection is the school that transmitted the original used for translation. Bareau refers to the introductory section of this collection in support of assigning it to the Mahāsāṃghika tradition, though unfortunately he does not offer further specifications.[6] Thus a short survey of instances from this introductory section that seem relevant to the question of school affiliation may help to shed light on this issue.

After an expression of homage to the Buddha and his senior disciples, this introductory section gives a brief description of the first council. It reports that when Ānanda was asked to recite the discourses, he at first did not accept this invitation, apparently feeling that this role should better be taken by another monk (*T.* II, 549b29). This detail is also mentioned in the account of the first council in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (*T.* XXII, 491b24), while the other Vinayas do not mention any hesitation by Ānanda.[7]

The same account of the first council also mentions the presence of various gods and describes how, once Ānanda had concluded his recital of the discourses, the earth shook in approval and a rain of divine flowers set in (*T.* II, 550c). Similar elements can be found in the *Mahāvastu*, a work of the Lokottaravāda Mahāsāṃghika, which also reports the presence of gods, the shaking of the earth and a rain of heavenly flowers at the conclusion of the first council (*Mhvu.* I, 71).

Another relevant aspect of the introduction to the *Ekottarika Āgama* could be its suggestion that, in case the location of a discourse has been forgotten, it should simply be allocated to Śrāvastī (*T.* II, 550b13). A similar injunction to freely supply a location in case of loss of memory is also found in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (*T.* XXII, 497a6) and in the (Mūla)-sarvāstivāda Vinaya (*T.* XXIV, 328c15 and 575b29).[8]

Yet another relevant detail occurs in a brief account of the tale of King Ma(k)hādeva, found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika Āgama*. The tale itself is preceded by a reference to the three former Buddhas Kāśyapa, Krakucchanda and Kanakamuni (*T.* II, 551c10). While a reference to former Buddhas is absent from the other versions of the Mahādeva tale, such a reference can be found in the different versions of the tale of Ghaṭikāra. Notably, of these different versions only the *Mahāvastu* account brings in these three former Buddhas (*Mhvu.* I, 318), whereas the Pāli and *Madhyama Āgama* versions only mention a single former Buddha, Kāśyapa (*M.* II, 45 and *T.* I, 499a16).[9]

Hence the reference to three past Buddhas instead of one, the injunction to freely supply a location to a discourse when this has been forgotten, the manifestation of an earthquake and heavenly flowers at the conclusion of the first council, and Ānanda's initial hesitation to take on the role of reciting the discourses at the first council are elements in the introduction to the *Ekottarika Āgama* that would support associating it with the Mahāsāṃghika tradition.

A problem with such an identification, however, would be that the same introduction to the *Ekottarika Āgama* lists the four *Āgamas* in the sequence *Ekottarika, Madhyama, Dīrgha, Saṃyukta* (*T.* II, 549c28), whereas the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya adopts the sequence *Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta, Ekottarika* (*T.* XXII, 491c16). Moreover, the introduction to the *Ekottarika Āgama* indicates that the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* contains *Mahāyāna* scriptures (*T.* II, 550c10), whereas according to the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* assembles sayings by arhants and Pratyekabuddhas (*T.* XXII, 491c20). Besides, it remains uncertain to what degree the introductory section should be treated as an integral part of the *Ekottarika Āgama*, hence conclusions on the school affiliation of the introduction may not necessarily hold true for the whole *Āgama* collection.

In fact, a discourse in the *Ekottarika Āgama* lists altogether two-hundred-fifty *prātimokṣa* precepts (*T.* II, 787b10), whereas the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya contains a lesser number of rules.[10] Moreover, discourses in the *Ekottarika Āgama* employ the twelve-fold listing of *aṅgas*, whereas the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya adopts the nine-fold listing (*T.* XXII, 227b25).[11]

Regarding these objections, the argument based on the sequence of listing the four *Āgamas* loses some of its force since such consistency is also absent elsewhere. Thus the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya (*T.* XXII 968b15) lists discourses in a sequence that does not accord with the actual order found in the *Dīrgha Āgama* preserved in Chinese translation, even though this collection does seem to stem from the Dharmaguptaka tradition.[12] As far as the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* is concerned, the compass and content of this collection appear to have been fluctuating to a great extent, something that holds true also for its counterpart in the Pāli tradition, the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.[13]

Regarding the count of *prātimokṣa* rules, some degree of lack of consistency can also be found elsewhere. Thus the *Saṃyukta Āgama*, generally held to be from the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda tradition, speaks of "over two-hundred-fifty" rules (*T.* II, 210b14; 210c14; and 212c11), which exceeds the number of rules found in the Chinese translation of the (Mūla-) sarvāstivāda Vinaya.[14] Pāli discourses just speak of "over one-hundred-and-fifty rules" (*A.* I, 230 and 231), a count that seems to reflect a stage in the promulgation of rules considerably earlier than the final count of precepts in the Theravāda Vinaya.[15]

Finally, the twelve-fold listing of *aṅgas* may well have developed out of the earlier nine-fold listing. Thus it could be that the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya brought by the pilgrim Fa-xian from Pāṭaliputra has preserved an earlier stage of this listing, whereas the *Ekottarika Āgama* collection that the Tocharian Dharmanandin had memorized could reflect a later stage of development.[16]

In sum, then, though the introduction to the *Ekottarika Āgama* furnishes some arguments in favour of attributing this collection to the Mahāsāṃghika school, an attribution that in fact seems to be the one most commonly proposed in scholarly circles,[17] there are a number of counter-indications. As neither the arguments in favour of a Mahāsāṃghika affiliation nor the counter-indications seem conclusive, the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika Āgama* is probably best considered as still to be determined.

What can safely be said about the *Ekottarika Āgama*, however, is that it contains a fair number of Mahāyāna ideas. Thus one *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse reports how Maitreya inquires from the

Buddha about the six perfections (*T.* II, 645b1). Two discourses present cultivating the bodhicitta in those who have not yet cultivated it as something that necessarily accompanies the appearance of a Tathāgata (*T.* II, 699a7 and *T.* II, 703b18). Other discourses reflect the three *yāna* conception, distinguishing between the path of an arhant, the path of a Pratyekabuddha and the path of a Samyaksambuddha (e.g. *T.* II, 751a18 or *T.* II, 757a14).18 In a particularly telling passage, the Buddha discloses four of his qualities which "the Hīnayānists cannot understand" (*T.* II, 640a5).[19]

Other discourses in the *Ekottarika Āgama* show the degree to which this collection has incorporated various legends and tales, some of which have their counterparts in later texts of the Pāli tradition. One such tale describes how the nun Utpalavarṇā transformed herself into a wheel-turning king in order to be the first to receive the Buddha on his return from a sojourn in the heaven of the Thirty-three (*T.* II, 707c8). The commentary to the *Dhammapada* contains a simpler version of this story, not related to the Buddha's descent from the heaven of the Thirty-three. According to the *Dhammapada* commentary, Uppalavaṇṇa only suggested to the Buddha that she could perform such a miracle, which the Buddha, however, did not sanction (*DhpA.* III, 211). Another *Ekottarika Āgama* story with a counterpart in Pāli commentarial literature is the tale of the massacre of the Śākyans and the destruction of their capital by the successor of King Pasenadi (*T.* II, 692a15 and *DhpA.* I, 359 or *Jā.* IV, 152). The remarkable passing away of Mahāprajāpati Gautamī is also recorded in a discourse in the *Ekottarika Āgama* (*T.* II, 822a10), an account that has a Pāli counterpart in the Apadāna (*Ap.* 540).

Another *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse records the former Buddha Dīpaṃkara's prediction of Śākyamuni's future attainment of Buddhahood (*T.* II, 758b26), a story which in the Pāli tradition has its counterpart in the *Buddhavaṃsa* (*Buv.* 9). The same *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse even traces the former existences of Śākyamuni Buddha further into the past, reporting that at the time when Dīpaṃkara received his prediction, the future Śākyamuni Buddha was a princess (*T.* II, 758c4). This tale has a parallel in an apocryphal *Jātaka* collection in Pāli.[20]

Yet another *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse reports that, during the lifetime of Śākyamuni Buddha, a statue was made in his likeness at the request of a contemporary king (*T.* II, 706a12).[21] Since archaeological findings demonstrate that the early stages of Buddhist art were restricted to symbolic representations of the Buddha and the idea of depicting the Buddha in sculpture or painting arose only at a later time, this passage must be considerably later than the Mauryan period.

Thus the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika Āgama* appears to have remained open to later elements to a remarkable degree. How far these later elements were already part of the Indic original of the *Ekottarika Āgama*, however, remains open to question. Notably, the *Ekottarika Āgama* has a version of the legend of *arhants* who, instead of passing away, remain as protectors of the Dharma (*T.* II, 787c2). A nearly identical version of this legend, except for a few variants, can be found elsewhere in the Taishō edition (*T.* XIV, 421a6), attributed to Dharmarakṣa, whose translation activities took place considerably earlier than Dharmanandin's translation of the *Ekottarika Āgama*. Another similar case is a tale of the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika, who married into a household without faith in the Buddha. The *Ekottarika Āgama* presents this tale in the same way as found in a translation attributed to Zhi Qian (*T.* II, 660a1 and *T.* II, 837c12), a translator active over a century before Dharmanandin.[22] Though the identification of the translators of these two texts paralleling parts of the *Ekottarika Āgama* needs further corroboration, nevertheless, these two cases give the impression as if some material could have been incorporated in the *Ekottarika Āgama* translation that was not part of its Indic original. This would explain the rather heterogeneous nature of the *Ekottarika Āgama* collection and clarify why it contains late elements not found in the other *Āgamas* or in the Pāli *Nikāyas*.

Lamotte draws attention to another characteristic feature of the *Ekottarika Āgama*, where at times a single text combines material that appears to stem from originally different discourses.[23] An example for this pattern is an *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse that reports how a monk publicly refused to obey the Buddha's instruction to eat a single meal per day (*T.* II, 800c2), thereby paralleling the *Bhaddāli Sutta* and its *Madhyama Āgama* counterpart (*M.* I, 437 and *T.* I, 746b27). The same *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse continues, however, by describing how the sight of another monk who went begging during a stormy night

caused fear to a woman (*T.* II, 800c8), an event described in the *Laṭukikopama Sutta* and its *Madhyama Āgama* parallel (*M.* I, 448 and *T.* I, 741b9). After relating this event, the *Ekottarika Āgama* discourse returns to events related to the monk who refused to eat only a single meal per day, thereby again paralleling the *Bhaddāli Sutta* and its *Madhyama Āgama* counterpart. That the present case is indeed a conflation of two originally separate events can be seen in a sentence which begins by addressing an exhortation to develop contentment to the monk unwilling to eat a single meal, but ends by telling the monk who went begging on a stormy night to train himself in this way (*T.* II, 801c5).

On the other hand, however, the *Ekottarika Āgama* also preserves several discourses that appear to be very early, at times even offering what might be closer to the original than their Pāli counterpart. An example could be the *Ekottarika Āgama* parallel to the *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta*. The Pāli version presents the ability to reply to questions about *Abhidhamma* without faltering as a characteristic quality of Mahāmoggallāna (*M.* I, 214). Yet, other Pāli discourses regularly associate Mahāmoggallāna with the ability to exercise supernormal powers (e.g. *A.* I, 23). The *Ekottarika Āgama* parallel to the *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta* indeed reckons the exercise of supernormal powers to be characteristic of Mahāmoggallāna/Mahāmaudgalyāyana (*T.* II, 711a18). The same is also the case with a *Madhyama Āgama* parallel to this discourse, which moreover associates the ability to discuss *Abhidhamma* with another disciple, Mahākaccāna/Mahākātyāyana (*T.* I, 727b23). As Mahākaccāna is not mentioned at all in the *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta*, it seems as if during the course of oral transmission the Pāli version lost a reference to his presence, and what was originally his statement ended up in the mouth of Mahāmoggallāna. Thus, in this case it seems highly probable that the *Ekottarika Āgama* version, together with the *Madhyama Āgama* version, preserves a more original reading than their Pāli counterpart.[24]

In sum, then, the *Ekottarika Āgama* preserved in Chinese translation is a text with rather complex features, combining some material that could be relatively early with other texts that clearly reflect later developments. Thus it is no wonder that the *Ekottarika Āgama* differs from its Pāli counterpart to a considerable degree, exceeding the degree of difference that can be found between other *Āgamas* and their Pāli Nikāya counterparts. Though the *Ekottarika Āgama* adopts the same structural principle of collecting discourses in a numerically ascending order from Ones to Elevens, more than half of its discourses have no counterpart in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. While the degree to which the *Ekottarika Āgama* has remained open to later additions during the course of its transmission makes it a less reliable witness for early Buddhism, at the same time this collection is a particularly rich source of information on the development of Buddhist thought and narrative literature, in particular in relation to the early stages of development of Mahāyāna thought.

In addition to the *Ekottarika Āgama* found as Taishō no. 125, parts of another *Ekottarika Āgama* collection were translated into Chinese by An Shi-gao during the second century of the common era, a translation now found in the Taishō edition as entry no. 150A (covering one fascicle). Besides the material found in the Chinese canon, Sanskrit fragments discovered in Gilgit have brought to light parts of the Ones and Twos of an *Ekottarika Āgama*. This collection, which could be of (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda provenance,[25] shows closer similarities to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* than the *Ekottarika Āgama* preserved in Chinese (*T.* no. 125). A number of *Ekottarika Āgama* fragments have also been preserved among the fragment findings from Central Asia,[26] and a commentary by Śamathadeva on the *Abhidharmakośa* contains some *Ekottarika Āgama* extracts in Tibetan.[27]

See also ĀGAMA

Anālayo

References

1 Allon: *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama Type Sūtras*, Seattle 2001: 11 lists occurrences in the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda Vinaya (*GM.* I, 45,19), the *Divyāvadāna* (*Divy.* 329,2+6), the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Mhvyut* § 1421 p. 109), and the *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* (*Kvbh.* 153,11; 157,9 and 167,2). The alternative expression *Ekottara Āgama*, in contrast, appears not to be attested (SHT VI 1386 aA1 has preserved *ekotta(r)[i]*, so that in this case the reading remains uncertain).

2 However, Dao-an's introduction speaks of only forty-one fascicles (*T.* II, 549a15), whereas the extant translation consists of fifty-one fascicles.

3 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

4 Waldschmidt: "Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas", *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980: 137.

5 Nattier: "'One Vehicle' in the Chinese Āgamas: New Light on an Old Problem in Pāli", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 2007: 196 note 48 explains that "the differences between the two texts are too great to be explained simply by positing that the translator changed his mind over the course of time, or even that the differences are due to the input of different translation committees". For arguments in favour of attributing *T.* 125 to Saṅghadeva cf. Demiéville: "La Yogācārabhūmi de Saṅgharakṣa", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 44.2, 1954: 374.

6 Bareau: *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Paris 1955: 55 and 57.

7 Cf. the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, *T.* XXII, 968b13; the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, *T.* XXII, 191a17; the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda Vinaya, *T.* XXIV, 406a28; the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, *T.* XXIII, 448b12; and the Theravāda Vinaya, *Vin.* II, 287,13.

8 For the corresponding passage in the Tibetan (Mūla)-sarvāstivāda Vinaya and a discussion cf. Schopen: "If you can't Remember, How to Make it up. Some Monastic Rules for Redacting Canonical Texts", *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, Honolulu 2004: 395-407.

9 Another parallel in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the (Mūla)-sarvāstivāda Vinaya does not mention any former Buddha, cf. Gnoli: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, 2, Roma 1978: 22.

10 Pachow: *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa*, Santiniketan 1955: 11, counts 218 rules, cf. also *T.* XXII, 555b15 (which gives a count of each category of precepts, except for the *śaikṣa* rules).

11 This has been pointed out by Hirakawa: "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism", *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, Tokyo 1963: 63-64, who in other publications has also noted the problems regarding the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* and the *prātimokṣa*.

12 Bareau: "L'Origine du Dīrgha-āgama Traduit en Chinois par Buddhayaśas", *Essays Offered to G.H. Luce*, Ascona 1966: 50.

13 Lamotte: "Problèmes Concernant les Textes Canoniques 'Mineurs'", *Journal Asiatique* 1956: 253.

14 Pachow: *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa*, Santiniketan 1955: 11, counts 248 rules in the Chinese translation (cf. also *T.* XXIV, 507b19, which gives a count of each category of precepts, except for the *śaikṣa* rules), but then indicates that the Tibetan translation has 258 rules, with ten additional *śaikṣa* rules.

15 The commentary *AA.* II, 346 explains that 150 was the number of rules that had been proclaimed by the time of this discourse. The final count covers 220 actual precepts and 7 *adhikaraṇasamatha-dhammas*.

16 In fact, the listings of the twelve *aṅgas* in the *Ekottarika Āgama* are not uniform and display variations in sequence, cf. *T.* II, 635a11; *T.* II, 657a2; *T.* II, 728c3; *T.* II, 794b15; *T.* II, 813a16.

17 Mayeda [=Maeda]: "Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas", *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, 1, Göttingen 1985: 102-103, reports that several Japanese scholars favour the Mahāsāṃghika hypothesis, while others have suggested a Dharmaguptaka or a Sarvāstivāda affiliation. The research by Schmithausen: "Beiträge zur Schulzugehörigkeit und Textgeschichte kanonischer und postkanonischer buddhistischer Materialien", *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna Literatur*, 2, Göttingen 1987: 321, however, makes it less probable that the *Ekottarika-āgama* could stem from a Dharmaguptaka or Sarvāstivāda school. On the improbability of a Sarvāstivāda or (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda affiliation of the *Ekottarika Āgama* cf. also Harrison: "The Ekottarikāgama Translations of An Shigao", *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert*, Swisstal-Odendorf 1997: 280.

18 Examples noted by Harrison: op.cit.: 280; and by Bareau: "La Fin de la Vie du Buddha selon l'Ekottara-āgama", *Hinduismus und Buddhismus*, Freiburg 1987: 34.

19 Noted by Deeg: "Unwirkliche Gegner. Chinesische Polemik gegen den Hīnayāna-Buddhismus", *Jaina-Itihāsa-Ratna, Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, Marburg 2006:

112. Other passages that show such influence have been noted in the serialized translation of the first sections of the *Ekottarika Āgama* by Huyen-Vi and Pāsādika, published in *Buddhist Studies Review*, cf. 1998: 65 note 4, 69 note 15, 206 note 3, and 208 note 8; 2001: 224 note 17; 2002: 49 note 4-5 and 188 note 22.

20 Jaini: "Padīpadānajātaka: Gautama's Last Female Incarnation", *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, Delhi 2001: 369; cf. also Gombrich: "The Significance of Former Buddhas in the Theravādin Tradition", *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, London 1980: 70, on a version of the same tale in a later Sinhalese prose work, the *Saddharmālaṃkāraya*.

21 Lamotte: *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-La-Neuve 1988: 635, notes that similar tales of the establishment of a replica of the Buddha, though with different kings as their respective protagonists, are found in the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda Vinaya (*T.* XXIII, 782b19 and *T.* XXIV 434b20) and in the *Divyāvadāna* (*Divy.* 547).

22 These two cases have been noticed by Lévi and Chavannes: "Les Seize Arhat Protecteurs de la Loi", *Journal Asiatique*, 1916; 191 and 263.

23 Lamotte: "Un Sūtra Composite del'Ekottarāgama", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 30, 1967: 105-116 (Engl. trsl. in *Buddhist Studies Review*, 1995: 27-46).

24 For a more detailed discussion of these and other instances cf. Anālayo: "Some Pāli Discourses in the Light of Their Chinese Parallels", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 22.1-2, 2005: 1-14 and 93-105.

25 Tripāṭhī: *Ekottarāgama-Fragmente der Gilgit Handschrift*, Reinbek 1995: 28 and 34.

26 SHT I 620R (*A.* V, 342); SHT II 163c; SHT II 163dR (*A.* IV, 244); SHT III 820; SHT III 952; SHT III 974; SHT III 975; SHT III 977; SHT III 990; SHT III 994; SHT III 1000; SHT V 1031; SHT V 1103; SHT V 1108; SHT V 1112; SHT V 1171R (*A.* II, 45); SHT VI 1326 (212); SHT VI 1341; SHT V 1343; SHT VI 1395; SHT VIII 1957; SHT IX 2071; SHT IX 2772. Note: SHT stands for *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Waldschmidt et al. ed., Wiesbaden 1965-2004; references are to volume of the series and number of the fragment. The above listing covers also fragments that parallel *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourses where it is uncertain if these fragments were part of an *Ekottarika* collection, but does not take into account fragment parallels to *Aṅguttara Nikāya* discourses that have a counterpart in the *Madhyama Āgama* or *Saṃyukta Āgama*. In cases where a fragment has been identified after the original publication in the SHT series, for ease of reference the location of the Pāli parallel in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* has been added in brackets.

27 These can be located with the help of Honjō: *A Table of Āgama Citations in the Abhidharmakośa and the Abhidharmakośopāyikā*, Kyoto 1984. *Ekottarika Āgama* quotations in the *Abhidharmakośa* itself have been listed by Pāsādika: *Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakośabhāṣya des Vasubandhu*, Göttingen 1989: 135.

ZHONG A-HAN or Chung A-han "collection of texts of medium length", is the title of the *Madhyama Āgama* preserved in Chinese translation as entry no. 26 in the Taishō edition (Nanjio no. 542).[1] This discourse collection, which is a counterpart to the *Majjhima Nikāya* preserved in the Pāli canon, was translated by the Kashmiri Gautama Saṅghadeva during the years 397-398 of the present era, based on a written original read out by Saṅgharakṣa, another Kashmiri monk (*T.* I, 809b26).[2] The original manuscript used for the translation stemmed with high probability from a Sarvāstivāda tradition and appears to have been in a Prākrit.[3] Saṅghadeva's translation was carried out in the presence of a group of forty scholar monks, with Dao-ci acting as the scribe and Li-bao and Kang-hua as assistants. A previous *Madhyama Āgama* translation undertaken by Zhu Fo-nian and Dharmanandin is no longer extant and was thus apparently replaced by the version rendered into Chinese by Saṅghadeva.

The *Madhyama Āgama* collection translated by Saṅghadeva contains altogether two-hundred-and-twenty-two discourses, which are distributed over eighteen chapters that make up sixty fascicles in the Chinese canon. In contrast, the *Majjhima Nikāya* has one-hundred-and- fifty-two discourses in fifteen chapters. In both collections, the count of ten discourses per chapter is the most common case, though a few chapters in the *Madhyama Āgama* have considerably more discourses. Of the total number of discourses in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, close to a hundred *suttas* have counterparts in the *Madhyama Āgama*.[4]

These parallels are, however, arranged in rather different ways in the two collections, in fact the *Madhyama Āgama* and the *Majjhima Nikāya* have only four chapter headings in common. Of these, their chapters on "Kings" have only two discourses in common, their chapters on "Brahmins" and on "Pairs" only four, while their chapters on "Analysis" have nine discourses in common. The generally different distribution of discourses and the lack of similarity in the formation of chapters suggests that, though the *Madhyama Āgama* and the *Majjhima Nikāya* drew on a common stock of discourses, the ways these discourses were arranged are specific to the respective traditions.

This becomes evident right away with the first chapter of the *Madhyama Āgama*, the chapter on seven *dharmas*. The discourses in this chapter all revolve around the number seven and thus fit the numerical principle that underlies the collection of discourses in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* or the *Ekottarika Āgama*. Most of the discourses in this chapter have their Pāli counterparts among the Sevens of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, with only two parallels found in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, these being the exposition on 'seven' ways of restraining the influxes in the *Sabbāsava Sutta* and the treatment of the 'seven' stages of purification in the *Rathavinīta Sutta* (*M.* I, 6 and *M.* I, 145). Thus the first chapter in the *Madhyama Āgama* gives the impression as if it originally had been part of a section on Sevens in an *Aṅguttara/Ekottarika* collection and was subsequently integrated into the *Madhyama Āgama*.

The degree to which discourses were allocated differently by various schools can also be seen in the case of the *Dīrgha Āgama*. While the *Dīrgha Āgama* preserved in Chinese (Taishō no. 1), which probably stems from the Dharmaguptaka school, shows close similarities to the Pāli *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Dīrgha Āgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins preserved in Sanskrit fragments differs considerably. Thanks to recent substantial findings of Sanskrit fragments in Afghanistan, the order of discourses in this collection can now be reconstructed. This reconstruction shows that altogether ten discourses of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Dīrgha Āgama* collection have their counterparts in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (all of which are, as one would expect, not found in the *Madhyama Āgama*).[5]

The rather diverse distribution of discourses in various Buddhist schools, to which these differences testify, is of importance in so far as the four main *Āgamas* preserved in Chinese stem from different schools. Hence the absence of a Chinese *Āgama* counterpart to a Pāli discourse does not necessarily imply that this discourse was unknown to other Buddhist schools. Such absence could simply be due to the different distribution of discourses among the four *Āgamas*. As only single *Āgamas* of diverse provenance have been translated into Chinese, certain discourses, like the ten discourses mentioned above from the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Dīrgha Āgama*, are not found in any of the *Āgamas* preserved in Chinese.

Another difference between the *Madhyama Āgama* and the *Majjhima Nikāya* can be seen in regard to the use of pericopes. Such pericopes are standardized descriptions of particular actions, behaviours, or modes of address. In *Madhyama Āgama* discourses, visitors will perform a threefold circumambulation on leaving the Buddha, whereas in *Majjhima Nikāya* discourses they perform only a single circumambulation (e.g. *M.* II, 56 and *T.* I, 623b23).[6] If a listener has reached some insight during a discourse given by the Buddha, according to the *Madhyama Āgama* he or she will express this by proclaiming "I understood, I realized", whereas in a *Majjhima Nikāya* discourse he or she will exclaim "excellent, excellent" (e.g. *M.* I, 39 and *T.* I, 576a10). Someone wishing to ask the Buddha or a monk a question will, in *Madhyama Āgama* discourses, first politely request permission (e.g. *T.* I, 654a06), something mentioned only rarely in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. In *Majjhima Nikāya* discourses, the Buddha often introduces the actual exposition by just addressing his monastic disciples with "monks", to which they reply "venerable sir", an exchange not found in the *Madhyama Āgama* (e.g. *M.* I, 1). These few examples show the degree to which oral transmission by the Sarvāstivāda and the Theravāda reciters has led to the use of different pericopes in the two collections.

Not only the use of pericopes, but at times also the content of a discourse can show the influence of the school affiliation of the reciters. A case in point appears to be a listing of different types of *arhants* in a *Madhyama Āgama* discourse that does not have a Pāli counterpart. This listing includes an *arahant* who is liable to fall away from his or her realization (*T.* I, 616a18). The *Abhidharmakośa* refers to the same notion under the heading *parihāṇadharma arhant*.[7]

The *Kathāvatthu*, in contrast, firmly opposes this notion (*Kvu*. 69). The possibility of an *arahant* falling away from his or her realization was in fact one of the topics debated among the Buddhist schools.[8]

In most instances, however, variations between *Madhyama Āgama* discourses and their Pāli counterparts appear to be the outcome of the natural vicissitudes of oral transmission or of the difficulties of translation, without necessarily expressing a tenet held by the Sarvāstivāda or Theravāda reciters.[9]

In the case of some such variations, the *Madhyama Āgama* version could be closer to the original than its Pāli parallel. A case in point appears to be the *Madhyama Āgama* counterpart to the *Chabbisodhana Sutta*. In spite of referring to "six purities" in its title, the Pāli version only treats five purities (*M*. III, 29). Its *Madhyama Āgama* parallel, however, covers six purities in its exposition, as, in addition to the topics found in the *Majjhima Nikāya* discourse, it also has a treatment on the four nutriments (*T*. I, 732b18). Notably, the commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya* records an opinion according to which an examination of the four nutriments indeed forms part of the *chabbisodhana* exposition (*MA*. IV, 94). Since the *Madhyama Āgama* version receives support from the Pāli discourse's title and from the Pāli commentarial tradition, its presentation seems to offer a more complete version of the discourse.[10]

Thus the discourses collected in the *Madhyama Āgama* have considerable potential from a comparative perspective, even though the language in which they are preserved is quite different from the source language and thus has inevitably given rise to some translation errors.

In addition to the complete *Madhyama Āgama* translation now found as Taishō no. 26, several individual translations of discourses that probably stem from *Madhyama Āgama* collections have been preserved in the Chinese canon (cf. esp. Taishō nos. 27 to 98). Among the Sanskrit fragments discovered in Central Asia, a range of parallels to *Madhyama Āgama* discourses have been identified,[11] and a commentary by Śamathadeva on the *Abhidharmakośa* contains several *Madhyama Āgama* extracts in Tibetan.[12]

See also ĀGAMA

Anālayo

References

1 A translation of this *Madhyama Āgama* into English is under preparation for the BDK English Tripiṭaka series.

2 *T.* stands for the Taishō edition.

3 On the language of the *Madhyama Āgama* manuscript cf. Bapat: "Chinese Madhyamāgama and the Language of its Basic Text", *Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume*, Varanasi 1969: 5; Enomoto: "On the Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 3, 1986: 20; and von Hinüber: "Upāli's Verses in the Majjhimanikāya and the Madhyamāgama", *Indological and Buddhist Studies*, Canberra 1982: 250. Enomoto: "The Formation and Development of the Sarvāstivāda Scriptures", *Proceedings of the Thirty-First International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa*, Tokyo 1984: 198, explains that the *Madhyama Āgama* translated into Chinese probably represents the earliest of three versions of this collection, the second of the three being the version partly preserved in some of the Central Asian Sanskrit fragments, and the third version corresponds to what is reflected in *sūtra* quotations in later works.

4 For a comparative study of discourses found in common in the two collections cf. Minh Chau: *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya*, Delhi 1991.

5 Hartmann: "Contents and Structure of the Dirghāgama of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology*, 2004: 126-127. The discourses that have counterparts in this *Dirgha Āgama* collection are the *Bhayabherava Sutta*, M 4; the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta*, M 12; the *Mahāsaccaka Sutta*, M 36; the *Jīvaka Sutta*, M 55; perhaps the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta*, M 60 (this identification still needs further corroboration); the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta*, M 85; the *Caṅkī Sutta*, M 95; the *Saṅgārava Sutta*, M 100; the *Pañcattaya Sutta*, M 102; and the *Sunakkhatta Sutta*, M 105.

6 The only instance of three circumambulations in the Pāli discourses appears to be *D*. II, 163, where Mahākassapa thrice circumambulates the Buddha's funeral pyre.

7 Pradhan: *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Patna 1967: 372; cf. also *T.* XXIX, 129a25 and *T.* XXIX 280b15.

8 *KvuA.* 37 explains that this concept was upheld by the Sammitīyas, the Vajjiputtakas, the Sarvāstivādins and some Mahāsāṃghikas, cf. also Dutt: *Buddhist Sects in India*, Delhi 1978: 82.

9 Cf. in more detail Anālayo: "The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2008.

10 For a more detailed discussion of this and other cases cf. Anālayo: "Some Pāli Discourses in the Light of Their Chinese Parallels", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 22.1-2, 2005: 1-14 and 93-105.

11 SHT I 562b (MĀ 182); SHT II 163a+b,d; SHT II 559; SHT III 804; SHT III 865; SHT III 868; SHT III 872; SHT III 878; SHT III 881; SHT III 979; SHT III 1007; SHT IV 412; SHT V 1070; SHT V 1114; SHT V 1117; SHT V 1118; SHT V 1125; SHT V 1128; SHT V 1141 (MĀ 164); SHT V 1148; SHT V 1151 (MĀ 134); SHT V 1166; SHT V 1193R (MĀ 121); SHT V 1279; SHT V 1332; SHT V 1333; SHT V 1334; SHT V 1346; SHT V 1348; SHT V 1402; SHT V 1403; SHT V 1421; SHT V 1422; SHT V 1424; SHT V 1583; SHT V 1714V; SHT V 1896; SHT VI 1210; SHT VI 1238; SHT VI 1244; SHT VI 1246; SHT VI 1252; SHT VI 1267 (MĀ 8); SHT VI 1272; SHT VI 1291; SHT VI 1294; SHT VI 1302; SHT VI 1304; SHT VI 1324; SHT VI 1329 (MĀ 9); SHT VI 1344 (MĀ 8); SHT VI 1360; SHT VI 1379; SHT VI 1384; SHT VI 1392; SHT VI 1397; SHT VI 1415; SHT VI 1423; SHT VI 1493; SHT VI 1522; SHT VI 1598; SHT VII 1687B; SHT VII 1701; SHT VII 1717 (MĀ 163); SHT VII 1720; SHT VII 1721; SHT VII 1770 cA+dA; SHT VIII 1802; SHT VIII 1913; SHT VIII 1914; SHT VIII 1919 (MĀ 173); SHT VIII 1981; SHT IX 2047; SHT IX 2067; SHT IX 2082; SHT IX 2155; SHT IX 2932. Note: SHT stands for *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Waldschmidt et al. ed., Wiesbaden 1965-2004; references are to volume of the series and number of the fragment. In cases where a fragment has been identified after the original publication in the SHT series, for ease of reference the *Madhyama Āgama* parallel has been added in brackets. Several other publications containing *Madhyama Āgama* fragment parallels are listed in Anālayo and Bucknell: "Correspondence Table for Parallels to the Discourses of the Majjhima Nikāya: Toward a Revision of Akanuma's Comparative Catalogue", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka* 2006: 233-238.

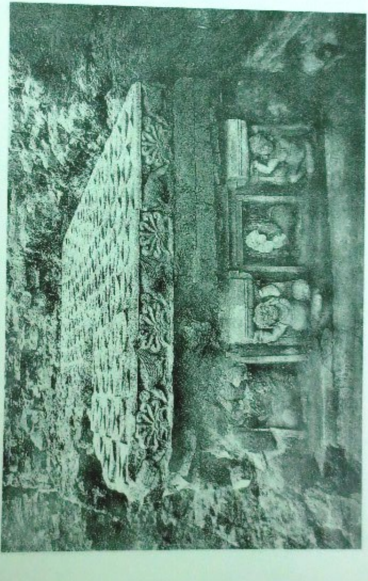
12 These can be located with the help of Honjō: *A Table of Āgama Citations in the Abhidharmakośa and the Abhidharmakośopāyikā*, Kyoto 1984. *Madhyama Āgama* quotations in the *Abhidharmakośa* itself have been listed by Pāsādika: *Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakośabhāṣya des Vasubandhu*, Göttingen 1989: 135.



Vāhalkada in the Kantaka Cetiya at Mihintale
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



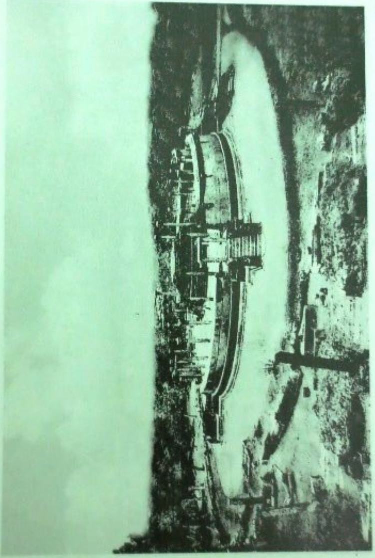
Vāhalkaḍa in the Cetiya of the Kelaniya Rajamaha Vihāra
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



Vajrāsana or the Diamond Throne of the Buddha at the foot of the Mahabodhi tree at Buddhagayā.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



Thūpārāma Vatadage in Anuradhapura.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

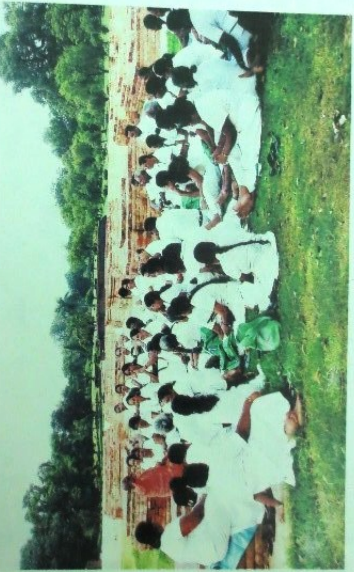


Tiriyaya Vatadage
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

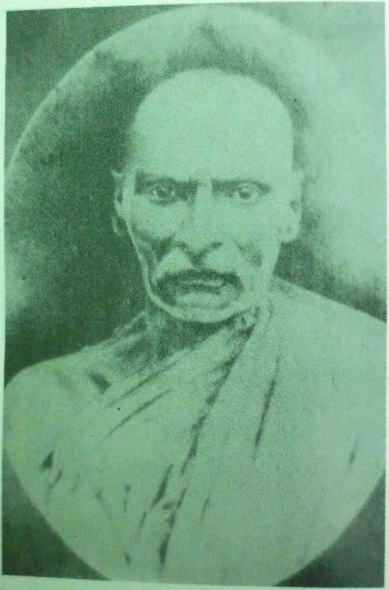


Polonnaruwa Vaṭadāge
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

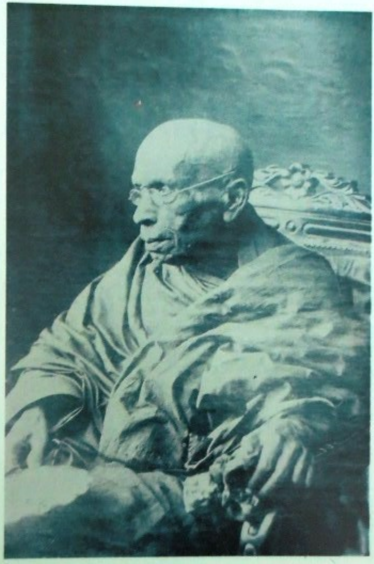
PLATE XXXVI



Devotees engaged in a religious discussion with a Buddhist priest at a temple on a Vesak full moon poya day.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



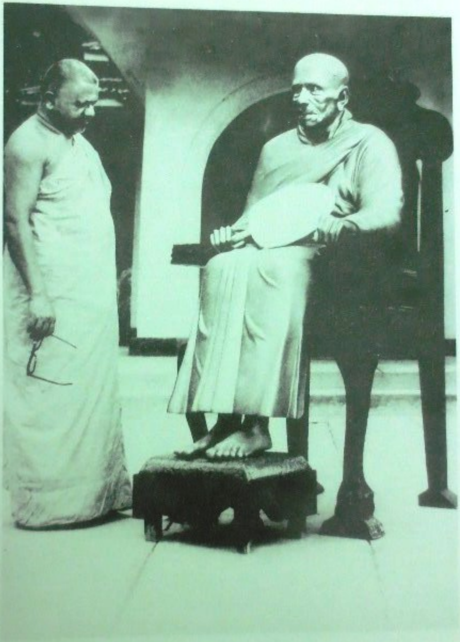
Ven. Ratmalāne Dhammāloka Thera, the Founder Parivenādhipati of the Vidyālankara Pirivena.
Courtesy : Somasiri Kasturiarachchi



Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala thera. The Founder Pariveṇādhipati of the Vidyodaya Pirivena.
Courtesy : Somasiri Kasturiarachchi

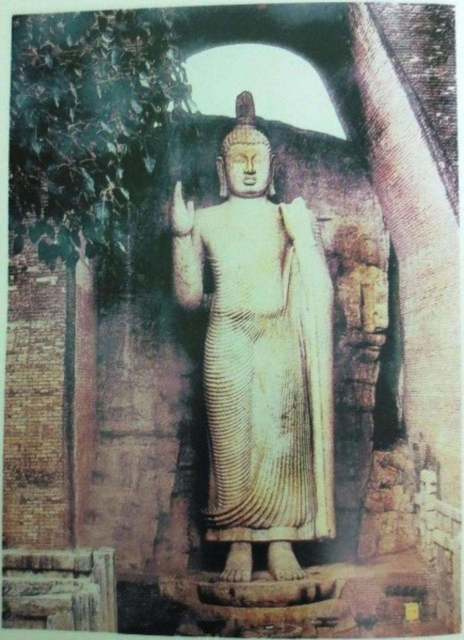


Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala thera with Col. H. S. Olcotte, the President of the Theosophical Society.
Courtesy : Somasiri Kasturiarachchi

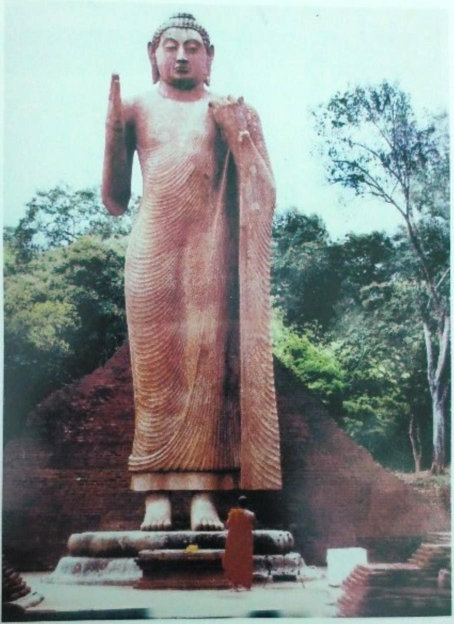


A Sculpture of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala thera sited a the entrance to the Sri Jayawardhanapura University.

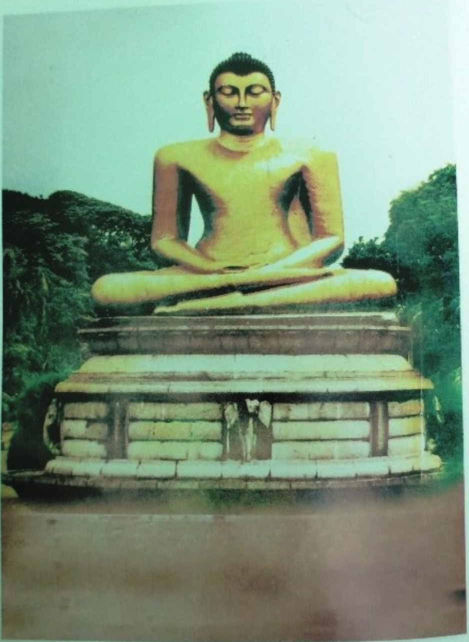
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



The protective shelter over the Avkana Buddha statue, designed and executed by Ven. Wipulasā ra thera.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

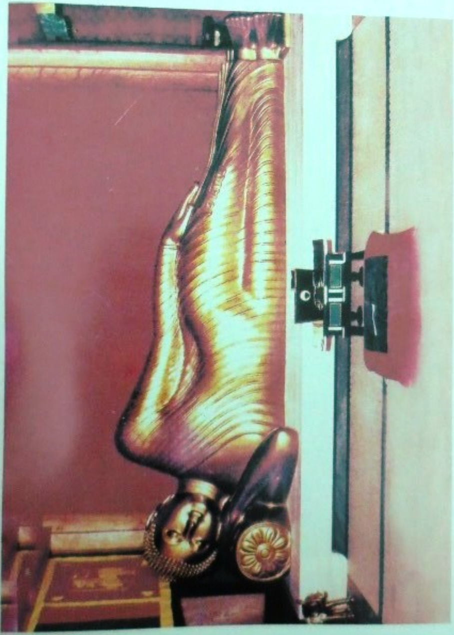


The Mâligâvila fallen Buddha statue, restored to its original position under the direction of Ven. Wipulasâra thera.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.

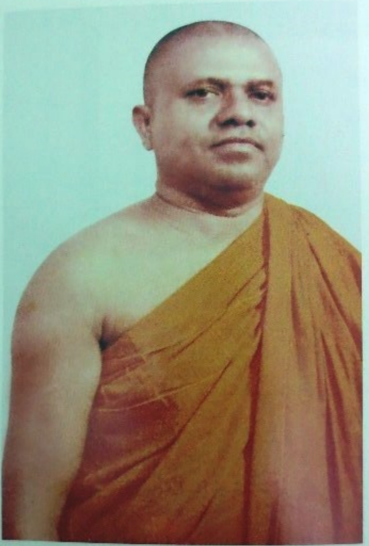


The seated Buddha statue in bronze at the entrance to the Vihāramahādevi park, sculptured by Ven. Wipulasāra thera.

Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



The recumbent Buddha statue sculptured by Ven. Wipulasāra thera for the Yokohama Buddhist Temple in Japan.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



Ven. Māpalagama Wipulasāra thera. Chief incumbent of the Parama Dhamma Chetiya Pirivena and President of the Mahabodhi Society of India, during the centenary celebration period of the Society.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



Ven. Kyuse Enshinjoh, the Japanese Buddhist Pretate who succeeded Ven. Wipulasāra thera as President of the India Mahābodhi Society.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



F. L. Woodward, the pioneer principal of Mahinda College in Galle and reputed Pali and Buddhist scholar.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.



The impressive assemly hall of Mahinda College, the first buidling put up by F. L. Woodward for Mhainda College.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne.